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A PARIS







Origines Gentium Antiquissima;

ATTEMPTS

For discovering the

TIMES

Of the first PLANTING of

NATIONS.

IN

Several TRACTS.

By the R'. Rev. R. Cumberland, D. D. late Bishop of Peterborough.

Publish'd from his Lordship's Manuscript by S. PAYNE, A. M. Rector of Barnack in Northamptonshire.

LONDON:

Printed by W. B. for R. WILKIN at the King's Head in St. Paul's Church-yard.

MDCCXXIV.





THE

PREFACE.



HE world has already feen the Fragment of Sanchoniatho publish'd in English, with the historical explications; a Work, which for ma-

ny years employ'd the thoughts of a man of great judgment and penetration, the late learned Bishop of Peterborough, and contains new and great discoveries in history and chronology; such as an impartial reader cannot but allow, in the main, to be just, there being little doubt but that those A 2 remains

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remains of Sanchoniatho are such an account as was preserv'd among the heathens of the history of the world from the Creation: Tho', like all their other Archaelogies, they have a great mixture of fable and fittion, with some streamings and rays of truth, which our sagacious outhor has happily discover'd.

Porphyry, a learned and zealous advocate for Heathenism, happen'd to be the means of the preservation of the name, and those small remains of Sanchoniatho. intended them as evidence against Christianity, or rather Judaism; for could be here undermin'd Judaism, be concluded, and not irrationally, that Christianity must have fallen with it. You boast, says he to the Jews, of the antiquity of Moses, the founder of your religion, and of his writings; Sanchoniatho, tho' he is not himself older, yet the acts and records from which he compil'd his history, are, by many ages, antienter than Moses. These are proof that Idolatry was the first and oldest religżon.

SANCHONIATHO was thus fet up to rival Moses, and his books to balance the Pentateuch; and yet this Man, brought as the chief evidence for the opposite side, does utwittingly

ntwittingly give a great attestation to the truth of the Mosaic History, acknowledging that the origine of Mankind was from a single pair, and that it was not above thirteen or fourteen generations earlier than Misor and Thoth, kings of Egypt.

The favourable reception the former part bas met with from learned men encourages me to present unto the publick more of the labours of the same Author, the fruit of his searches into the remotest Antiquity. As he left them they are only loose tracts; intended by him to have been materials for a large Work, and to have been intitled Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ, &c. Those that compose the following Sheets I have selected as nearest being sinish'd, and sittest for the publick view.

I. The first is a Discourse on Gen. xxxvi. concerning the Hotites, the antient inhabitants of the country of Seir, afterwards call'd Edom. The Divine Historiographer has given us from \$\forall \text{31.} to 39. a brief, but entire account of an antient monarchy of that people, from the first to the last king; tho' it has happen'd not to have been hitherto regarded with due attention. The track; in which commentators in expounding this place have generally follow'd one another; is;

is, that these kings were all Edomites, of the posterity of Esau: Others, to whom this was a difficulty, too hard to be digested, were for assuming a liberty of expunging these nine verses as an interpolation.

This is the method taken by a modern author in his Prolegomena to his Commentaries on Genesis, printed at Amsterdam in 1693. Bishop Kidder replies to the objection of this Writer in his Dissertation, concerning the Author of the Pentateuch. Our Author having an acquaintance and friendship with Bishop Kidder, had communicated to him his notion, while he was writing his Commentary on the five Books of Moses; and the Bishop shew'd so much respect to it as to print the substance of it in the fortieth page of that Dissertation; tho he himself still seem'd to lean to the common opinion, that those eight kings were of the race of Esau.

The design of Moses in the above-mention'd chapter is plainly this, to prove the fulfilling of the prophecy given by God to Rebekah, Gen. xxv. 23. Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels. And to shew the goodness and favour of God to. Esau, Jacob's elder brother, and his family, that that to make room for them, he rooted out an antient and long fettled kingdom, and by that means gave them the possession and government of a large country, contiguous to Canaan, and this before the posterity of Jacob had a country of their own, or a king to reign over them; their first being Moses, who was king in Jeshurun, i.e. little Israel: The word Jeshurun being the Hebrew diminutive for Israel.

II. The second Discourse is on Deut. ii. 23. Another place, but slightly touch'd on by Commentators; who, too often, like the friends of our prosperity, for sake us in difficulties. The penetration of our Author will be here, I believe, acknowledg'd by every impartial reader that he had a sagatity able to make discoveries, and add something of his own to the common stock of

learning.

III. The subject matter of these two Discourses is further improved in the third tract, containing Notes on the Synchronisms of Canaan and Egypt. His Lordship discussed the more particularly the precedent passages in Moses's history, because he thought they tended to give considerable light to some of the earliest times of Egyptian history, especially to a remarkable part A 4

concerning the pastors; which has had the luck to be more exactly and circumstantially preserv'd than any other of the remains of Manetho. He says they were call'd Royal Pastors. This character agrees well with the Horim; they were pastors, and the word Hor sanifies free or noble. Manetho says further, that they at first took possession of the country peaceably, or without fighting, auaxyri.

These Phoenician or Canaanitish pastors must, in their passage to Egypt, go thro' the country of the Horim: Many of them, 'tis probable, join'd them: And not only so, but Goshen in Egypt, in which these pastors chiefly fix'd, border'd on part of the country of the Horim, that which was afterwards the kingdom of Amalek. Manetho adds that these pastors came out of Arabia. This part of Egypt was antiently reckon'd to Arabia, as well as the whole country that lay to the east of the Nile. The Septuagint accounts Goshen to be part of Arabia, and calls it yn sereu Apasias, Gen. xlvi. 34. Nor could any Arabians march into Egypt without passing thro' part of the country of the Horim.

And, as a further proof that they were no inconsiderable part of these pastors, they left

left in this quarter of Egypt a city, call'd the city of the Horim, with a little alteration in Greek Ηρώων πόλις. Bochart and Cappellus, without any such light, as our Author now affords to guide us, do both own this etymology of Heώων πόλις. Εχ Horæis Heroum urbs. Bochart Canaan, p. 362. Cappellus says, Horæus non liberum tantum significat, sed & nobilem; & ab ea voce formari potest Græca vox news; and afterward, Utut illud sit, Horæi proculdubio sedes illas olim occuparunt, ubi fuit urbs Heroum dicta. The reader may confult bis note on Deut. ii. 22.

Great struggles and contentions ensu'd betreven these pastors, and the elder inhabitants of Egypt; which furnish'd the Greek paets with all their fictions of the wars between the giants and the gods, i. e. thefe. fout beroical pastors and the first kings of Egypt, who were afterwards deify'd.

. These wars, which ended in the total ex. pulsion of the pastors, were, in our Author's opinion, the occasion of the dispersion of the Canaanites or Phoenicians, i. e. of their sending colonies into diverse parts of Europe: And herein he recedes from the judgment of the learned Bochart, who fixes. the planting of all those Cancapitish colo-1. . . 3.

nies

nies to the time of Joshua. Without dispute three of the chief colonies, from Phoenicia to Greece, viz. those under Inachus, Ogyges and Cadmus, were all before Joshua, the two first long before him.

IV. The fourth tract makes a calculation how many souls might be born within 340 years after the flood. One table only is given of the number that might possibly descend from such grandchildren of Noah as were born within the first twenty years after the flood; the number in 340 years is prodigious. It would have been too tedious to have particularis'd the tables of the remaining sixteen Vicennia to the death of Phaleg. Every thoughtful reader will have a conception of them in his imagination; or if he has the curiosity, he may try them in figures; they would amount to many times more than it is probable there are now men living on the face of the earth.

In theory it might possibly be thus: In fact the Scripture informs us what was actually several ages later than these times, when both the strength and lives of men were very much impair'd, and when those who were advanc'd in age were daily going off in the common course of mortality; which in this period of 340 years after the flood

flood does not appear to have happen'd. Every Postdiluvian, whose age is recorded in Scripture, even Noah himself, being certainly alive at the time when Phaleg died.

The Fact I mean was that of the children of Jacob, who went down into Egypt
feventy fouls, and, soon after the Exodus,
in the space of 216 years were increas'd to
603,550 Men, able to go forth to war. In
this account are not included Levites, old
men, women or children; and therefore they
could not be one quarter of the full number
of the people: Tet most part of this time
they liv'd under great oppression and persecution, circumstances that tend not to forward the increase of any people; the kings of
Egypt proceeding at last to such a degree of
cruelty as to order all the male children of
the Hebrews to be destroy'd.

This, tho' a great increase, yet undoubtedly could bear no proportion to the multiplication of mankind after the flood; so that there could not be want of a sufficient number of men to begin the first monarchies that are supposed to have been erected within 300 years after the universal deluge.

V. and VI. The proofs of the early rife and long duration of the Assyrian empire, contain'd in the fifth and sixth Tracts, were collected

collected to confute an opinion started and advanc'd by Sir John Marsham; a gentle. man of extraordinary abilities and learning, but too fond, as men of great parts often are, of new notions. Sir John was not willing to allow any considerable empire of the. Affyrians before Phul, contemporary with Menahem, king of Israel: His favourite notion, but a very groundless one, was, that Sesostris and his successors held the empire of Asia till a little before the time of Phul. The long catalogue of kings preceding him he rejects, as depending on the sole authority of Ctesias, an author irreconcileable to the opinions he advanc'd, and therefore with him of no credit.

Ctessas was a Greek, a man of great, learning, prefer'd for his merit solely to be chief physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, in whose court he liv'd seventeen years. During that time he apply'd himself to the study of the Asiatic history, being assisted by the records of that monarchy, which were carefully kept by publick authority. In his relations of the wars and actions of his kings, he indulges the Asiatic vanity, and is incredible enough; but in their number and succession he deserves credit, for he runs not into entravagant accounts of the duration of this empire,

empire, but fixes such a probable and reafonable space between its erection by Ninus,
and its dissolution at the death of Sardanapalus, as is consistent with other authentick bistory, and falls in very well with
that great event of the general flood.

Diodorus Siculus, a writer of good judgment, who compos'd a System of universal bistory, in his account of Egypt, follows chiesty Herodotus; in that of Asia, Ctesias. What he relates on the authority of the latter is generally very romantick and a blemish to his Work; yet he seems to show on all occasions as much regard to Ctesias as to Herodotus.

Photius concludes his extract from the Persica of Ctesias with a short parallel, in which he allows him to be at least equal to Herodotus. Strabo and Plutarch makes very free with his character as to veracity; but they do the same to Herodotus: Every thing therefore in him is not to be rejected any more than in Herodotus, who is in too many instances sabulous.

But this point of the antiquity of the Assyrian empire does not bear on the sole authority of Ctesias; the traces of it are to be met with in every history that treats of the earliest ages, as our Author has fully shown.

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In these Tracts and all other parts of his writings, bordering on controversy, the judicious reader cannot but observe the respect and the tenderness with which he treats all learned men, from whom he differs in opinion. Candour and Good will to others were qualities inbred and habitual to him.

VII. The seventh Tract treats of the early plantations of Greece and Italy. The part of the world sirst peopled after the flood was Asia; here the descendents from Shem, Ham and Japhet cohabited and mixed with one another, till their numbers increasing they sought out for new settlements. To those who chose Europe, Greece was the nearest country, to which some passed by land, finding a passage over the Hellespont or Bosphorus; others went by sea in ships, and were for that reason call'd Pelasgi.

VIII. and IX. The eighth and ninth Tracts written in Latin, were the last compos'd by him. At that time he entertain'd thoughts of altering the order and method of his Work, and making one treatise of it in the Latin tongue; but the obligations he was under to spend half of his time in London at a distance from his books, and years and business increasing, prevented his design, and remov'd

remov'd all thoughts of making any thing publick on these subjects. One of his expressions, I remember, occasion'd by a conversation concerning these papers: I can hug a notion to my self without troubling the world with it. These two tracts may be esteem'd as a sort of parallel between heathen idolatry and the priesthood and worship of the true GOD. The last, de Legibus Patriarchalibus contains the soundation of some of the Author's just and generous notions in Divinity.

What has been already publish'd has had the approbation of many eminent men. The reader that shall reap pleasure and advantage by them owes me the thanks due to the preserver of them; the treasure of learning they contain would have been otherwise lost. If he shall be inclin'd to complain that the style and sense is in some places interrupted, he must remember that these papers were far from being finish'd by the Author: After the first draught fresh matter still arose, which he set down as notes, memorandums and additions. These I have brought in as well as I could; but it cannot be expected that what is written in this manner should be altogether coherent, or that repetitions Spould be always avoided.

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It cannot but be of further service to the learned World to have the substance of the whole publish'd in Latin, the method altered, and some parts contracted. Our Author, who was better able to perform this than any body else, would have done it himself had not the pursuit of these studies happen'd too late in his life to have been finish'd by him. I have had for some time a design of this nature in my thoughts, to publish in Greek and Latin the fragment of Sanchoniatho, with such emendations as it is capable of, to add to it a collection of all the genuine remains of antient authors, preserv'd by Josephus, Eusebius, Syncellus and others. Some such there are

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

And from these, by help of the clue, our learned Author has given us, to deduce a series of history and chronology that may givesome light and consistency to the dark ages.

I want not an inclination to such an undertaking, and would forthwith set about it could I have good hopes it would be well received. Authors are to be pity'd who wrack their thoughts and torture their brain for productions, on which the World afterwards

wards passes a verditt, that they do not deferve reading. The apprehensions of such a fate may make me rather be content with doing something of that kind for my own amusement, and humbly to resign the compleating so difficult a work to an abler hand.

The inquiries contain'd in these papers are all consin'd within the time, call'd by historians xeóvos adnhos, obscure time. In profane chronology this is a wide gap that Sanchoniatho helps to fill up. This period, without the light afforded by the books of Moses, would be perfect darkness; and even with the assistance of them is great uncertainty. Scripture is the only standard of all antient history, and the touchstone by which the truth of it may be try'd.

Heathen writers, who, unassisted by this; attempt to search into antiquity, have no stay whereon to rest. Herodotus, on all occasions talks familiarly of a myriad of years before his time. The Greeks, speaking of their own country and its inhabitants, thought it enough to say that they were Autoxboxes or Aborigines, i.e. that they had been there beyond all memory: As to the determinate number of ages they were not able to make any conjecture. In Egypt the priests were the possessors of learning;

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and intrusted with their publick records. Herodotus, Plato and Diodorus, at different times, went thither for information. When they talk'd of the duration of their monarchy and their eldest kings, the round number, the priests generally affected to speak in, was ten thousand years ago: But they who pretended to be more exact, told Diodorus that from their first king Osiris to Alexander the Great were precisely twenty three thousand years.

Pomponius Mela does not seem to have follow'd the accounts of the before mention'd authors or the authorities on which they went; yet varies as far from the truth as they do. The Egyptians, says he, from undoubted records give the history of 330 kings, and 13000 years before the time of Amasis, with whom the Egyptian monarchy ended; they becoming from his time one of the provinces of the Persian empire. So little of truth and certainty is there in the boasted learning of the Egyptians.

The Greeks still knew less; they were totally ignorant of the history of the elder ages and remote countries; therefore they made their invention supply the want of the knowledge of facts.

---- quic-

— quicquid Græcia mendax Audet in historiis———

Tet these exclusive of holy writ are almost the only authors from whom we receive any information. Herodotus is usually call'd the Father of History, and his work, with all its defects, is invaluable; yet he had not any tolerable notions of either chronology or geography. He was an ingenious and inquisitive man, but too credulous; and has by this means stuff'd his history with many trisling and incredible stories; besides a humour natural to him, that runs thro all he writ, to magnify things, to make his narrations appear wonderful.

His ignorance in geography, besides other instances, appears from a passage or two in bis Melpomene. I laugh, says he, at them who pretend to give a description of the earth without having any manner of understanding of it, who say that the ocean runs quite about it, and that the earth is round as if it had been shap'd by a turner's instrument; and that Asia is as big as Europe. Asterwards he adds, that Asrica was discover'd to be a Peninsula, by Nechus king of Egypt. Some Phænicians, by his a 2 command,

command, loosing from the red-sea sail'd into the south-sea, and spent two years in coasting of Libya. In the third year, turning thro' Hercules's pillars, they came into Egypt, and they told what I will never believe; others may, if they please: That while they were sailing round Libya they had the sun on their right, or to the northward of them.

It is plain from hence that Herodotus had no notion either of the Zones of the earth or the circles of the globe; he esteeming that to be incredible which to every man who understands geography is the proof, that they did really sail round Africa.

Such defects as these shew how unqualify'd he and all the heathen authors before his time were to write any authentick history: that therefore we should be so little acquainted with the first kingdoms of the world is not to be mightily wonder'd at; but it is very much so to reslect how ignorant we are of persons and matters of consequence that were long after them.

It may be truly said there never was a greater or better prince than Cyrus; he erected a monarchy of the largest extent; he was honour'd and lov'd by all mankind; conquer'd nations call'd him their Father, and

and free states sued to be subject to him: He was a great instrument of providence, a restorer of GOD's Church; and for these reasons was by name foretold by the prophets, nigh 200 years before he was born. His age falls hundreds of years within the period call'd historical Time: And yet how little do we know with certainty of his birth, life and death?

Three eminent Greek bistorians, Herodotus, Ctesias and Xenophon bave undertaken to give the history of his life and a-Etions: None of them was far remote from bim in time. Herodotus was born forty five years after his death. Xenophon within one hundred. Ctesias was several years older than Xenophon. Every one of them had been in Persia, had opportunities of conversing with such as could give them the best information, and of searching records; and they are the only euthors who have professedly writ Cyrus's history. What may we empett from such names but strict truth and exact agreement in their relations? I will present to the reader's view very briefly the substance of each of their accounts; and in the first place Herodotus's.

" Astyages,

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" Astyages, king of the Medes, had a " daughter Mandane. Upon an odd dream " concerning her he took a resolution not " to marry her suitably to her birth, but match'd her, (more meanly, as he thought, " than to any gentleman of the Medes) to " a private person, one Cambyses, a Per-" sian; descended from a good family, but "not a man of an enterprizing genius. "Within a year after their marriage he " had another dream, that a vine grew out " of his daughter's womb, that over-spread " all Asia; this the Magi told him portended, " that the son of that daughter should reign " in his stead; upon this he sends for his " daughter out of Persia, when she grew near her time, and after her delivery " sent for Harpagus, a man in whom he s put great confidence, and giving him the " babe Cyrus, charg'd him without fail to " kill him. Harpagus, relenting, would " not do so cruel an act himself, but sent " for Mitradates, the king's herdsman, and " enjoins him to expose the child in a place " where he would certainly die. Mitrada-" tes's wife's name was Spaco (which word " signifies a bitch;) and she happen'd to be just se deliver'd of a dead child when her huf-" band brought in Cyrus, They agreed to " put

" put his fine swadling cloaths on their own " dead child, and expose it, and bring up " Cyrus as their own son. He prov'd an " extraordinary youth, and at ten years old " was, by the boys of the neighbourhood, in " play, elected their king: He now takes " upon him the state of a king: And the " fon of a great man not obeying his com-" mands, he chastis'd him with two much " severity. The courtier complains to As-" tyages of the indignity put upon his son " by an insolent boy, the son of his Majesty's " herdsman. Astyages sent for Cyrus, and, " in great wrath, said to him, Sirrah, how " durst such a scoundrel as you abuse the son " of a man of quality? Yes, Sir, said the " boy, and I think I did right, for I was " chose king, and all the rest obey'd me but " this boy. Astyages was struck with the " reply and spirit of the boy, and with his " countenance, which he thought resembled " his own family; and his age was much the " same with his grandson's, whom he had " order'd to be made away with. He sifted " the herdsman till he got the whole story " out of him; and dissembling his resentment, " he told Harpagus he was mightily pleas'd " with the event; I will therefore, says he, " celebrate a festival to the preserving gods; " and a 4

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" but she supposing that his designs were not " so much for her person as her kingdom, " refus'd to have any treaty or communica-" tion with him: "Upon which he openly " invades her country. The queen sent him " a fair challenge, that at his own choice " he should either, without opposition, pass " the river Araxes, and march three days " into her country, where she would give " him a fair meeting; or if he would per-" mit her to pass the Araxes, and make a " march of three day into his country she " would fight him on his own ground. Cyrus " accepted of the former of thefe conditions; " he desir'd the queen to retreat with her " army, to fuffer him to pass the Araxes, " and march into her country, which she, " according to own offer, perform'd. " Cyrus being now got into the country of " the Mailagetæ, had recourse to this stra-" tagem: He furnish'd his camp with plen-" ty of good provisions, wine especially; and " with the ablest and best part of his army " he made one day's march homewards, lea-" ving a body of the weakest and worst of " his men to guard his camp. Tomyris " dividing her army into three parts, sends " one third of it to attack the Persian camp; " and the few infirm menthat were left in it " were

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" were easily beaten. The Massagetæ fell " presently on the spoil, and glutted them-" felves with wine and good cheer, which " soon laid them asleep. Cyrus, with the " flower of his army, surprizing them in this condition, kill'd many, and made the " rest prisoners; among the last was the " queen's son. "Tomyris, enrag'd with this loss, sets " upon Cyrus and the Persians with the " remainder of her army. The battle was " one of the fiercest that ever was fought. " Victory at last declar'd for the Massa-" getæ; many of the Persians and Cyrus " himself being left dead in the field. Af-" ter the battel Tomyris made a search " for the body of Cyrus, and separating the " head from it, she fill'd a skin with blood, " and putting the head into it, she said in-" fultingly, I will satiate you with blood. " This was the end of Cyrus, after he had " reign'd twenty nine years. There are " other accounts of the manner of his death, " but this is that which I think most pro-" bable." Thus much for Herodotus.

Our next author is Ctesias; the history he compil'd is lost, but some extracts of it are preserved by Photius. What he transcribes is to this effect. "Cyrus

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" Cyrus was not at all related to Afty-" ages, but having attack'd his kingdom of " Media, and taken him prisoner in Ec-" batana; at first, like a conqueror, be put " him in chains; afterwards be set him " free and us'd him honourably. The daugh-" ter of Astyages was nam'd Amytis, and " married to one Spitamas, a Mede. Cyrus " treated her respectfully; he charg'd her " husband Spitamas with falsifying, and " made that a pretence to kill him; after " whose death he marry'd Amytis himself. " He made war on the Bactrians, who sub-" mitted to him voluntarily. He wag'd war " also on the Sacæans, and made Amorges, " their king, prisoner: But Sparethra, their " queen, during the captivity of her husband, " gathering together an army of 300,000 " men, and 200,000 women, gave Cyrus en " entire defeat, and made him prisoner; but " afterwards releas'd him in exchange for " her own husband. Cyrus next conquer'd " Croesus, and took Sardis. " After some years, Cyrus and his wife " Amytis having a desire to see their father " Allyages, who resided among the Barcanii, " sent Petisacas, a great favourite with " Cyrus, to conduct him to them. Petisa-" cas inhumanly exposed the old king in a de sart,

" defart, where he perish'd with hunger and " thirst: But his dead cartass was not torn " by any beaft, for lions gnarded it till it " was fent for by the order of Cyrus, who " bury'd it with great magnificence.

" Last of all, Cyrus made war on the " Derbices. After a brave resistance the " Derbices were forc'd to yield: But the " victory cost Cyrus dear, for he was thrown " from his horse, and after the fall, recei-" ved a wound in the thigh, of which he " languish'd three days, and then died, lea-" ving his eldest son Cambyses king, and " giving to his younger son Tanyoxarces " the large countries of Parthia, Bactria, " &c. conjuring them to live together friend-" ly and affectionately. He departed after " he had reigned thirty years."

The last and fullest account is Xenophon's, which is to this purpose.

" Cambyles, the king of Persia, married " Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, king " of the Medes, and had by her Cyrus, a " child of surprizing beauty and parts. " His father gave him all the advantages " of the Persian Education, which in those " days excell'd that of other nations. Part " of

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" of his youth was spent in the court of " his grandfather Astyages, who some time " after died, and left the kingdom of the " Medes to Cyaxares his son. "The Assyrian or Babylonian emperor, be-" ing master of agreat part of Asia, projects " by what means he might most easily sub-" due the Medes and Persians; who partly " by persuasions, partly by presents pre-" vails with several to join with him in " this attempt, but chiefly on Croesus, king " of Lydia. Cyaxares, in danger of being " attack'd by such formidable confederates, " asks help from Cambyses, his brother in " law; who sends Cyrus with an army of " Persians to his assistance. Thus began a " war, which continued many years, in " which Cyrus, with a constant series of " fuccefs, gain'd advantages over the Assy-" rians, made an entire conquest of Croe-" fus and the Lydian kingdom; oblig'd all " the countries of Asia Minor to submit to " his victorious arms; and, in the conclu-" sion, after a siege of incredible difficulty, " took the great city of Babylon, the Me-" tropolis of the Assyrian empire. " In this long war Cyrus was not him-" felf the principal, but only the chief ge-" neral under Cyaxares his uncle; who ha-

" ving

" ving no male issue, bestow'd on him for " wife his only daughter. In her right he " succeeded to the kingdom of Media, as he " did to that of Persia, after the death of " his father Cambyles: And thus by de-" scent and conquest he became emperor of " all the East. After he had erected this " mighty empire he divided his time among " the provinces of it in this manner. " winter half year he spent at Babylon, " the spring at Susa, the Metropolis of Per-" sia; and the heat of summer at Ecbatana " in Media. This tour be made seven times, " till he was well advanc'd in age. This " latter part of his life was spent in peace, " with the utmost grandeur, and the gentlest " and wifest administration that ever was " exercis'd by any prince. He died in Per-" sia, expressing great piety to the gods, and " giving excellent exhortations to his two " fons, and his friends that attended on " him."

To this effect Xenophon.

His age is not mention'd by any of these historians, and the length of his life would still have been a secret, had not Tully accidentally happen'd to say that Cyrus liv'd to be seventy.

Thefe

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These extracts I just offer to the reader as a specimen how uncertain all antient accounts, and how full of fables the Greek authors are, that first set up for writing of history. Is it possible to think that each of these should be seriously deliver'd as the history of one and the same man?

Xenophon's is without question the truest account, for it agrees best with Scripture; and by that it plainly appears that Darius the Mede, mention'd by the prophet Daniel, and by Josephus, is no other person than Cyaxares, king of Media, the uncle and father in law of Cyrus. In a piece of history so clear as this, it is a wonder that Scaliger and Petavius should be both in a mistake, and that so learned a man as Sir John Marsham should perplex his chronology in the manner be has done with this Darius the Mede.

Xenophon indeed, in his book of the education of Cyrus, does indulge his own fine imagination without pretending that the whole is exact matter of fact. Where he professes to write history faithfully, no pen is able to mend it. Every thing that comes from Xenophon breaths sense, modesty and truth. He was a heathen, and by profession a soldier; yet he discovers in every circumstance of his life such a devout and religious temper

The PREFACE. xxxiii

temper as cannot but be a reproach to most Christians.

Upon perusing these different and disagreeing accounts, this reflection must arise in every reader's mind. When we know so little with certainty of the founder of the Persian, what wonder is it that we should be almost totally ignorant of the Assyrian monarchy, that began so many ages before it? Those early times are so obscure, that without the light held out by Scripture, that of all other writings put together would still leave us in perfect darkness.

The labours of our learned author will contribute to their being better understood for the future. And as he has made several additions and amendments to our common chronology, in the times preceding the olympiads, I thought it would be of some use and entertainment to the reader to present them to him in one view in a compendious Table.



b

THE

A Chronological TABLE for the

Julian Period	Year of the World.	Scripture.	Affyrian.
2366	1658	The Flood.	
2368	1658	Arphaxad born.	
2403	1693	Selah.	
2433	1723	Eber.	Tower of Babel built.
2467	1757	Peleg.	1771 Celestial Observations
2497	1787	Ren.	begun at Babylon under Belies I.
	1800		
`252 9	10 1819 ´		
4)49	20		station boils
	30		Hebron built. Zoan built.
2559	40 1849	Naher.	
-,,,,	. 50		
	60 70		
2588		Terah.	
,	8	-	. 1900 Belus II. i. e. Cusb.
•	190		And the last of th
	1,		
	2		
1	3	•	•
265	1948	Haran:	1955 Ninus, i. c. Nimrod. Nineveb built.
		io , '	Withtan print.
٠		70 10	
		O 1	•
270	5 1996	Peleg dies.	
271	200 2006	Noals dies.	2007 Semiramis.
271	8 2008	Abraham born.	
	-	10 20 ·	
	•	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	•
		3 0 40	2049 Ninias Zames,
		50 (
•	•	60	
		70	
		80	Vines of the
279	2083	Abraham enter	Kings of the
280		90 Canaan. Chederlaomer COE the Herites.	
		- FIFC MALLINA	

Ages succeeding the FLOOD, from

Egyptian	l•	Grecian History.	Yes befo Chri
Ailas Brother to Cronns settles in Africa. Byblus built by Cronns.		Nevens about this Time. Promethens. Cronus, i. c. Ham, call'd Porphyrion in Pansan. gives Attica to Albena.	
	ens Son of Atles, igns in Libye.	Javan the Father of the Iones. Siden built by Siden the Son of Canaan. Offices & Ifis travel into Greece.	— 22
	Typhen.	The Cabiri settle at Beryins.	
Phanici Past	ian OI Canaanitifb OIS.	The Migration of the Umbri	
1911 Athothes I.	1920 Salatis. 1939 Been.	1915 Ægialens founds the Kingdom of Sicyon. Migration of the Caphiborim. The Dodomaan Oracle found- ed by an Egyptian Priestels.	- -2]
1970 Athothes II	1983 Apachnas.	1967 Europs succeeds Ægialeus. Jostan founds a Kingdom in Arabia.	
2002 Diabies.	·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	200
2021 Pemphes, 2039 Teegar Ama shme,	2020 Apophis.	2011 Tyrfensu leads a Colony into Italy,	٤.
	2081 Janias.	2063 Cres builds Gneffes, and the Temple of Cybels in Cress.	

A Chronological TABLE for the

Julian Period	Year of the World.	Scripture.	Affyrian.
2810	2100	TC how	Fluida Wines
2818	2108	Isaac born.	Herite Kings.
	10 20		
	30		2135 Jobab.
	40		•
	şo		
2868	2158	Shem dies.	•
•	60		•
2878	2168	Esas and Jacob born.	P1# .
	70		2177 Husbam,
	80		
	. 90		
	2200	والمراسط الأمطيووي والمستورون	2219 Hadad.
	10 20		2,19 mm.
	30		
	40	ı	kills Midian.
	50		a - Olab
	60	•	226I Samlah,
	7		<u> </u>
2986	2276	Jeseph sold into Egypt	•
_	80		
3998	2288	Isaac dies.	
3008	90 2198	Jacob goes to Egypt.	•
\$000	2300		
	Io		2303 Saul.
	20		
	30	1	
	40		2345 Baal-Hanan.
	50		
	60		
3079		Jeseph dies.	
	70 80		2387 Hadar.
	90		5307
	2490		A STATE OF THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN 2
	10		
	7.0		2429 Ist Succession of Dukes.
	30		
\$143	2433	Moles poin	•
	40)	•
	S		•
	6	1	2471 2d Succession of Dukes.
	7	and the second s	Adl o he anderson as a miss of
	ş		
	ş	7	' -

Ages succeeding the Flood, from

_	_	•	
Egyptian.		Grecian History.	Year fore hrift
Theban Kings. 2118 Stoechus. 2124 Goformies.	Pastor Kings.	Phonician Colonies fent into Asia and Europe.	1904
2154 Mares.	2131 Affir, the last of the Pastors.	2148 Inachus founds the King- dom of Argos. Affis (call'd Hergules Ægyp- tius by Pausan.) goes to the	
	The Theken Dynasty		
2180 Anoyphes.	in lower Egypt. 2180 Tethnofis.	Affis leads a Colony to Cadiz. Sardus's Son leads a Colony into Sardinia.	
2200 Sirius.		2198 Phoroneus King of Arges.	
2218 Ghnubus Gneurus,	2205 Chebren, 2218 Amenophis I. 2239 Amesses.	2208 Ogygian Deluge.	1804
2245 Ranofis. 2258 Biyris.		2258 Apis King of Arges.	
2168 Saophis.	2261 Mephres.	Tale out. wind of anger	
	2273 Misphragmuth	pofis.	
2297 Senfaophis.	2299 Thmefis.	2293 Argus Beanerges.	
2324 Moscheris.	2309 Amenephis II		170
-3-4 70,000,000	•	•	
2355 Mustbis.	2340 Orns.		
B	2376 Achencheres.		
2388 Pammus Archondes.	2388 Rathofu. 2397 Achencherres	τ.	
			-160
	2410 Achencherres	II.	
2423 Apappus Manimus	2422 Armais. 2426 Ramesses.	-	
Maximus.	2427 Rameses Mis	emû u.	
	-4-1 -6-11-5-1- men	2448 Cecrops founds the Kingdom of Athens.	
		2475 Deucalien's Flood.	ر

2494 Amenophis III.

A Chronological TABLE for the

Tulia	Year '	•	
Perio	d.World.		Affyrian.
	2500		·
3223	2513	Exodus of the Children of Ifrael.	•
	30		
	40		
4263	\$0 2 553	Moses dies.	g in Edem.
440,	60		
		Joshna.	
	70	, , , •	
	80		
-	90		•
	2600		
	10		
	20	Othniel.	•
	30		
	40		
	50	•	
	60	•	
	70	Ehud .	
	90		•
	2700		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	10	,	
	20		•
	30		
	40	•	,
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	90 70	Gideon.	X.
	80		-
	90		
	-		
	2800		
	10	Abimelech.	• •
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	30	*	
	40		
	50 €0	, k	
	70	24.4	•
,	80		
	90		
		\$ 5.1 \$ 5.79 \$	

Ages succeeding the Flood, from

Egyptian.		Grecian History.	before Christ.
Theban Kings. 2523 Echescus Karas. 2524 Niteeris. 2530 Myrtaus.	Sefestris makes great Conquests.	2527 Danans obtains t Kingdom of Arges.	he
2552 Thyofimares.			
2564 Thyrollus.			
2572 Semphucratet.			
2590 Chuter Taurus. 2597 Meres Philosophi	, he died 900 Ye	ars before Heredetsu.	I4 04
2609 Choma Ephta. 2620 Anchunins Ochy.	•		
2680 Penteathyris. 2696 Stamenemes.	26	596 Peleps Son of Tental	
2719 Sift ofichermes.			1304
	E :	xpedition of the Argon	aats,
2774 Maris.			
	S	ancheniathe flourishes.	
2817 Siphoas Hermes 2822 Anonymus. 2836 Phreron vel Ni 2841 Ameribans.	. 18	20 Trey taken,	1204

The TRACTS contained in this Volume.

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TRACT I.

A Discourse on Gen. xxxvi.

Concerning the settlement of Esau's Family, from Mount Seir to Esparan, the antient seat of the Horites: And of the government of that land before and after their settlement: With an enquiry about the times thereof.

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forms us
what per

HIS Chapter falleth naturally into three parts. The first informs us of Esau's Family, what persons it consisted of

before he fettled in Seir, and what title of honour some of them gain'd after they were there. This ends at *1. 19. inclusively.

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The

DISCOURSE ON GEN. XXXVI.

The fecond part speaks of the inhabitants of Seir, who were there before Esau, or any of his posterity had a settlement in that country; and herein is not: any man mention'd, who was of the Family of Elau, or descended from him. This part ends at v. 39. inclusively.

The third returns to consider Esau's issue; particularly the Dukes thereof, who all feem to be another generation of Dukes, issuing from Esau, and who had no contemporary Dukes of the land of Seir, that might share in the government thereof, as those mention'd in the second part did.

Concerning the first part I note.

First, That neither Esau himself, nor either of his Sons, Eliphaz or Revel, arriv'd at the title of Dukes. They therefore, in all probability, were dead before

any establishment of Dukes.

Secondly, I note, that Esau's grandchildren, by both these Sons, are recorded as Dukes. Eliphaz's Sons; 1. Teman; 2. Omar; 3. Zepho; 4. Kenaz; 5. Korah; 6. Gatam; and 7. Amalek; though born of his Concubine Timnah, Lotan's sister. These are in v. 15, 16. Then follow Reugl's Sons; 8. Nahath; 9. Zerah; 104 Shammah:

Shammah; 11. Mizzah; and, in the last place, are nam'd the Sons of Esau himself, by his Wise Abolibamah, whom he seems to have married in his old age, after his sather was dead; at which time Esau was 120 years old.

For it's certain that Aholibamah is none of those first wives taken from the Canaanites, which he saw griev'd his parents, and therefore he took a wife of Ishmael's children, who brought him Revel. Therefore it is not probable that he would marry another Canaanite while his sather was alive. But it is certain that Aholibamah was of a Canaanitish samily; for that's express'd y. 2. of this chapter.

Of her children there are three more Edomite Dukes; 12. Jensh; 13. Jaalam; 14. Korah; and these three by their mother's side were of kindred to the Horites; for she descended from Zibeon, who was an Horite, as is clear, by comparing *\frac{1}{2}. 14, and 29.

Therefore Moses very conveniently having concluded the first part of this chapter, by mentioning these three, passeth in \$2.20 to the second part of it, concerning the old inhabitants of this land, the Horites; from whom Abolibamah descended.

B 2 But,

4 Discourse on Gen. xxxvi.

But, before I discourse concerning the persons mention'd therein, I think fit to premise this observation that I have made concerning the land they dwelt in, viz. That, before this chapter, which teaches the settlement of Esau's Family in this land, it is constantly call'd Seir in Hebrew. In the Samaritan version it's nam'd Gablah; by Jonathan's Targum Gebal; by Josephus Gobolitis; which words being deriv'd from Geboul, signifying a boundary, import that it lay as the boundary of Canaan, on the eastern and southern parts thereof.

But, in this chapter, it is sometimes called Seir, as \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 8, 30. sometimes Edom, \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 16, 17. where it's clearly so call'd, because the Dukes of Esaa's race, by Eliphaz and Reuel, were nam'd just before to be governors there at that time. Yet it's certain, that in both these places it signifies the same land that before was call'd the land of Seir; or Mount Seir; but, in Moses's time, was better known to his people the Jews by the name of its later inhabitants, the sons of Esau, who then possess'd and govern'd it, and were of kindred to the Israelites, their Father being brother to Israel, or Jacob.

And

And doubtless this is the reason why, in a third place in this chapter, viz. in y. 31. that same land which is call'd the land of Seir, y. 30. and is said to have had Dukes of Seir in it, is also said in the next verse to be now call'd Edom, and to have had kings in it before any kings reign'd over Israel. The name of Edom was more known than Seir.

Now we cannot conclude by Moses's calling this land the land of Edom, i. e. of Edomites, when he speaks of kings there, that therefore these kings reign'd over the Edomites, because he often describes places by the names that were afterwards given them, and were more known to the Jews, using a figure call'd Prolepsis.

So he calls that the country of the Amalekites, Gen. xiv. 7. which was not then inhabited by Amalekites, when Chederlaomer invaded and over-ran it. Amalek was not then born, but his posserity dwelt there afterwards, and the Jews understood what country he meant by the name of the Amalekites country. So also he says, Gen. xxxi. 21. that Jacob slying from Laban, set his sace towards Mount B 3 Gilead.

Gilead. That name was not then given to that Mountain, but it was given afterwards, as appears by ½. 47. of that chapter. But he calls it so before, because the place towards which he fled, would be thereby best understood by his readers. There are many examples of this kind, both in sacred and prosane writers.

This being premis'd, I affirm concerning the persons spoken of in the second part of this chapter, that they are all Horices, both the Dukes and the Kings, from 1/2. 20. to the end of 1/2. 39. There is no doubt until we come to 1/2. 31. But many think otherwise of the Kings, which are begun there to be recorded.

First, I affirm that it cannot be prov'd that Beor, the father of Bela, nor that any of the eight Kings, there nam'd, was of the line of Esau. No genealogy of Esau, either in Genesis, or the Chronicles, says any such thing. Moses hath closely join'd these Kings, as being of the same land with the Dukes in Seir, recorded in the verse immediately going before; and, in y. 40. he clearly tells us when he had done with the Horites, and did resume the line of Esau, which he needed not

to have done, if the eight Kings, and Beer, the Father of the first of them, had been of the same line.

This argument justly requires that those, who affirm these eight Kings, with whom Beor, the Father of Bela, must be join'd. to be all nine of them Edomites, should bring proof of it. Affirmentis est probare. But no fuch affirmation can be provid out of the divine records. I know what is offer'd towards it, and could easily shew the insufficiency thereof; but I delight not to shew the weakness of other men's arguments, and chuse therefore rather to propose to the reader's consideration that which most convinces me, that there is no probability, much less any necessity of admitting these nine successions into the line of Efau, over and above those successions which Moses doth expresly own to have been in the line of this twin brother of Jacob. 'Tis this.

I find the successions in these two lines, that are clearly own'd by Moses, to be just equal. Thus:

Jacob, Efau, Levi, Eliphaz, B 4

Cohath,

8 Discourse on Gen. xxxvi.

Cohath, Teman,

Amram, Timnah, or any other of those eleven in *\delta\'. 40. to 43.

Moses, The King of Edom, to whom Moses sent an embassy for passage, Num. xx. 14.

'Tis true, that Esau married two wives, above thirty years sooner than Jacob married; but the issue of those marriages does not appear. And Eliphaz, mention'd as the sirst-born Son of Esau, came of Adah, who doth not appear to be sooner married than Leah, the Wise of Jacob.

This exception, against the parallel of the lines of these twin brothers, being remov'd, I proceed to observe, that the lives of Jacob, and of Esau, and of the issue of each of them, in the interval between their birth, and the time of Moses's death, were, near upon, of a like length. We cannot pretend to exactness in this case, wherein neither Esau's time of death, nor that of any in his line, is given in Scripture; but a near approach to it is sufficient to my purposes. Now we may make such an approach by help of the length

length of the lines of all Jacob's issue to Moses inclusively, because they are all deducible from what Moses hath recorded.

For, the whole interval between Facob's Birth, A. M. 2168, and Moses's Death, A. M. 2553, is found by subduction to be 385; and we may reasonably suppose so many years between Esau's birth, and the death of that King of Edom, with whom Moses treated for passage, who is the last of Esau's issue, in the parallel foregoing. In these years Jacob had only in the line of his Son Levi, which is exactly accounted, these four descents; Levi, Cohath, Amram, Moses. And I can find no more descents from Esau recorded by Moses in this interval, but 1. Eliphaz; 2. Teman; 3. Timnah; or any of his contemporaries, which are in Gen. xxxvi. 40. 4. The King of Edom. That this number of descendants may fill up the interval, is certain, by the example of Jacob's issue.

It feems to me very unreasonable to imagine, that, in the same interval, the descents from one brother should be but four, and yet there should be thirteen descents from the other brother. There is no place to put in these nine supernumerary descents, but between Teman

and

to Discourse on Gen. xxxvi.

and Timnath; so they must all derive from Teman; even Jobab, the son of Zerah, of Bozrah; and yet neither Beor, nor Bela, nor Jobab, nor any other of them is in Scripture own'd to derive from him.

From these considerations I cannot chuse, but I must conclude, that all shese Kings reign'd over the Horites in that land, which is cast'd the land of Seir, \$\frac{y}{2}\cdot 30\cdot as well as it's call'd the land of Edom, \$\frac{y}{2}\cdot 31\cdot And, it is certain that the Horites were the possessor of this land of Seir long before Esau's time, much more before his Sons became Dukes there. Gen. xiv 6. But afterwards Esau's Family subdued them, and possess'd and govern'd this country; and so it became the land of Edom, Deut. ii. 12, 22.

This leads me to the third part of this chapter, under our confideration, which contains only another fuccession of Dukes; all which are affirm'd to have had families, possessions, and governments here. There are eleven of them in number. Kenaz and Teman have names, agreeing with the names of that succession, which is mention'd in the first part of the chapter; but we have no reason to believe that

that they are the same persons, because it's usual for some, in every generation, to take up the names of their ancestors. But, in this case, there seems to be the intervention of much time, and a long war, to subdue the old inhabitants, so far, that no Horites in this race appear to be Dukes, join'd with these descendents from Esau, in the government of the land.

These I reckon to be contemporaries with Amram, of Facob's line, as the other mix'd Dukes were, near the matter, contemporary with Cohath. And, because there are just eleven of this second race of Dukes, as we numbred eleven of Esau's grandchildren in the first race of Edomite Dukes; I think we may reasonably judge that they are the heirs of them, of the first race and consequently the great grandchildren of Efau, Moses assuring us that they all sprang from him. I will set them down with numbers prefix'd as I didin the first race. 1. Timnab; 2. Alvab; 3. Jetheth; 4. Aholibamah; 5. Elah; 6. Pinon; 7. Kenaz; 8. Teman; 9. Mibzar; 10. Magdiel; 11. Iram. And these seem to be recorded, because in them the Aristocrasy was ended, as the first race of Dukes began it.

Having

12 DISCOURSE on GEN. XXXVI.

Having thus declar'd my opinion concerning the three parts of this chapter, the times, when these things here spoken of were done, remain to be enquir'd into; altho' we can hope only to find an approach to them, nothing being given where-

by they may be exactly determin'd.

The best method that I can find, is to begin with the last of Edom's Family, mention'd by us, that is, with that nameless King of Edom, to whom Moses sent an embassy, when he was near his death. This time is determin'd in Armagh's Annals, to be A. M. 2553; and his reign, I suppose, concurrent with Moses's, which began just forty years before, at his departure out of Egypt; deduct forty there remains A. M. 2513; that was the year of Israel's Exodus, in which Moses makes the last mention of Duke's then expiring; it being the beginning of the new Monarchy, must be the end of the Aristocrasy, under the second race of Dukes.

Moses says, Exod. xv. 14. &c. that the neighbouring people, and particularly the Dukes of Edom shall be amaz'd, when they shall hear of the march of the Isralites out of Egypt. It is plain, therefore, that Dukes were their governors at the Exodus; and 'tis most probable, that about

that time they alter'd their form of government, and fet up a King, who should take care of their country in danger, from the approach of so great a body of men as the *Israelites* were.

We read, Gen. xiv. 6. that Chederlaomer over ran the Horites, but was soon after conquer'd by Abraham. This, according to Armagh's Annals, fell out A.M. 2092. We will suppose, therefore, that after this the Horites set up their first King Bela. For, surely, if they liv'd scatter'd without a King before, they would learn by what they suffer'd in that invasion to make a King, under whom they might be united to defend themselves better in the times that should follow.

For this reason we will suppose the Horite kingdom to begin A. M. 2093. From this to the Exodus are 420 years; in which time there happen'd ten successions; eight of Kings, and two of Dukes. This number, equally divided, allows forty-two years to each succession. We pitch upon this equal number of forty-two years to each succession; not because we suppose it to be so in truth and reality, but, because we have no soundation to go upon, whereby an accurate and real division of this interval may be made; and because

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cause such an unaccurate and conjectural division may afford a little light into the times, in which the life and death of Esau, and of his Sons, Eliphaz and Reuel, might

happen in the land of Seir.

There is a remarkable passage join'd to the reign of Hadad, the fourth King of these Horites, viz. That he smote Midian in the field of Moab. Now, by this method that I have us'd, we may make an approach either to the end, or to the beginning of the reign of Hadad, and see about what time of Midian's age, which we may aim at by Abraham's marriage with Keturah, this fell out.

For example, by what I have advanc'd, we conjecture that the end of Hadad's reign, who was the fourth King, was about A. M. 2261. Moses tells us that he smote Midian; and Moses probably recorded this, because it was a calamity to the ancestor of Jethro, his Father-in-law. Now Midian being begotten on Keturah, whom Abraham married about the year 2148, and being the fourth Son, probably was born about 2152; by deducting this out of 2261, we find there remains 109. This assures us that Midian must be smitten by Hadad, before he was 109 years old; tho' this

Discourse on Gen. xxxvi. 15 this blow should be given in the last year of his reign, but probably it was done sooner. And this example gives us a good argument to prove that the Kings in Seir are, with good reason, plac'd before any of Esau's Family were Dukes there, which we have suppos'd to have begun about the year 2429; so that we justly have lest time enough for sour Kings to reign after Midian was smitten, and before the Aristocrasy under Dukes began.

Moreover, upon review of the fuccesfion, of the Dukes of Seir's and of Elau's Family, together with the Kings, who did not reign by inheritance, (no fon, or near kinsman, appearing to come next to the preceding Monarch) but by election, or forcible entry upon the government; it's obvious to conceive, that at the death of Hadar, the last of the eight Kings, the two potent Families of Efau and Seir being link'd together by intermarriages with Efau and Eliphaz, would agree together to hinder any election of a ninth King, and to fettle the government in the form of an Aristocrasy, consisting of 21 Dukes, seven of Seir's race, and 14 of Efau's; and these made the first succession of Dukes. But Esau's Dukes being double in number

to

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to Seir's, would easily be tempted to grasp the whole government into the hands of their Family, without any associates.

They, like their ancestor Esau, liv'd by their swords; and hence follows a war; the event of which appears in the next generation, which is eleven Dukes of Esau's Family, without any Sons of Seir. And it is no wonder, that, in this Aristocrasy, one should get such advantages against the rest, (who probably did not agree among themselves) as to be able in time to turn the Aristocrasy into a Monarchy; so that Moses found a King of Edom, when he was to pass by the borders thereof.

So also, on review of the Kings that anciently reign'd in this land, whether you call it Seir or Edom, is indifferent. I will add, that my opinion, that they were none of Esau's line, is no novelty, nor singularity. For it was the judgment of the most learned Jew Maimonides, long ago, as is own'd by Grotius, in his comment on this chapter.

In the parallel place, I Chron. i. 51. the vulgar Latin translates the Hebrew (I think well) in this sense. Adad autem mortuo duces pro regibus esse cæperunt. The Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint expresses

Discourse on Gen. xxxvi. 17

it thus. Καὶ ἀπέθανεν 'Αδάδ κὰ ἦσαν ἡγεμόνες 'Εδών. Which words are thus translated into Latin by Flaminius Nobilius: Mortuus est Adad, & facti sunt duces.

Moreover, I observe, that because we have plac'd the beginning of the Horite Kings at the year of the world 2093, when Abraham was 85 years old, and the time, or end of the Edomite King, about the end of Moles's life, which was in the year 2553. we shall find the whole interval of the government, in the land of Edom, which we have consider'd in this chapter, to be 460 years; and we may compare the successions in Abraham's line, which Moses hath given in Scripture, distinguish'd by certain undeniable times, with those successions, which he hath recorded of the Horite Kings and Dukes, but hath not express'd their times, but only given us their order, and some grounds of probability, estimating their times. Thus, when Abraham was about 85 years old, he overthrew Chederlaomer's forces, and gave the Horites, that had been invaded by him, reafon and opportunity to fet up their first King.

This, and the other successions, are, in the following table, reduc'd to probable synchronisms.

C Abra-

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TO DISCOURSE	on Gen. XXXVI.
A. M.	
2091 Abraham overthrows Chederlaomer.	Bela elected King of the Horstes. 2093
	Jobab, Son of Zerab, of
	Bozrab. 2135
2152 Midian born.	:
2168 Esan and Jacob born.	77 A C . N 1
11	Husham, of the land of Temani. 2177
2345 Jacob flies to Laban.	
2248 Levi born. Eilphaz	dad: 2219
probably about the	Kills Midian.
fame time.	
2.10	Samlah of Masrekah. 2261
1265 Jacob returns to Ca-	
naan.	
2288 Jacob and Esau bury	Esau dwells in Seir.
Isaac.	
2298 Jacob goes into Egyps.	Saul of Reboboth. 2303
2319 Jacob dies. Esan	
probably about the	
fame time.	
2369 Foseph dies.	Baalhanan of Achbor. 2345
2385 Levi dies. Eliphaz	
and Reuel about	•
the fame time.	
	Hadar. 2387
1429 Cobath dies.	Aristocrasy of twenty-one
	Dukes. 2420
Amram dies.	Aristocrasy of cleven
•	Dukes. 2471
1513 Exodus.	A King of Edom. 2513
2553 Meser dies.	

We

We are fure, that from Abraham's victory over Chederlamer, to Moses's death, are 460 years; the same sum of years must be allow'd to the Horite Kings and Dukes, reckoning all the years of that King, to whom Moses sent an embassy.

Now, because we are sure that the seven persons in the line of Abraham sill'd up 460 years, and eleven in the Horite line sill'd up no more time, it's certain that we did not make too great an allowance of time, by giving 336 years to the eight Kings, and 84 years to two successions of Dukes, and forty to the King of Edom, contemporary to Moses; for these particulars make just the sum of 460.

Nevertheless, we acknowledge, that we cannot determine exactly any of the particular reigns by a number of years, and therefore pretend only to approaches; no number of years of the *Horites*, or of the Dukes government, being given us by *Mofes*, whereupon an exact calculation might be founded.

Lastly, I note, that my method in counting the times in the foregoing table is the more reasonable, because therein clearly appears a just cause why neither Esau, nor his Sons Eliphaz and Revel, are ever styl'd Dukes, altho' his grandchildren have

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that title given them by Moses, viz. because Esau, Eliphaz and Reuel, liv'd their time out before the Monarchy of these eight Kings was dissolv'd; out of the ruins whereof the Aristocrasy under the Dukes arose.

The example of Esau, who, by this table, liv'd in the times of Samlah and Saul, will illustrate the whole matter; for it's certain that he liv'd not only when Jacob return'd from Laban's service into Canaan, and was, as Jacob was, 97 years old, in the year of the world 2265, but also at his Father's burial, in 2288, he was 120 years old. Both these years, by our accounts, in the table, sall to be in Samlah's reign; and Esau probably liv'd as long as Jacob, who died 2315, which salls near the middle of Saul's time.

Now, while the Horite Monarchy stood, Esau and his Family most probably were mere sojourners in Seir, as his ancestors Abraham and Isaac were in Canaan. There is no proof that either Esau, or Eliphaz, made any war or conquest in Seir; Esau indeed had 400 men with him when he met Jacob; but his grandfather Abraham had near that number not long after his entry into Canaan, yet made no conquest of the Canaanites, and

DISCOURSE on GEN. XXXVI. 21 and liv'd among them by permission; the world was then but thin of people.

There was a part of Seir which was call'd the field of Edom, as our margin well renders the Hebrew word Shedah, Gen. xxxii. 3. And I believe the word country, which is in the text, is not so good a translation as the word field in the margin; because the word Shedah, when join'd with a fingle person, as here with Edom or Esau, never tignifies a whole country, but always expresses a portion or part of a country, specified or limited by the occupation of that fingle person. I will point out a few places of Scripture, where its clearly so us'd. The field of Ephron, Gen. xxiii. 13. Gen. xlix. 29, 32. Every man's field bought by Joseph, Gen. xlvii. 20. Caleb's gift of a field to his daughter, Josh. xv. 18. Naomi's field, Ruth iv. 5. Many more places might be added.

Therefore I collect, that in the place where the field of *Edom* is mention'd, we must understand that part of *Seir* where now *Esau* was occupant, as dwelling there himself, and his family, and there feeding his cattle, as *Jacob* did his in *Canaan*. And, in this sense, the words are paraphras'd in the *Targums*, both of *Onkelos*, and of *Ben-*C 3 Uzziel.

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Vzziel. The like habitation, in part of Seir, Esau's Sons, Eliphaz and Reuel had all their lives without the title of Dukes; running near a parallel with Jacob's fon Levi, who died in the year 2385, before the reign of Hadar, the last King of the Horites, according to our table.

At the death of Hadar, the issue of Esau, then living, had a fair opportunity to use the interest they had, by alliances with Seir's Family, and by their own fwords, whereby they were to live, to obstruct the election of another King; and in confociation with Sein's children, to divide the dominion over that country among themselves, in form of an Arittocrafy, confishing of the Dukes mention'd in the first part of the chapter. For no government is so easily dissolv'd as an elective Monarchy, in the vacancy. And its evident, that among these Horite Kings, not one of them succeeded his Father. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe there was a war, whereby the Horites were conquer'd, and Esau's posserity got the entire dominion of that country; which yet allow'd at the first seven Dukes of the Harite nation. See Deut. ii. 12.

The

DISCOURSE on GEN. XXXVI. 23

The words, the children of Esau, do not express that E/au himself destroy'd the Horites; nor can they be appropriated to Eliphaz or Revel so naturally, as to those who got authority, titles of honour, with habitations, and land of their possession, which are ascrib'd to the last Dukes. Gen. xxxvi. 43. And Moses, by his embassy to the King of Edom, owns the fovereignty then to be in him: but it had been in Dukes for all that space that pass'd between the end of Hadar, the last King of the Horites, and the departure of I/rael out of Egypt; answering to the distance in 7acob's line, between the end of Cobath's life, and Amram's life, after the death of Cohath



C₄ TRACT



TRACT II.

A Discourse on Deut. ii. 23.

The Avim which dwelt in Hazerim, even unto Azzah; the Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead

EREIN is prov'd that these Caphtorim and Philistim came out of Egypt, and that the time of this migration was about the time of the first Phanician King Salatis, who reign'd in Caphtor, which they relinquish'd.

Moses, in the words of this verse, and of the two next before it, mentions three examples in which God's Providence had appear'd, to root out one nation, and plant another in its place; endeavouring thereby to encourage the Israelites to believe that he could, and would, according to his promise

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 25 mise to their progenitors, subdue the Canaanites before them, and place them in Canaan, their land.

Thus T He had cast out the Zanzummin before the Ammonites. V. 20, 21 2. The Horim before the children of their brother Esau, y. 22. Thus: 3. He had destroy'd the Avim by the hands of Caphtorim. I have undertaken here only to discourse of this third instance, because I conceive that the history of the Phanicians in Egypt, which I have discours'd of largely in a foregoing Volume may give fome light to this text, by helping us to some knowledge of the time, and the cause of the Caphtorim's migration out of their former country into Canaan: And I believe that this migration of theirs being recorded in the divine history by Mofes, will prepare us the more willingly to give credit to those few ancient testimonies that remain concerning the wars of those old Canaanites, or Phanicians in Egypt, that dwelt and reign'd there long before the Family of Facob came thither.

For our reason will assure us that such considerable people as the *Caphtorim* and *Philissim* will appear to be, would not leave their native country, especially so rich a soil

foil as Egypt, and pass thro' some days march of wilderness to come into Canaan, to fight for land to live on, if they had not been greatly distress'd in their former habitations. And I am fure, that other cause of diffress to them, there appears none in the remaining history of those times, but only this of the Phanician war. On the contrary, it's certain that all the planters in Egypt had pass'd thro' Canaan before they could come into Egypt, and therefore intended not to stay in Canaan, if they might quietly enjoy the pleasures of Egypt. Wherefore, their leaving a fettlement which they had there, being attested by divine writ, will be a great inducement to believe those human writings, that inform us that there were great troubles in Egypt about that time, when these nations came to feek new feats in Canaan.

It's evident that Moses had no necessity lying upon him to express the times, or occasions of those revolutions, whereby the Zanzummin were ejected by the Ammonites, and the Horim by the Edomites, and therefore hath said nothing of them; as he hath silently pass'd over also the times and occasion of the Avim's being ejected by the Caphtorim. It's likely those things were then

DISCOURSE ON DEUT. ii. 22. 27 then fufficiently known to those Israelites... that knew any thing of ancient history. concerning the country they went to poffess. It was sufficient to his purpose, by these examples, to prove that the Canaanites were not invincible, and that therefore they had reason enough to believe that God, according to his promise, could, and would cast out these remainders of them before them. Wherefore, we also may justly feek for the time, and occasion of this migration of the Caphtorim into the country of the Avim, out of other records of antiquity, as the Israelites did in these cases, wherein Moses, by his silence, did fufficiently refer them to take information from other hands. And, therefore, tho' I could not hope at this distance of time and place to be fo well inform'd of this matter, as the Israelites in Moses's time might be, yet I resolv'd to get the best intelligence I could, by making these three enquiries.

1. Who these Avim were, and how much of the land of Canaan they dwelt in?

2. What were these Caphtorim, and the Philistum, who, in several places of Scripture, are join'd with them, whence did they

- 28 DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. they come to invade the Avim, and settle themselves in their land?
- 3. What was the time, and the occasion of this their migration, and forcible entry into their country? To these enquiries I shall offer the best answers that I can find in three distinct sections of this chapter.



SECTION I.

In Answer to the first Enquiry.

Believe that these Avim were of the posterity of Canaan, because the whole land, promis'd to Abraham's seed, is generally call'd the land of Canaan, as posses'd by his children before Abraham; and because Jonathan Ben-Uzziel, in his paraphrase on Deut. ii. 23. expressly calls the Avim a remnant of the Canaanites. Particularly among the several families of them, it's plain, that the name of that tribe of them, which is call'd Hivites, comes nearest to the name of Avim. The difference in the vowels is inconsiderable, because

hecause those are easily chang'd into each other, and, in the confonants, there is only this small difference, that one hath Air. the other Cheth; which being letters of the same organ, are frequently chang'd, and these gutturals more frequently than any other letters. Proofs of this are abundantly given, both by the Fewilh and Christian Criticks, which I need not repeat. probable that this fmall change was made to distinguish this branch of the Hivites, that was feated in the most fouthern parts of Canaan, from that other part of the fame Hivites, which dwelt in the northern parts, mention'd Jud. iii 3. about Mount Libanus, from Baal Hermon, unto the entring into Hamath, mention'd also 70f. xi. 3. It's certain, from the text of Scripture, that the Hivites were scatter'd in diverse other parts also of the land, as at Gibeon, not far from Jerusalem, Jos. ii. 19. at Sichem, near Samaria, Gen. xxxiv. 2. Besides, that I have prov'd in a dislinct discourse about the Horim, that some of them at least were of this Family, and dwelt in Mount Seir, and that the bounds of the Horites touch'd upon Elparan, which we shall shew was about the bounds of these Avim. The LXX agree fully to this notion, for they translate them by Evain, the common name of all the Hivites.

Hivites. So also doth the vulgar Latin call them Hevæi, as it doth all the Hivites. This may suffice to be said of the Family of this people; only I may add, that Gen. xxxvi. 35. the city Avith is mention'd as belonging to Hadad, a King there. This, I believe, had its name from these Avim, or Hivites, from whence the Horim, in that country, were deriv'd.

As for the part of Canaan, in which they dwelt before the invalion, mention'd in this text, Moses determines it by these words in our translation, they dwelt in Hazerim unto Gaza. Gaza is here fet as the farthest considerable place northwards. which was within their bounds: their fouthern bounds therefore feem not to be mention'd here by Moses, because it was the same known southern bound of Canaan, which was the River Sihor, Josh. xiii. 3. call'd fometimes the River of Egypt, because it was the nearest river of Canaan towards Egypt; altho' there was a great deal of land between that river and Pelusium, where Egypt properly begun: For the land between them was defart, and is express'd by the LXX, by aoixiflor, the uninhabited place, Josh. xiii. 3. They also translate the stream of Egypt by Pivonogéça, Isa. xxvii. 12. making that the

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 3.1 the fame river which the Scripture calls Sihor.

Now, whereas these people are, in the text Deut. ii. 23. said to dwell in Hazerim, our translation (because there might be some doubt about the signification of the word) hath kept the original word, which the feptuagint also hath done, with a little alteration in its termination; this courfe being thought safest by them, (as indeed it's fure not to translate amiss. when it doth not translate at all.) Nevertheless, reserving the honour due to our translation, I think we may easily follow the Samaritan Version in this case, (that ing probably elder than the LXX.) wherein it's plainly translated they dwelt in villages, or small towns, consisting of scatter'd houses, or hutts. For, First, it's evident that the original word חצר Hbazar, often fignifies fo, of which fufficient proof may be seen in Dr. Castle's Lexicon; yea, the septuagint it self often translates it so, as may be seen in Kircher's Concordance, to full satisfaction. Secondly, In the Scripture there are feveral towns nam'd which have Hazar set before them, and mostly they are in the fouth part of Judea, which are all towns of the lesser note: not one great

great city among them; Hazar - Addar. Hazar Gaddah, Hazar-Shuah, Hazar-Shu-Sab, Hazar-Enna, Hazar Hatticon. This last town is in Ezekiel xlvii, 16, in our translation in the margin, express'd by the middle village. Thirdly, In those old times. before Abraham's coming into Canaan. (who certainly came thither after the Philistins, and their brethren the Caphtoring, had cast out the Avim, and were there settled in their flead,) there were very few great cities in any part of Canaan. None are mention'd in this furthest fouthern part; and it's likely they had none but Gaza, or very few, but that they dwelt fcatter'd in tents, huts, and fmall towns, and that they liv'd on pasturage. Therefore I chuse to translate the word Hazerim by villages, this best agreeing with the state of this country in those elder days.

Hereunto I will add, that the Arabick translation doth not take Hazerim for the name of a single town, but (intimating that it imports a large territory, comprehending many villages) expresses the whole country by the name of Rephah, which seems to point at the country of Repham. And, whereas the Targums, both of Onkelos, and of Jonathan, express this countries.

try

Discourse on Deut. ii. 23. 33 try by Dephiah, (which name I find no where but in them as now printed.) I cannot forbear thinking, that the first letter of that word, Daleth, is, by some mistake or corruption, put instead of Resh. and that the Targumists meant to express the same name of the country that is in the Arabick. 'Tis certain that Raphwa is the name of at least a considerable part of this country; and, accordingly it appears, both in Pliny, l. v. c. 13. where he faith that Raphæa is seated inward from Rhinocolura. In Antoninus's Itinerary, Rapa is feated in the mid-way, between Gaza and Rhinocolura. The fum of the distance of these two last, which contain the full length of the country, from the river Sihor to Gaza, which Moses points at, is, by Antoninus's tables, 44 miles. So Antoninus happily gives the length of the country of the Avim which we were feeking. But the breadth of it, from the west or midland fea towards the east. I can find no better way to determine than by the help of our maps, placing the towns which the Philistins, who succeeded in their places, did hold. In general they feem not to have posses'd many miles from the sea in-Wards, yet to have held more in the inland.

land, about their fouth border, than to-wards their northern borders. To compensate their streights in breadth, they enlarg'd their dominions northwards to Ekron, and beyond it, after they had subdu'd the Avim; whose bounds Moses hath not express'd to be further north than Azzah, which is agreed to be call'd Gaza by the Greeks, and is not so far northwards as Ekron.

Now Antoninus's tables are before me. I will here add out of them this note, that the distance between Rhinocolura and Pelusum, the great pass into Egypt, is stated there to be 90 miles, thus, from Rhinocolura to Ostracena 24; thence to Cassius-Mons 26: thence to Peutascinum 20; thence to Pelusium 20 miles. This I note, because I confide much more in Antoninus's Itinerary, than in Pliny's account, which feems to shorten this distance. And I note this distance, because it will inform us how far the Caphtorim and Philistins were to march thro' a defart country before they came to the nearest part of the Avin's country, which they invaded and fubdued; tho this, I believe, they would never have attempted to do, if they had not been greatly distress'd in their former seat.

I will

I will conclude this fection with a note. that these Avim are once more mention'd as vet remaining, in some part of their body, even in this country, where our text intimates that they were destroy'd. It is in Josh. xiii. 3. There God is telling Jos shua what people remain'd, and he reckons up the five Lords of the Philift ns, and then joins to them the Avim; which feems to import that there were fome remnants of them among the Philist ns; tho' they had no Lord of their own tribe or body, but were govern'd by the Philislin Lords; as kept only to be their flaves and drudges in the meanest services: Yet, probably, they were spar'd by agreements, made after the conquest of them. Let us now proceed to our fecond fection.



SECTION II.

Our second Enquiry about Caphtorim and Philistim.

Have join'd these two together in this enquiry, altho' the *Philistins* are not **D** 2 mention'd

36 Discourse on Deut.on. 123

mention'd in the text of Deuteronomy. which we are explaining, because Moses himself puts them together in his first book, Gen. x. 14. when he reckons them both among the issue of Mizraim; whereby we are assur'd that they are of the same Family, and consequently to be distinguish'd from all the tribes of the Canaanites, whose land, the text tells us, they invaded So also they are closely connected by Jeremy, xlvii. 4. where he tells us the Philistins were a remnant of the country, (or Isle) of Caphtor; which informs us that they came out of the Caphtorim's country, the isle of Caphtor. And so also Amos ix. 7. God owns that he brought the Philistins from Caphter; which certainly relates to this migration, or invasion, mention'd in our text; and assures us that they came together in the same army to feek new feats in the Avim's country, which we have describ'd. Now, because Moses, Deut. ii. 23. mentions only the Caphtorim as principal in deducing and leading this colony, and both the Prophets forenam'd give the pre eminence to Caphtor, as denominating the country whence they both came: Therefore I shall first, and most largely discourse about the Caphtorim, altho' the Phalistine, in

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 37 in later times, carry'd the name of the country wherein they fettled, and became Lords of the five Satrapies, into which that country was divided, Josh. xiii. 3. Yea, because they had the sea-ports, and consequently the foreign trade of that country. They were so famous, that all that country. which the Scripture calls Canaan, which was much larger than the Philifin's dominion, was by the Greeks call'd Palæstina, from their name, as if they were the only considerable people in that region: But for this honour they are beholden to the Greek's ignorance of all the inland country. They gave a name answerable to their little knowledge, which extended not far

But I must return to the text of Moses, which I have chosen to explain; wherein I observe, that Moses describes this victorious people the Caphtorim, by the place from whence they remov'd, as more famous, and better known in his time than they were; and the name of that then celebrated city and territory was Caphtor. So likewise Jeremy and Amos, in the places above quoted, speak of Caphtor, as the antiently samous seat of the Philistins. But

beyond the coasts of it, with which they

had some correspondence.

it's a great difficulty to find where this so renown'd place was. Horace's saying is true.

— Cadentque,

Que nunc sunt in honore vocabula.— Names that are once in honour, tho' they be of great men, and great places, may fall into obscurity; nevertheless, we will try whether we can retrieve their lost honour, and restore them to their same. Perhaps the other sentence in *Horace* may prove as true.

Multa renascentur que nunc cecidere...-So it's possible that the dead same of these people, and their country, may be born again, and rife out of the grave of oblivion. in which they have been long buried. To this purpose we may take it for evident, that this name Caphtorim being in the plural number, is deriv'd from its fingular, · Caphtor; as their brethren the Philistins are from Pelishah, which I find in the Sa-. mari an version of Gen. xiv. 6. us'd to expreis either a place in the border of their country, or rather their country it self bordering on El-paran. So also the Canaanim, are from the fingular Canaan; and many like examples may be brought. I will add only, that the Sinim are prov'd denominated from Sin by Bochart.

It

It remains still a difficulty to find out this place Caphtor, which we will now attempt to remove. To this end I will summarily set down what my opinion is; I. Concerning the place it self; 2. Concerning the reason of this name Caphtor, which antiently belong'd to it, among diverse other names, which, for several reasons, have been given to the same place at different times, and by different people.

r. The place I believe to be that which in Hebrew, is call'd Sin; in Chaldee Tin, by an usual change of S into T. The Greeks call it Pelusium, and this most frequently; out of the ruins of which rose Tamiathos, Tamiata, by the Arabians, and our modern writers, from them it's now call'd Damiata, standing not far from the old place of Pelusium, and now usually counted as the same city, serving still to guard the pass into Egypt, which was the chief use of this place.

This city, with the territory about it, being the only passage into, and out of Egypt, by land from Asia, and standing also on the Tanitic mouth, or Ostium of Nile, was a great pass also by water, and was always esteem'd, and fortify'd as the great frontier garrison of the kingdom of D 4

Egypt; and is, by the prophet Ezekiel, xxx. 15. call'd the strength thereof. Our margin there translates Sin by Pelusium, very well; as do also Jonathan Ben Uzziel and the vulgar Latin. Plutarch intimates this town to be built before the death of Osiris, that is, Mizraim, who was carry'd out of Egypt by the Tanitic mouth, or Osium of Nile, nam'd from that town, as then built; and also more expresly he affirms Pelusium to be built by the Goddess Isis, the wife of Osiris. Many more authorities might be added to prove the antiquity and great importance of this city to that whole kingdom; but this does only lead the way to my proofs, that this, with its territory, is truly the Caphtor which we seek.

My first argument to prove this, is from the Arabick translation of the Pentateuch, (which the most learned Dr. Pocock owns, and proves to be made by Rabbi Saudias, about 900 years after Christ's birth;) both in Gn x. and in our text, the Caphtorim are translated the men of Damiata. And Caphtor, in our text, is expressly translated Damiata, which signifies this passage into Egypt, and the people or country about it,

Now,

Now, altho' Saadias, was a very learned Tew, well skill'd, both in the Scripture, and the traditions of the Fews, being one of their great Doctors at Sorah, a Tewish academy, of the rank call'd Geonim, or the excellent; yet I know that many will oppose to him the Septuagint's translating, in our text, the word Caphtor by Cappadocia: and the Targums, and others that follow them. To which I answer, I That both the Septuagint, and the vulgar Latin which here follows them, do not well agree with themselves; for in Gen. x. 14. they do not translate Caphtorim by Cappadocians, but keep to the Hebrew, being doubtful, or unwilling to translate it.

Decad. before his Comment on St. Mark, \$ 2. where he propounds de Pelusio pauca, hath suggested an observation about the Jews notion of Cappadocia; which does not only shew that they meant not thereby Cappadocia in Asia the Less, as the Greeks do when they use that word, but that constantly they use it for Damiata, or Pelusium. Now this shews not only that those mistake their meaning who understand them in the Greek's sense, but brings all the Jewish authority, among which the Septu-

Septuagint must be reckon'd to my side: And this he proves from the clear words of Maimonides, and of Kimchi, citing the judgment of Rabbi Saadias. Therefore Buchart, who cites those that translate Caphtor by Cappadocia, as if they meant it otherwise, hath mistaken their sense. The Fews often disguise names to hide their meaning from the Gentiles: Yet they know that their brethren would understand their fense. So they often call Rome Edom, vet do not mean the country about mount Seir; and they often express us Christians by the name of Chuthites, or Cushites, yet don't think us descended from Chuth, nor that we live in Asia. So they call'd their enemies the Caphtorim, Cappadocians, tho' they knew they liv'd at the entrance of Egypt; only for a little agreement in the first syllable of the names, and to express them by a name that was odious among them, as the names of the Edomites and Cuthites are.

Wherefore I give great credit to Maimonides in this case, both because he was an Egyptian born, and bred there, and could not be ignorant by what names the Jews call'd the nearest parts of that country to Canaan; and also, because herein he doth not declare his own single opinion in a philo-

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 43 a philosophical matter, wherein he sometimes took liberty to depart from the common opinion of his brethren the Jews, but plainly declares only what was the true sense of a Talmudical word, wherein we are sure he was not singular, but agreed with Saadias, who liv'd before him.

My fecond argument to prove that the Caphtorim dwelt in Egypt, and probably in the nearest part of it to Canaan, is founded in Moses's express affirmation, that they were descended from Mizraim, whom all confess to have settled there, and there to have reign'd over his own issue, together with fuch others as follow'd his conduct thither. No remoter part of Egypt, or Africa, is recorded in any antient author to have been the feat of these people; this part near Pelusium would fooner than any remoter part, invite and enable them to remove into Canaan, a neighbouring country, if they could not fafely or quietly stay in their first settlement.

And I shall easily shew that this part of Egypt was most infested by these Cana-anites, who made long war, and reign'd fix successions in Egypt: Because this pass between Canaan and Egypt was necessary for

for them to hold, that thereby they might give entrance to such succours as they might need from the Canaanites, their brethren settled in Canaan; and, also, that this way they might have a safe retreat to go back to their brethren in Canaan, if they should be forc'd to quit the possession of Egypt, which they had gain'd, as it appears by the history that they did when they were distress'd by Amosis.

Besides this, it's evident that these Egyptian inhabitants, about this pass, being for these reasons ejected by the Canaanites, invading their country, had great reason rather to remove into a quieter place in Canaan, where they were likely to meet with little opposition by the inhabitants of unwall'd villages, (the Hazerim in the text) than to seek new seats in Egypt, where the Canaanites were for a long time victorious, and had taken Memphis itself.

They might also be mov'd to avenge themselves on the Avim in Canaan, as the kindred of those who had distress'd them in Egypt, and might also hope to draw back the conquering Canaanites, from prosecuting their victories so as to press into the upper Egypt, lest they should take Diospolis itself, which we find they did not

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 45 not conquer, but fet up their kingdom in the Lower Egypt, which they held above 200 years; and then were forc'd out of it, and return'd into Canaan.

For these reasons, consider'd together with what I have faid before, I believe that the Egyptians, planted near this pass and appointed to defend it, were the Caphtorim, mention'd by Moses in the text; yet I deny not that others of that then diffres'd country might join with them in that migration. None could hinder these from going out, because the command of the passage was in their own hands. The Canaanites (as we have elsewhere shew'd) were within Egypt before the war began, and had been allow'd to help to people the country, as friends descended from Canaan, the brother of Mizraim. But this war was begun on delign to get the fovereignty into their own hands. Wherefore, as it was necessary for them to be masters of this pass, so it was necessary for those Egyptians, that should have defended it, when they were overpower'd by the Canaanites, to fly out of Egypt, and get thro' the defart near them into Canaan, the next country, where they might hope to dwell comfortably; and the passage or distance between

tween *Pelusium* and *Rhinocolura*, was but ninety miles, by the longest reckoning; and it was not very hard to provide themselves of necessary food and water to support them, till they came thirher.

3. Supposing (that which is agreed by the learned Bochart, and all others that I know of) that these Caphtorim and Philistins were first settled with their father Mizraim in Egypt, I argue, that it was not possible, or at least in no degree probable, that they should have gone out from thence into Colchis and Cappadocia, in any time between the death of Mizraim, and the time when Abraham came into Canaan, and there sound the Philistins settled in the Avim's country, and sojourn'd among them, Gen. xxi. 34.

It's clear that Abraham was there, about Gerar and Beersheba, when Isaac was born: At Gerar in the year of the world 2107; and Isaac was born the next year 2108, according to the Hebrew chronology, well stated in Armagh's Annals. The text saith, that there he sojourn'd a long time; but how long before the league with Abimelech, there mention'd, is not expressed; only it's certain, that he had been there so long, that Abimelech and Phicol had

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 47 had opportunity to fee that God was with him (or that he prosper'd eminently) in all that he did.

The time of Mizrain's death is not for certain, being not determin'd by Moles: but we have in the former volume determin'd it by help of other authors. Now, all the time. from Mizraim's death to Abraham's league with Abimelech, and long (about 70 years) after, till near the time of his death, A.M. 2183, we have provid, that especially the Lower Egypt, out of which the Caphtorim must come, (if ever they went to Cappadocia) was harais'd with perpetual wars of the Canaunites upon them, in the reign of their fix kings; and, they all that time kept the pass, by which only it was possible to go out of Egypt into Asia; and Fosephus asfures us it was call'd by them Abaris, which is a Canaanitish, or Hebrew word, signifying the pass yer: And he informs us also. that, in relation to those dismal times to Egypt, it was call'd Sethron, and Urbs Typhonia: Seth being (as Plutarch assures us) the Egyptian name of Typhon, the great enemy of their Gods, or first kings.

Now it's plain that those Egyptians, who dwelt about this pass, before the Canaanites, that were within, had taken it,

or

or at the taking of it, might, either by their own choice or agreement, go away, and feek new habitations, as the Caphtorim did; but after the Canaanites had it, they would never fuffer their enemies to go out of Egypt that way: And if we should grant that some Egyptians did pass this way to Cappadocia, let it be consider'd what a long journey they must take, thro' how many defarts, over how many mountains they must go. They must go thro' all Canaan, and there they should meet with the kindred, and friends of those that had distress'd them in their own country. How unlikely is it that they should force their way thro' the feveral potent tribes of Canaanites, there fettled in wall'd cities? And that they should conquer not only those which lay fouth of Libanus, but those also that lay farther northwards, which Folhua had no commission to invade when he succeeded Moses?

Lastly, they must pass thro' much of the dominions of the Assyrian monarchy under Nimrod, or Ninus, or his successors, for this contain'd most of Asia; particularly Cappadocia, as Diodorus testifies, which was, as Josephus notes, so formidable, that Salatis the first Phanisian King in Egypt, thought

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 49 it necessary to fortify this pass into his kingdom most solicitously, lest the Assyrians should break in upon him. How impossible then was it for a small part of the distress'd Egyptians to undertake to pass forcibly thro, or settle in his dominions.

The prudent reader will observe that the fore-mention'd confiderations are all limited to the times before the birth of Isaac; in which the kingdom of the Lower Egypt was very weak, and that of the Af-Gyrians strong, as we learn from heathen history; for Moses did not concern himself to write any more of the foreign history than what had influence on the Jews, whom he govern'd. Hence we have from him little more than this migration of the Caphtorim, which it was useful to record, because it afforded an argument to support the Jews faith, and hope that the Canaanites might well, thro' God's assistance to them, be conquer'd by them, fince a confiderable body of them, the Avim had been fubdu'd by a small part of the Egyptians, (the Caphtorim and Philistin) who yet were unable to keep the pass, the frontier of their kingdom, against another part of the Canaanites, who were seated in Egypt.

E

Besides

Besides, it's to be observed, that this place inform'd them of the original of this body of men, who inhabited part of Canama, by virtue of an antient conquest which they had made, and shew'd that they were not of those Canamites, whose land God promis'd to the Israelites, but were originally Egyptians, whose land God never promis'd to Abraham's seed; and accordingly I do not find in the Scriptures that the Jews did ever make such a compleat conquest of the Philistins, as to root them out, and to become masters of their land.

But I must return to the consideration of fuch heathen history as may be concern'd in the enquiry before us. It is alledg'd from Herodotus, that the Colchi are of Egyptian original, and particularly deriv'd from the Castuehim, mention'd Gen. x. 14. with intimation also, that the Caphtorim and Philistim arose from them. And hence the learned Bochart endeavours to infer. that these Caphtorim, who conquer'd the Avim, came from the neighbourhood of Colchis in Cappadocia: But I deny that this will follow, for the Cassuchim might be the progenitors of Caphtorim and Philistim, (and other people too) and yet might and did remain in Egypt long after the time when

when Abraham sojourn'd in the Philistins land in Canaan. The Caphtorim and Philistins might be gone into Canaan, and yet leave other branches of the Cassuchim in Egypt, who might grow into great numbers (as Isaac's posterity did) in the space of 3 or 400 years.

And I am fure there is no history of the invasion of Colchis from Egypt until Sesofiris's time. He indeed is affirm'd in hiflory to have built a great navy, and to have made a voyage into the Euxine sea, and to have left some of his followers about Colchis: But his time is best stated by the learned Armagh, to be the same with his brother Danaus's time, which certainly was near the departure of Israel out of Egypt. I can allow fuch a colony out of Egypt when it was grown strong and populous; but I can't believe there was any fuch colony led into Cappadocia before the Philistins were planted in the parts of Canaan, about Gaza; (which is the whole business before us:) and I see as little, or less reason to believe that so early any, who were originally Egyptians, came out of Cappadocia to conquer the Avim, even in those early times, before Isaac was born.

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I have

I have already shew'd that the 7ews. who translate Caphtor by Cappadocia do not mean that country near Colchis, but Pelusium, or the parts of Egypt near it. Bochart's argument drawn from Side, (in Cappadocia) signifying in Greek a pomegranate, as Caphtor doth in Hebrew, will not prove his conclusion. 1. Because there is no proof that the Cappadocian Side is fo ancient as the Caphtorim. 2. Because it's certain by Scripture, that there are many places taking their name from Rimmon, which fignifies a pomegranate, as Caphtor doth, which yet were not the antient feat of the Caphtorim; so in Judah's lot there is a Rimmon, Josh. xv. 32. A Gath-Rimmon in Dan's Josh. xix. 45. Towards the wilderness the rock of Rimmon, Judg. xx. 45, 47. In Simeon's lot, I Chron. iv. 32. Another of Merari's children, I Chron. vi. 77.

I pass over some other Rimmons, because these are sufficient to prove that argument to be inconclusive. Indeed the whole land of Canaan was a land of Pomegranates, Deut. viii. 8. Num. xiii. 23. And so are other eastern countries; and cities may take their names thence, or from the Syrian Deity Rimmon, and yet be wholly unconcern'd in the original of these antient Caphtorim.

Thus

Thus I have finish'd the proofs, which I think most material to determine the first thing, that Caphtor is the city Pelusium, and the country adjacent thereunto, and to answer the chief objections against this mine opinion.

The fecond enquiry is, what reason can be assign'd why this place should be call'd Caphtor? Which is the more needful to be enquir'd into, because it must be confess'd that this place is call'd by other names more frequently, and Caphtor only in those three texts which I have nam'd before; which all relate to this migration, which we are considering, and consequently to that time or age only in which it was perform'd.

To this enquiry, therefore, I shall answer, by giving, first, that account which I think most probable; and then, secondly, I shall report such other accounts as I have met with, and shew how far they may be consistent with mine.

The account that I think most likely I shall deliver by these degrees. 1. I take this not to be the common or most usual name of the place, but a kind of title of honour, which this place had by reason of E 3 its

its great importance to the whole kingdom of Egypt, which I before pointed at. So the Sultan's court, at Constantinople, is called the Port. So Jerusalem is call'd Ariel, which signifies the Lion of God, in Isaiab xxix. 1, 2, 7. So Derbent is call'd Porta Caspia, or Ferrea. Other instances of such significant titles may be found.

2. That Caphtor, as an appellative noun, fignifies an artificial large Pomegranate, or Globe, fuch as antiently were fet at the top, or the head of their noble pillars in stately buildings; and, accordingly, the Septuagint renders the word Epaiguline. Such were the heads of Jachin and Boaz, the great pillars in Solumin's Temple, as is express'd I Kings vii. 41, 42. where the setting them up is describ'd; and Ferem. lii. 22. where their ruin is bewail'd Now because the heads or chapiters of pillars are their chief and peculiar ornament, most noted by spectators, the several orders of them are commonly distinguish'd by their heads; and they give name and esteem to the whole pillars; whether of the Doric, Ionic, Corintbian, or Composite order; and a violent blow on the chapiter of a pillar, (such as from a battering Ram in old times, DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 55 or a great cannon bullet in later days) threatens the fall of the whole pillar; yea, of all the building supported by it.

Now, because the well-fortify'd pass into Egypt was of like importance to that whole kingdom, hence I judge, that this pass was call'd Caphtor, to intimate it to be the strong and nobly adorn'd pillar, or peer, at the gate into the kingdom, or the chapiter of such a pillar, or peer, figuratively put for the whole. So we put Lepidum Caput for a witty Man; and the antients, sometimes, express'd the whole Ox Apis, (worship'd by the Egyptians or Israelites, in imitation of them) by Caput Vitulinum.

That this notion of Caphtor, and its importance to the whole kingdom, is truly antient, and agreeable to the conceptions of the eastern people, is very clear, by considering a vision in Amos ix. 1, &c. through the chapter. But let the reader first note, that the word Caphtor is in the original that word which our translators have well express'd in the margin by Chapiter, altho' unhappily by Lintel in the text; therefore I desire it may be read, Strike the chapiter that the posts may shake.

E 4 The

The Septuagint well expresses the confequence of the blow to be, that the medatura, all the supporters of the porch, and the gates of the temple may shake, so as to fall into ruin. And the next words of the prophet make it necessary to understand it so as to import an utter destruction; for he adds, Cut or wound them in the head, all of them, and I will slay the last of them with the sword, &c. thro' the first ten verses, but most clearly in v. 8. Behold the eyes of the Lord are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from the face of the earth. Yet he excepts a remnant, and promises a raising again of the Tabernacle of David after this fall. See v. 11.

My concern is from this vision, to shew only this, That the Lord is therein represented as standing upon the altar, (which stood not far from, but in open view of the porch of the temple, which was supported by Jachin and Boaz, the noble pillars; each of whose heads was a great Caphtor, or artificial brazen Pomegranate) and there he commands, doubtless a mighty angel, to strike either of these Caphtors, or both, (the singular being frequently put for the plural number) so forcibly, that the whole porch may tremble; and this is plainly

plainly expounded to fignify, that, together with the pillar and porch, the whole temple, yea, the city ferusalem, yea, the whole kingdom should be ruin'd, when this vision or prophecy was fulfill'd. Of so great importance is the blow given to the Caphtor, at the entrance of the temple.

This is the fullest proof I have of the eastern notion, of this word or name;

This is the fullest proof I have of the eastern notion, of this word or name; tho' I have observ'd another example, that agrees well with it, in the prophet Zephaniab, ii. 14. When he foretells the destruction of Nineveh, and therewith of the Asyrian empire, he expresses it by this, among other things, That the chapiter of ber gates, or palaces, shall become lodgings to creatures that seek to rest in desolate places. The prophet's word Rimmonim, which is synonymous to Caphtorim, is again well express'd in our margin by Chapiters, tho' Lintels be set in the text. The artificial brass pomegranates being hollow, were sit to become lodgings to such creatures.

Now, as the overturning and relinquishing these adorn'd heads of pillars was made by the prophet a mark of desolation and dishonour that should befall Nineveh, so it's

it's evident that the erection, and standing of them, which he owns to have gone before their calamity, were great signs of strength, of a flourishing state and honour. Whence it's reasonable to conclude, the name of *Caphtor*, which is taken from such ornaments, was a name of honour to the city, and country that bore it.

The same conclusion may be deduc'd from those stately brazen chapiters, which were on the tops of Jachin and Boaz; each of which is recorded 1 Kings vii. 16. to have had five cubits in height. For as the erection of these is set down there as a great mark of Solomon's magnificence, and of the glorious fabric of the temple; so the overturning and breaking of these is particularly noted by *Jeremy*, lii. 22. as importing the total destruction of the temple, city and kingdom by the Chaldaans.
All which evince, that such Caphtors were great marks of state and honour; and confequently this name imported honour to belong to the important pass, city and country that bore it; and consequently to the Caphtorims, or guardians of this ho-nourable place, which we have no reason to doubt were chosen out of the ablest, and

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 59 and best disciplin'd men of the family of Cassuchim, who descended from Mizraim, as Moses assures us.

Having now finish'd that account of the name Caphter, which I think most probable, I will not conceal from my reader, that I have met with two other accounts, which differ from it; yet, if they can be prov'd true, tho' there is great defect of such proof, may be reduc'd to a fair correspondence with my opinion: They are these; I. That they worship'd a deity holding a pomegranate in his hand. 2. That they bore a pomegranate in their military banners.

Concerning both these, which are mention'd by the learned Bochart, I observe that they both relate to the Caphtorim, the people, and are not well applicable to the place Caphtor, which cannot well be said to worship any deity, nor to bear any banner. Whereas the text plainly says, that the Caphtorims came from Caphtor; and an account of this unusual name of the place is the thing to be sought; and, in Jer. xlvii. 4. and Ames ix. vii. the place is nam'd as giving original to the Philissins; but Caphtorim are not mention'd: Nor are they any where in Scripture sound but

but in our text, and in the genealogy of *Mizraim*. The *Philistins* indeed, that came with them from *Caphtor*, are often spoke of; but the name of the *Caphtorims* vanish'd after their settlement in *Canaan*.

My account of Caphtor suggests a just reason of this, because after they had lest Egypt, they were no longer the guardians, or desendants of Caphtor, the great pass, from which place, trust, office and service, they had their title of Caphtorim; but sell into the rank or condition of common Philistins, that first dwelt in the woods and marshes that were in the country near to it; and removing thence into Canaan, carried their name with them, and kept it till all Canaan was swallow'd up by the Chaldeans in the captivity; after which we never hear of them any more, according to the prophecy in Amos i. 6, 7, 8.

But, particularly concerning the first of these, that they worship'd Rimmon; which word I confess often to signify the same that the word Caphtor doth, I will consider what proof there is of this. The best that I find, is, that Achilles Statius, (so Suidas calls him; not Tatius, as it's misprinted in Bochart) says, that on mount Cassius, which Bochart too loosely makes

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DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 61 the boundary between Canaan and Egypt, there was a temple wherein Jupiter's image held a pomegranate in his hand, which had a mystical reason. Altho' this be not a sufficient proof, yet it deserves to be consider'd by us.

For, altho' this will not prove that such a deity was worship'd at Pelusium, which we have shew'd from Antoninus's tables, was forty miles distant from mount Cassius, yet it gives some probability that such an idol might be honour'd even there also, and in other parts of Egypt southward of it; and, perhaps, also in diverse parts of Canan, where I have shew'd that there are many places that bear the name of Rimmon, either simply, or in composition, as Gathrimmon, Enrimmon; and Rimmon, the Syrian God, is yet more samous, which, I believe, was such an idol.

This idol of Jupiter Cassius brings to my mind a passage which I find recorded by our Sanchoniatho, or Philo-Biblius, in Eusebius, Prap. Evang. 1. 1. p. 37. B. That the children of the Dioscuri descended from Thoth, (probably before he was sent by Cronus to reign in Egypt) being shipwreckt thereabout; yet, getting to land, did consecrate a temple in this mountain Cassius,

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Cassius, in these eldest times! And it is not unlikely that their ancestor Thoth might be the contriver of this mystical image holding a Pomegranate. For we read in Eusebius, p 39, that he contriv'd many of Cronus, Dagon, &c. And the interpretation of some of them is there set down, but none of them relate to the true God, the Creator of the world; all of them belong to such deify'd men, as he hath given the history of before.

I commend the liberty that Sanchoniatho has us'd in giving us the interpretation of their mystical images; and, in this matter, prefer him before Herodotus and Pausanias, who often intimate they knew mystical accounts of such statues, but declare they think themselves bound to conceal them. So, particularly I remember that Pausanias, in his Corinthiaca, p. 59, tells us he saw an image of Juno, holding in her hand a pomegranate, not far from the ruins of Mycenæ; but he is so superstitious, as to decline any explication of the mystery, and tells us it is superstitions of the mystery, and tells us it is superstitions.

If the heathen historians may be excused by the obligation that their priests laid upon them, to forbear disclosing the mysteries

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 63 fleries of their religion, yet methinks Achilles Statius, who, as Suidas informs us, was a convert to christianity, can hardly

was a convert to christianity, can hardly be excus'd for not telling us what was the mystical intimation of the pomegranate in the hand of Jupiter Cassius. But, notwithstanding the superstitiously obstinate silence that many heathens have us'd to conceal the concerns of their Gods, yet others, partly heathens, and partly converts to christianity, have given us light enough to know that they generally were but deify'd men, especially of the three sirst ages after the Flood: Tho' Sauchoniatho hath nam'd some, whom I conceive to have been before it. Not now to mention the universe, the sun, moon, earth, and stars, which I acknowledge to be their

Agreeably hereunto, I guess that the pomegranate in the hand of Jupiter, or Juno, (because when it's open'd, it discloses a great number of its seeds) signify'd only that those deities were, being long-liv'd, the parents of a great many children, and families that soon grew into nations, which they planted in large possessions, when the world was newly begun to be peopled; and were benefactors to them, by giving

eldest deities, as Sanchoniatho also intimates.

64 DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23.

giving them laws, and other useful inventions to make their lives comfortable.

'Tis certain that the Scripture constant: ly calls the gods which the heathens worship'd, other gods, in contradistinction to the God of Israel, the Creator of the world: And, particularly concerning Rimmon, the Syrian god, whom I believe to be such a one as Jupiter Cassius, and to be denominated Rimmon, from the pomegranate in his hand: I observe, that Naaman, the Syrian, who had been bred up in the worship of him, thought him to be another god, distinct from the God of Israel, and consequently no god in truth; but in name only, (one of those that are call'd gods, by mistake, i Cor. viii. 5. but really are no gods, Gal. iv. 8. and consequently cannot be the true Goo;) and for he fays, 2 Kings v. 15. Now I know that there is no God in all the earth, but in Israel; and then declares, y. 17. that be will henceforth offer no sacrifice to other gods (titular) but to the Lord.

Seeing, therefore, that he thought Rimmon not to be the God of Israel, and promis'd therefore never hereafter to facrifice to Rimmon as he had done heretofore, we may be sure that the generality of the Syrian Discourse on Deut. ii. 23. 65

Syrian nation thought also their god not to be the same god with the God whom the Israelites worship'd, and who enabled Elisha to do this miraculous cure of the leprosy. And doubtless the prophet Flisha did, in this, judge as Naaman did, and did believe himself to be a prophet sent, and impower'd to do this miracle, but not by the god of the Syrians, Rimmon.

I might confirm this distinction between the God of Israel, and the Syrian gods, from another express judgment of the servants of the king of Syria, who thought that the God of Israel was not a God of the vallies, but of the hills only, I Kings xx. 23. compar'd with \$28\$ where the prophet rebukes their false opinion concerning him.

But I think it not seasonable to digress too far in refutation of that excess of charity which some learned Christians seem to have fallen into, when they attempt to prove that heathens worship'd the true God, either in all, or much of their publick worship. My present concern is only to clear that, altho' I admit Rimmon to be equivalent in many places to Caphtor, when they are appellatives, and own also that Rimmon sometimes becomes the name

and the second

of an idol, that was falfely reputed to be a god; yet it never fignifies the true God. And Caphtor is never found to be the name of a reputed god; but when it's a proper name it always fignifies a city, or territory about a city so call'd.

Wherefore, tho' I will not deny it to be probable, that these Egyptians might worship a false deity with a pomegranate in his hand; yet this not being sufficiently prov'd, I do not chuse it as the best reason of the name of the country of Caphtor; or of the people call'd Caphtorim. I know also, that the learned Bochart conjectures that the Caphtorim bore a pomegranate in their ensigns for war, and thence took their name; but this being not prov'd, I conside not in it; nor yet deny it: But I prefer the reason taken from the head of a pillar, or peer, standing at the pass into Egypt before it.

Before I leave this subject, it will be feasonable to compare Caphtor in the sense wherein I have explain'd it, with another name thereof, which is in Josephus, against Apion, from Manetho. There it's said to be call'd, in their old theology, Abaris, which plainly signifies the pass, being deriv'd from ye a Hebrew word of most known

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known fignification, given therefore by the Canaanites, probably, whose language was Hebrew; in whose country we meet with Abarim, and Beth abara, near the passes over Jordan. Eusebius also mentions this name out of Ptolemy Mendesius, another Egyptian historian, with only a small alteration; calling it Avaris, by an easy change of Beth into Vau, a letter of the same organ.

Nevertheless, I do not deny that the names Abaris and Caphtor may have been in the ancient Egyptian language, as well as in the Hebrew, because I know there was affinity between them; but I leave that to be determin'd by the farther enquiry of those who are better skill'd in Coptic. But my design in comparing these names, is to infer, that the Caphtorim, mention'd in our text, are the same with the Avarita, the people of Avaris, and their governors, of whom Syncellus mentions a Dynasty; or perhaps the immediate successors of the Canaanites, who expell'd them, as I think I have prov'd.

Now, because both Josephus, from Manetho, intimates that this name Aharis relates to their old theology, which was an account of their gods, who were their first F 2 kings:

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kings; and Syncellus, from the Vetus Chronicon, makes the Dynasty of the Avaritæ to be contemporary with the Dynasty of their gods; they certainly agree that the guardians of this pass, whether before the Phænicians took it, when they were Mizraim's issue, the Caphtorim, or just after them, the Phænicians; both were contemporary with their gods, their eldest kings: But the Caphtorim were their subjects; the Phænicians were enemies and rebels; either of them might be gigantick men, which, in those long-liv'd times, were many.

Agreeably hereunto, Josephus informs us, that this same town was by them call'd Urbs Typhonia, as inhabited by such gigantick men as sought against their gods; and near to it, on one side, is Hero, which Stephanus de Urbihus interprets to signify the blood of Typho, who was there wounded; and, on the other side, towards Canaan, is the Lake Sirbonis, where Herodotus says, it's reported, or there's a tradition, that Typho is hid or bury'd.

Plutarch, in his book de Iside, declares Typho to be a brother to Osiris, so was Canaan to Mizraim; and so the Canaunites, as descended from Canaan, were brethren, brethren, in a large fense, to the Egyptians, as descendants from Mizraim. So Moses, in his embassy to the Edomites, calls the Israelites their brethren, Numb. xx. 14. Thus saith thy brother Israel, &c. And Syncellus so calls the Phanician kings in Egypt brothers, from Eusebius; intimating their relation to the Egyptians, which then was not very remote.

The same Plutarch also assures us, that Seth is the Egyptian name of the principal gigantic enemy of the Egyptian gods, whom the Greeks call Typhon; and it's certain that that canton of Egypt, in which Pelusum stood, was from his capital city, call'd Sethroites Nomus: All which things conspire to evince, that this place had a great influence on the dominion over the Lower Egypt. When the Phanicians had taken it, they soon subdu'd all that country: When the Egyptian Caphtorim had it, they upheld strongly their king's sovereignty in it.

I confess that Josephus, against Apion, doth say, that Abaris is plac'd εν γόμωτη Σαίτη. But, to remove this scruple, let the reader consider these things: 1. That Josephus, in the same place, doth describe the situation of this city to be on the east side of F 3

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the Bubastic stream, or mouth of Nile; which is plainly inconsistent with the situation of Sais, and the Nomus Saites, as it's describ'd by the Greek geographers, and mapps; but agrees exactly to the Nomus Sethroites.

- 2. It's certain also, that Syncellus, when he reports the history of the Phanician kings, out of both Africanus and Eusebius, affirms that this place, which was fortify'd by the first of them, from whence they proceeded to the conquest of the rest of the Lower Egypt, was in the Nomus Sethroites.
- 3. Since these authors had seen Manetho. as well as Josephus, we may gather, either that the words of the Nomus Saites are inserted by an error of the transcribers or printers, which is the judgment of Sir John Marsham, or else we must conclude, that Josephus did not understand N mus Saites, in the same sense that the Creek geographers do, but meant by those words the country, which they call Nomus Sethroites.

This, tho' it may feem a paradox, I think to be true; for I have observed, that the Septuagint, whose translation Josephus often follows, do call Sin in Ezek. xxx. 15. (which is certainly Pelusum, the place we

we are speaking of, and is empress'd so by the Targum of Jonathan, and by the vulgar Latin, and by the marginal translation of our English bibles) by the name of Sais; and, by consequence, they must call the Nomus, whereof Sin is the capital city, Nomus Saites. In like manner also, I have observed that Josephus expresses the name of Cain by Cais, in his Greek. And by this exposition of Josephus, it will be clear, that his Nomus Saites is the same with what others call Nomus Sethroites; because Sin, Pelusium, and Sethron, are agreed to be names of the said city.

It remains that I conclude this discourse about the Caphtorim with a brief enquiry about the Philistins, who are join'd with them by Moses, as the issue of Mizraim, by his descendents the Cassuchim, Gen. x. 14. and are expressly affirm'd Jer. xlvii. 4. to be a remnant of the country of Caphtor; and are, Amos ix. 7. said to be brought by God's Providence from Caphtor. These places of Scripture do clearly express both their parentage and their former settlement before they came into Canaan, to be the same with those of the Caphtorim, which I have endeavour'd to determine in this chapter.

F 4 Wherefore,

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Wherefore, I shall here only add the consideration of a passage in Plutarch's myllical story of Ilis and Oliris, which, I think contains some considerable antiquities of Egypt, disguis'd in the fable, as it's agreed the eastern people the Egyptians and Greeks us'd to do. To which I shall premise this observation, that it's generally granted that the name of Palastina, tho' in later times it was extended farther than the country properly belonging to the Philistins; yet anciently belong'd to that part only which they inhabited. See this clearly in Exod. xv. 14. Isa. xiv. 29. Joel iii. 4. So also Philistia, which is fynonymous thereunto, Pfal. lx. 8. lxxxvii 4. cviii. 9.

This being premis'd, the passage in Plutarch's story, that's pertinent to my business, is this. That Isis understanding her husband Osiris (Mizraim) to be dead, and carry'd out of Egypt in a chest by the Tanic mouth of Nile, went in quest of him, and found the chest about Byblus in Phoenicia, where Mcleander was King. I have observ'd, in the former part of this work, Melec, at the beginning of his name, to be an Hebrew, or Phænician word, near of kin to Moloch, a title of Cronus, (or

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 73 (or Ham) Mizraim's father; and that he is plac'd at Byblus by our Sanchoniatho.

Passing by many things there added, the fequel of the story, that most concerns this enquiry, is, That Isis carries back this chest with dead Osiris in it to Egypt, and an elder son of Melcander goes with her. He there secretly, or silently, observing how she lamented when the chest was open'd, she turns upon him with an angry look, so that thereupon he died, or, as others say, fell into the sea, near which Pelusium stood. Him some call Maneros, of whom the Egyptian fong takes its name. Others fay he was call'd Palæstinus, or Pelusius; and that the city bearing his name (Pelusium) was built by the Goddess Isis. Plutarch's words, that made the greatest impression upon me, are, Τίω σολιν επώνυμον απ' αίπε κτιδι εσαν του της Θεβ.

In this part of that long mystical story, (which evidently contains many other *Egyptian* antiquities, which I am not now concern'd to endeavour to unriddle) I obferve and collect these historical memoirs.

1. That Pelusium was of such antiquity, as to be built by Isis, the wife of Osiris or Mizraim, the founder of the kingdom of Egypt.

2. I learn

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2. I learn hence that Palastinus, and Polusus, are names of the same man, or in substance the same word, consisting of the same radicals, like Philistia, and Palastina; words that fignify the same country, and are only a little different in their formation, from the same root. And I am inclin'd to think that this name, plac'd here as the name of a single man, yet denominated from a city or country, that contains a whole tribe, or a multitude, doth fignify or represent in this story the whole body of the people of Pelusium. So Israel, the name of a fingle man, (Jacob) imports, most commonly, the whole body of his posterity, the people and the kingdom that are denominated from him. So Moab and Edom, represent all descended from them, and their countries; and many fuch instances may be offer'd: Yea, all myffical flories will be of no import without this figurative sense of names; in like manner all interpret the bleffings of Mafes to the twelve tribes, under the names of their fathers Judah, Levi, &c. who were all dead at that time, but their posterity, and their respective places, which they inhabited, are pointed at.

On

On these, and other like grounds, I understand this mystical story to relate to the Philistins, and their first seat at Pelusium. in the frontier of Egypt, where Isis made her bitter lamentations, and open'd her husband's coffin. It's likely that her anger at Palastinus's secret prying into her lamentations, may intimate that these Pelusiots more boldly enquir'd into the cause and manner, and consequences of their King's death, and were more terrify'd with the conspiracy that caus'd it than she would allow; who was most solicitous to recover the afflicted kingdom for her felf and her fon. For that feems to have been her design principally, in the voyage she took to Cronus in Phanicia; and, accordingly, our Sanchoniatho informs us, that he fent from thence Thoth, whom I judge to be that Athothes, the fon of Menes, (or Mizraim) the first king of Egypt. But it seems that these Pelusians, or Philistins, were fo terrify'd at the loss of their first king, and the cruel wars of the Phanicians or Canaanites, then in Egypt, which attended his death, and probably brought the feat of the war to their habitations: that they relinquish'd their first settlement there, and remov'd to the sea coasts of Ca-

nuan,

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naan, which we have shew'd to be the country of the Avim.

This is the best interpretation that I can give of Plutarch's narrative, that Palaflinus either died, or fell into the sea at the displeasure and lamentations of Iss, occafion'd by the death of Osiris. He was so terrify'd, as to cease to be a subject of that kingdom: This is as much her loss as if he were naturally dead. And the intimation that Plutarch gives, that others fav he fell into the sea, seems to lessen the necessity of owning his death, and leads to an allegorical interpretation of the whole story. This sense of this part thereof I am the more confirm'd in, because the Mosaical history assures us, that the Philistins were of the race of Ham, as Plutarch intimates Palæstinus to be descended from Melcander. And there is no history of any Palastini in Egypt in these eldest times of Is, but only this concerning the Philiftins; and it's but in later times that all Canaan came to be call'd Palastina, or its inhabitants Palæstini.

If this meaning of *Plutarch*'s narrative be admitted, which I think cannot reasonably be refus'd, so as to make any tolerable sense of it, we have then a farther confirmation

DISCOURSE on DEUT. ii. 23. 77 mation of our whole exposition of this text of Moses, from the confession of the Egyptians themselves, in this mystical story, which Plutarch reports from their own priests.



SECTION III.

Answer to the third Enquiry.

I T must be acknowledg'd, that the divine historian Moses hath not expressed the precise time of this migration of the Caphtorim into the country of the Avim; nor was it necessary to the end for which he mentions it, which I have express'd before. Yet he hath given us some information, by which, compar'd with the remains of other writers, concerning the affairs of Egypt and Canaan, we may make some approaches to the determination thereof.

For, it's certain that the *Philistins*, who came with the *Caphtorim* into *Canaan*, were settled there in quiet possession, before the birth of *Isaac*, when *Abraham* so journ'd

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iourn'd in the land of the Philistins, which was about the year of the world 2108. which was 445 years before the time that Moses spoke of it in this place of Deuteronomy, in the last year of his life. But how long before Isaac's birth these men came out of Egypt, we must learn, as near as we can, by other circumstances, recorded by credible writers. Even in mathematical enquiries, when we can't arrive at preciseness, we are content with approximations within fome limits, fuch knowledge being better than no knowledge at all: Much more must we be content with some approaches in the dark times of antient history, when we have few and small records and memoirs left us.

The best history we have, that relates to these eldest times of the kingdom of E-gypt, is that in Josephus's book, against Apion, where, out of Manetho and Charemon, he relates the Phanician wars in Egypt, and states the times of their reigns. Their reigns are also own'd by Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus; besides, some other concurrent testimonies, which I have, in another part of this work, set down.

I have

I have observed also, that Moses, Gen. x. 17. names the Sinite among Canaan's posterity. This seems to relate to these Canaanites who took Sin, or Pelusium, and the country near it, in these early times.

Our learned Armagh also hath stated the times of these Phanician kings in his Annals: and he places Salatis, the first of them, in the year of the world 1920. And I judge that the Caphtorim and Philistim left Abaris, or Pelusium, about the beginning of his reign. For, Josephus plainly affirms, that he was master of this pass, and fortify'd it strongly, and had a vast number of disciplin'd soldiers, constantly thereabout, to secure Egypt against the Allyrians, who then were fear'd as the greatest power in Asia. Hence it must follow, that the Egyptian Caphtorim and Philistim were gone from thence; and Moses assures us that they went into the Avim's country in Canaan.

A nearer approach than this I will not adventure here to make, because I am not willing to go farther than I have proof from history. Therefore, supposing that about A. M. 1920, these Caphtorim left Egypt, it will follow, that Moses spoke of this

this 633 years after it was done; for it's certain, by the Scripture account, in Armagh's Annals, that Moses spoke of it very near his death, which was A. M. 2553. It follows also, that they had been gone out of Egypt into this country 188 years before Isaac was born to Abraham, who sojourn'd there. And the history, that I found this approach in, doth persuade us to make this migration yet earlier, rather than later; so that it will fall out to be not long after Mizraim's death, as Plutarch's mystical story doth intimate.

Now I have finish'd that which seems to me of greatest force to prove that the Caphtorim and Philissim came immediately from the entrance into Egypt, to to settle in the southern parts, and seacoast of Canaan, and this so early as the time of Salatis; I hope the reader will give me leave to conclude this discourse with some additional observations that seem to me not impertinent to this matter, altho' not necessary to prove my interpretation of this text.

1. Plutarch's suggestion, that Pelusius and Palastinus are of the same import, made me think that Pelusius was not a name of Greek original, as Bochart and some

Discourse on Deut. ii. 23. 81 some others would have it but of eastern original, as Palastinus certainly is; and that, as they are fynonymous, so they both are from the same eastern root, vir Peles, the same radicals being found in them both, and the Greeks having learnt the name of these eastern people from the east, and not given them a Greek name, but only added two different Greek terminations to the eastern word, with a little change of vowels, which is frequently done.

Those, who have both skill enough, and inclination to consult Dr. Castle's Heptaglot, in the root פלש, will find this root not to be limited only to the Hebrew language, but to be us'd in the Chaldean, and Syriac tongues; and to relate not only to besmearing in dust and ashes, and dirt, from which the Greek words wnlos and wadaoses may be borrow'd, which agrees well with the dirty fenny situation of Pe-lusium, at the mouth of Nile; but also to fignify Apertum, patens, aditus; and, in Samaritan, and Æthiopic, to import Peregrinatio, Migratio de loco in locum. All which notions agree very well with Pelusum, as the great passage; not only into Asia by land, but also into both Europe and Asia, by the mouth of Nile, falling into

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into the *Mediterranean* fea. And all this fuits well to the other names of *Caphtor* and *Abaris*, which we have spoken of.

2. I observe that these Egyptian Philistins, after their settlement in Canaan, are found to live under five distinct Lords. in so many different satrapies, 70/b. xiii. 3. Judg. iii. 3. 1 Sam. vi. 16. Nor do I find them confolidated into one kingdom; tho' they generally feem to be confederated. This gives some good ground from divine history to believe that the many Dynasties in Egypt, which Africanus tells us of, were not all of them fuccessive to each other, which is inconfistent with the facred chronology, but that many of the eldest of them were contemporary, like these Dynasties, of their old brethren the Philistins; and this may be of good use to shew that the chronology of the Egyptians may confist with the divine history of Moses, contain'd in the bible, which is the principal end of all that I have written in this book.



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TRACT III-

A Table comparing Synchronisms of Canaun; Seir and Egypt.

A. M. EGYPT. reign'd years.	CANAAN and SEIR.
1849 Mizraim, call'd Osiris, Menes, Tammuz and Ti-	Cronus, that is, Hank
Menes, Tammuz and Ti-	builds Byblus.
μα © 62	Canaon plants in Cal
Cabiri dwell at Berytus.	naan and Seir. Si-
1911 Athothes, Thoth, in his time	don built by his fon;
rofe 59	Canaanites and Hu-
1920 Salatis, the first pastoral	rites enter Egypt
King 19	peaceably, but af-
1939 Beon the second 44	terwards make war
1983 Apachnas the third 36	and kill Mizraim:
2020 Apophis the fourth 61	They live without
Aso regina, probably Semi-	Kings, till Salatis
ramis.	was crown'd.
2081 Janias the fifth 50	• • • • • •
2083 Abraham enters Canaan.	A Later State of the State of t
Some Canaanites return-	2003 Bela first King of
ed out of Egypt when	the Horites.
Abraham enter'd.	
2131 Affis the fixth 49	
2148 Inachus. Ogyges about	2137 Jobab the second.
2181.	1
2180 Tethmosis expells the Ca-	2177 Husham the third.
naanites, and reforms hu-	2219 Hadad the fourth.
man facrifices rn"Hea. 15	Kills Midian.
2198 Phoroneus.	2261 Samlah the fifth.
2205 Chebron.	2303 Saul the fixth.
2218 Amenophis the first 29	1345 Bealbanan, the 7th.
2288 Isaac dies.	2387 Hadar the eighth.
2298 Jacob goes into Egypt.	2429 Dukes of Ejan's and
2433 Moses born under Ramesses Miamun.	Seir's line.
2513 Israel goes out of Egypt. Amenophis the third is	Said Dubante Containing
drowned.	2471 Dukes of Efan's line
Sesostris returns from his	alone.
conquests in Asia.	
Danaus's brother flies to-	
wards Greece.	
1553 Moses near dying sends an	`
embaily to an	2553 Edomite King in Seira
	TING III SELLY



Notes on the Synchronisms of Canaan and Egypt.

IN general I premise, that we do not pretend here to deliver exact or perfect synchronisms, but such as have the nearest approach thereunto, which we can attain in the history of such antient times, whereof we have but impersect records.

And I am encourag'd to use such approaches to truth by the example of the mathematicians themselves, because, tho' they be the best accountants, yet, when the Data which they have will not suffice to bring them to a precise determination of the quantity sought, they content themselves with some methods of approximation, which they find exceeding useful in the affairs of human life. But I am more encourag'd by the practice of the best historians, who, when they can't state times as exactly as they wish to do, rest satisfy'd in coming as near them as they can.

Thus

Notes on the Synchronisms, &c. 85

Thus Diony Gus Halicarnassensis prudent-Iv acquiesces in coming as near as he could to the times of the founding of the Roman empire, and delivers it as a rule nigh the beginning of his feventh book: That it is to be borne with if a man mistake a few years in the account of times, especially in an antient history, that is continu'd thro' many years; but it is not to be permitted to err two or three ages together. The times that we now enquire of are more remote from us by some thousands of years than those that he wrote of; and we have fewer authors to affift us than he had, and therefore we may justly challenge greater allowances.

2. More particularly I have plac'd Miz-raim and Canaan, with their numerous families, as contemporaries, because they were brothers, and may reasonably be judg'd to be sent by their father about the same time to plant those near neighbouring countries, which, in the Hebrew language, bear their names.

Agreeably hereunto, the two eldest cities that *Moses* mentions in them, *Hebron* and *Zoan*, are affirm'd by him to be built within seven years, the later after the former. *Hebron* in *Canaan* is first, and it

 G_3 was

was nearer Shinaar or Babel, whence they came, than Zoan; yet that is in the nearest part of Egypt to Babel. The names of these cities favour this opinion concerning their so early plantation. Hebron imports consociation, which is opposed to the way of living scatter'd in tents, as Nomades.

Zoan is observ'd by Dr. Castle, (see his Heptaglot,) to fignify a removal from one place to another, and feems to intimate, that the planters having first dwelt about feven years at Hebron, in the way to Egypt, remov'd from thence unto Zoan, which flood about the entrance of Egypt, near that Ostium of Nile that's call'd Taniticum, taking its name from Tanis, which is the Greek name, or pronunciation of Zoan, most known in the Septuagint; see Numb. xiii. 22. But Diodorus Siculus, cap. i. calls it Thonis, and fays it was an antient mart of Egypt. Bochart, in the additions to his last edition, proves it to have been the metropolis, or royal feat of the kings in the Lower Egypt, in the eldest times.

I will conclude this note with a proof of the Canaanites entring Egypt, either with their first planter Mizraim, or before

fore his death; this is, during his reign, drawn from the words of Manetho, preferv'd by Josephus in the first book of the Fews Antiquities against Apion. E. Wero βασιλους ημίν ο τίμα . &c. Here he plainly affirms the pastors, whom I have before prov'd to be the Canaanites, and principally Horites, to have enter'd into Egypt aμαχητι without fighting, and to have begun their war in the reign of Timaus, king of Egypt. Now I believe this Timaus to be the Hebrew name Tammuz, which was a title given to Mizraim, or Osiris, and that Manetho or Josephus did alter it a little to make it like a name of the Greek language, in which they wrote.

No man can read Josephus, but he must see that he ordinarily changes Hebrew names, as much, or more than this change amounts unto. 'Tis certain, that among all the names of Egyptian kings, which are left us by Africanus, or Diodorus Siculus, or Herodotus, no such name as Timaus is to be found.

Nevertheless, I do find in *Plato's Phædo* a king of all *Egypt*; I suppose he means both the *Opper* and *Lower*, which, at the first, were under one king, call'd by a name so near this, that I doubt not but it G4 signifies

fignifies the same man; Thamus he is called. And its known that the same letter T is in the eastern languages pronounc'd sometimes with the aspiration H, and sometimes without it, as it is express'd by fofephus. Now, because Plato's Thamus is there represented as a king before Theut, or Thoth came to that honour, he must be either Thoth's father, i. e. Mizraim, or Osciris, which is the same thing I affert; or his grandfather, i. e. Cronus or Ham.

But, tho' I believe that Tammuz is a title royal, and might possibly belong to both of them successively, yet there is more reason to think, that in the prophet Ezekiel, cap. viii. 4. Tammuz relates to the son Osciris, because the women are there describ'd as mourning for him, which it's known was done among the Egyptians, and other nations for Osciris, but not for his father.

So likewise in Plato's Phædo, the character there belonging to his Thamus is a lover of most arts beneficial to human life, and a good judge of the usefulness of such inventions. This character belongs to Osiris, as he is largely describ'd in Diodorus Siculus, and more briefly in Plutarch. But we have no such character of his

his father Cronus, or Ham, to whom Sir J. Marsham would apply the name Thamus in Plato.

Since therefore we have prov'd that Plato's Thamus, who is Fosephus's Timaus, is Mizraim, and Manetho affures us that the pastors or Canaanites warr'd in the time of Timaus, we may conclude that they were contemporary with Mizraim. And hence it may be collected, that near the fame time that he planted Egypt, some of . the Canaanites might fettle themselves in Canaan and Seir; and others of them, particularly some of the Horites, might remove out of Seir into Egypt, following Mizraim peaceably to share in that plantation at first; but, during his life, they might conspire to make war against him, and to get the fovereignty thereof into their own hands, by the destruction of him and his posterity. This leads me to a third note, wherein I must prove that such a conspiracy and war, as here hath been shew'd possible, really came to pass.

3. Now, that such a war was, and continu'd for several ages, beginning in the time of *Timaus*, is most expressly testify'd by *Manetho*, whose words are cited as the words of a witness, most credible in this affair.

Affair, by Josephus, in his first book against Apion; who, altho' he charges him in other things to have follow'd false, and malicious reports against the Jews, yet owns him in this matter, when he follow'd the most authentick writings of Egypt, to have set down the very truth of matter of fact. The sum of which is, that these pastors or Nomades, both before they made themselves a king, and after, in the reign of six kings of their own, did most cruelly insest Egypt, burning their houses, overthrowing their temples, killing men, captivating women and children, and fortifying most convenient places, especially the pass, whereby they suspected that the Asyrians might enter, and invade Egypt.

Here also is the testimony of Abydenus to be plac'd, quoted by Eusebius, Prapar. Evang. lib. 9. c. 14. wherein he asserts, that soon after the dispersion from Babylon, the war broke out between Cronus and Titan, which is this Typhonian war in

Egypt.

Plutarch quotes Manetho as a credible man in Egyptian affairs, in his learned book de Iside, & Osiride; wherein also he suggests very many things that prove this war made in the times of Osiris and Isis, and Orus

Orus their fon; yea, and after their deaths also, by Osiris's near kinsman, (he is call'd his brother, so Canaan was,) and his associates, until they were driven out of Egypt into Judaa, and the neighbouring countries.

I will mention fome of them: And, in the first place, that he delivers: That Tvphon conspir'd against Osiris with 72 associates, or assistants, sworn to adhere to him. and had the foreign aid of Aso, queen of Æthiopia. I cannot conceive such a conspiracy against a prince, and the aid of a potent foreign princess, call'd in without resolution to manage a war against him. The names of the 72 conspirators are not told us; but, by the number of them, I fee reason to guess that they were two out of each of the 36 Nomi, or provinces, into which Egypt was divided. I know that the division of Egypt into 36 Nomi is faid to be made in the time of Sefostris, which is much later than these times in which Egypt was first planted.

But I have reason also to believe that this mystical story in *Plutarch* was fram'd after *Sesostris*'s time, and that this number of 72 conspirators was then made to express that there were men taken out of every

every province in $Eq \gamma pt$ to carry on the design of subverting the interest of Osiris and his family in the government of all that land; which Manetho fufficiently intimates, when he fays that all the pastoral kings defir'd and endeavour'd to pull up the root of Egypt: And Plutarch also points at this when he tells us that Typhon charg'd Horus with bastardy, that is, that he had no right to succeed in the government of Egypt. Such a charge against a prince obliges the accusers to levy war against him; and, accordingly, Plutarch mentions in that mystical story three fights against Horus, the son and successor of Ofiris; the first of which is affirm'd to have continu'd thro' many days.

This war may also be prov'd by the discourse, which, in that fable, is reported to have been between Osiris, coming out of Hades, and Horus. Ofiris asks him what he thought to be the most honourable thing for him to do. Horus answers, to avenge the wrongs suffer'd by his father and mother. Osiris then asks him what living creature he thought most useful in such a war. Horus answers, a horse. Osiris is furpriz'd at that answer, wondering why be did not rather name a lion. Horus replies. plies, that tho' a lion's strength were useful, yet a horse were better to scatter his enemies, and destroy them in their flight. Osiris is highly satisfy'd with this reply, and concludes Horus well accomplish'd for the war.

I took notice of this passage in Plutarch, the rather, because I had observ'd, in Eratofibenes's Catasterims, under the constellation Cancer, in which the Aselli and their crib is plac'd, that, at the first. in the war with the giants, their deities, Dionysus, (whom Plutarch and others rightly affirm to be Osiris,) and Vulcan. with the fatyrs following them, rode upon asses. And, by this dialogue, Horus is intimated to be the first that brought in the fight on horseback. I remember also, that afterward, in Plutarch, Typhon, the enemy of their gods, is said to have fled out of the battle sitting upon an ass.

The war being thus prov'd, and Plus. tarch having affirm'd that a queen of Æthiopia affisted the conspirators that wag'd it, I might here conclude this note, and leave others to guess who was this Aso, call'd queen of Æthiopia. But this liberty will be left to every reader, if I adventure to tell my conjecture in so dark a part of

Notes on the Synchronisms

of this mystical Egyptian allegory. And to make way for arguments that may shew my conjecture to be probable, I premife, that, in this place, I understand Æthiopia, as the Septuagint seems to use the name for those countries, which the Jews call Cush. And I find in Strabo proof, that Homer, and the eldest Greek writers, took the word Æthiopia, in that latitude, that it took in all the swarthy-fac'd nations, whether on the eastern side of the Meridian, wherein the red-fea was, or on the western side thereof. Here, therefore, I understand the queen to be sovereign of the Arabians, whom many have prov'd to be call'd Æthiopians; and therefore I will not fland longer to evince it.

In the next place, therefore, I will shew that Semiramis was queen of the Arabians and Æthiopians; whether we take them as synonymous words, which I think to be the true notion of the words when join'd together, or as somewhat distinct. To prove this I quote the words of Plutarch, in his second discourse of the fortune and valour of Alexander, where he takes an occasion to commemorate the heroical deeds of Semiramis; and, among others, he affirms, that she built navies, and

and sail'd round about the red-sea, overthrowing the Æthiopians and Arabians.

In this voyage she had a fair opportunity to assist the Canaanites, then engag'd in a long war against the Egyptians, near the shores of the red-sea. And she might reasonably hope, by joining the forces of her subjects in Arabia to those of the Canaanites or Phænicians, who were now warring in Egypt, that she might bring that kingdom into perfect subjection to the Affyrian empire, of which she was queen.

Moreover, it is certain, that Diodorus Siculus reckons the Egyptians among the nations that were fometimes subject to Ninus her husband, who was now dead; and hence she had a claim or title to govern there, which we cannot think that such a Virago as she would recede from.

Ham or Cronus, the grandfather of Nimrod or Ninus, was fovereign Lord of Egypt, and fent them their two first kings, Mizraim, and his fon Thoth, or Athothes; and Ninus, as successor to Ham, had a good claim to the government; and his title descending to his widow, makes it very probable that she would send forces to subdue those Egyptians, who were minded to fet up their kingdom as independent upon the Assyrian.

Nevertheless, we find in *Manetho*, that when these *Phænicians* or *Canaanites*, who began the war in confederacy among themselves, and with her foreign aid, had made *Salatis* a king of their own body, he was not willing to be subject to the *Assyrian* power, any more than the *Egyptians* were, but fortify'd the pass into *Egypt* against them.

But I must not digress from the business that I was to prove, viz. that Semiramis was probably the queen that join'd with the Canaanites, the Egyptians enemies, in this war. Her power in Arabia, out of which the Horites, the greatest part of the Canaanites came, is prov'd by another author, Polyanus, in his eighth book of Stratagems, where he mentions a pillar erected by Semiramis, with this inscription. I reigning in Nineveh, made the bounds of my kingdom towards the east, the river Inamane; and towards the south it is bounded by the land that bears frankincense and myrrh.

The learned Bochart suggests that the river in that inscription, call'd Inamane, is that river which Pliny calls Iomane. And I find

I find that river in his fixth book, cap: xx. to be plac'd in *India*, beyond *Ganges*: The fouthern boundary being the most fouthern parts of *Arabia*. It's clear that all the northern and eastern parts of *Arabia*, in which the *Horites* dwelt near the red-sea, were within the limits of her empire; and she might therefore affish them in the war which they made in *Egypt*.

I have also thought that the Horites. being originally Hivites, and the Hivites being of the same tribe of Canaanites with the Avim, who dwelt in Hazerim unto Azzah, (mention'd in Deut. ii. 23. on which I have written a chapter, to which I refer the reader) Semiramis might have a peculiar reason to assist them, because she was born at Ascalon, (Diodorus is my author,) which is in their country; which the Egyptians invaded and took from them. But this I refer to the reader's judgment, after he hath consider'd well what I have written on that palfage in Deut. ii. I must crave pardon for faying so much to prove that there was fuch a war of the Canaanites in Egypt; and it will be reasonable to pardon it, because I believe that place in Deuteronomy will be further clear'd by the proofs I have given of that war.

4. My fourth note must be concerning the

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kings plac'd in the two columns of the chronological table. As for those of Egypt, I take the two first of them, both from Eratosthenes and Manetho, so far agreeing. The time that Mizraim's reign continu'd, I take from Eratosthenes, and suppose Athothes, or Thoth, to have begun to reign when his father's time was ended. His continuance, also I take from Eratosthenes, 70 years. But when he had reign'd about nine years, or when 50 years of his time remain'd, viz. in the year 1920, according to Armagh's Annals, the Phenicians fat up Salatis for their king, and he came to Memphis, and brought under tribute both the Upper and Lower Egypt, and reign'd 19 years, saith Manetho, and was succeeded by Beon.

Hence it appears, that the death of Athorhes, or Thoth, was towards the latter end of Beon's reign; and because the war was vigorously carry'd on between these competitors for the sovereignty of Egypt, and because Plurarch confesses at the end of the mystical story, that he lest out Aspectorico, the cutting in pieces of Horas, who is the son of their sirst king, or Thoth; it follows that the Egyptians did own in that story that Horus died a violent death; and we reasonably believe them when they

confess a thing that is not for their own honour. But who put *Horus* to this violent death, that is, whether he were cut in pieces by his enemies, the *Canaanites*, under *Beon*; or was torn in pieces by a fedition of his subjects the *Egyptians*, I cannot determine by the dark remains of this history.

However, I thought it convenient to fet in the table these two sirst kings of E-gypt, which are not plac'd in our learned Armagh's Annals; that there might be a continu'd series of the Egyptian kings from the sirst to the last, who was drowned in the sea, when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt: Below which event I intend not to speak of the Egyptian kings in this place.

Having thus fixt the two first kings in Egypt, we may now look into the column that belongs to Canaan, the brother of Mizraim, and to his descendents; especially the Horites. And here I have supposed Canaan, with his posterity, to plant themselves in the land call'd by his name, and in other countries, which they are known to have inhabited, about the time that Mizraim settled in Egypt. Hence it sollows, that Mount Seir, or all the country of the Horites, was then planted, althor

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we know not of any king that they had contemporary with Mizraim. Whether Canaan reign'd over them, or the eldest Hori from whom the people took their name, or Seir who gave name to their country, were ever kings, we know not: Only Moses assures us, Gen. x. 18. that many families of them were spread abroad, and they seem to be distinguish'd from those tribes which are distinctly nam'd \dot{x} .

15, 16, 17, and 18, in the beginning of that verse. To these dispers'd families I conceive that the Horites belong'd; and also all the other Canaanites, or Phanicians, that went into Egypt, and are affirm'd by Manetho to have distress'd that nation, both before they fet up a king of their own, which we have noted to have been about the ninth year of the reign of Thoth; and also thro' the reign of all the six kings, which they advanc'd fuccessively, until they were forc'd to leave that kingdom.

But I must return to the two kings of Egypt, plac'd in the first column, and must remind the reader that they were both deify'd by the Egyptians. Mizraim, by the name of Osiris and Tammuz. [Osiris, or Isiris, as Sanchoniatho calls him, is also the same name with Mizraim, when the service letter (M) is left out; and I guess that Tammuz

Tammuz was the name given him, when, after death, he was made a god, and the rites of mourning for his death, and rejoycing for his exaltation to godhead were fettled: And Athothes, by the name of Thoth, Orus or Anubis, among the Egyptians. And this last name the learned know to signify the barking god; the reason of which, is, because they made his image with a dog's head, to signify, hieroglyphically, the quick scent that was in his understanding, and his watchfulness; which qualities are known to be in dogs.

Now, because these eldest kings were deify'd as benefactors and long liv'd, it naturally follows, that the war against them was a Geomaxia, a war against the deities. And the men that wag'd this war being also near the beginning of the new world, soon after the flood, were call'd Titans, (perhaps because they seem'd to spring out of the mud, Tit, lest by the flood) and giants, in the Egyptian Mythology And Diodorus Siculus expressly declares, That all the Grecian Fables about the fights of the Giants and Titans with their gods, came from Egypt, but were greatly amplify'd by the Greek Poets and Mythologists.

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This also is plainly declar'd by Philo, and Sanchoniatho in Eusebius.

So that by this Egyptian history we must learn how much, or rather how little of truth is in the Greek Mythologists. However, something of truth, I think, we may safely own in them; particularly that historical account which Josephus hath preserv'd for us out of Manetho, which we may see also in the sable that Plutarch hath preserv'd in his book de Iside & Osiride, altho' it be there under that difguise which the Egyptian priests thought sit to cloath it with: Only he confesses he lest out some parts of that mystical story, which he thought to sound so harshly, that the Roman ears could not bear to hear it, altho' they were receiv'd in Egypt.

It is also here sit to intimate to the reader, that Plutarch, in that Egyptian mystical sable, doth represent all the calamities or sufferings of Egypt, which came upon that country thro' the whole time of the long war, which the Canaanites made against them, by the death of Ostris, and the hunting after his body when he was dead; either because he was a deity whom they all worship'd, and who sympathiz'd with them in all their afflictions, as they believ'd:

believ'd: or, because, he being their father. must necessarily be thought to be injur'd by all the calamities that his iffue fuffer'd even after his death. And this will not feem very strange, if we consider, that even Moles and the Arabians, also call all Egypt, in all ages, by the name of Mizraim, which I believe to be Oliris, call'd Isiris in Sanchoniatho, and Hysiris in Hellanicus, as Plutarch notes.

In like manner I observe also, that all the fuccesses and advantages gain'd by the Egyptians against the Phanicians, or Canaanites, are in Plutarch represented by the victories that Horus, or Thoth, the fon of Oliris, got in warring against them; because he was the first that stop'd the course of their outragious proceedings, giving some check to them: And his issue, and fuccesfors, did at length expel them, altho' Horus or Thoth died long before those wars ended.

And, for the same reason, Typhon, in that mystical story, represents all the Canaanitish power, both before they had set up Salatis, and also those five kings that fucceeded him. Nevertheless, I have obferv'd, that after the end of that fable, Plutarch doth acknowledge, that one A-

pophis, H 4

pophis, which is the name of one of these Phanician kings in Manetho, did war against the gods, and saith that Osiris assisted them against him, which cannot be true in any other sense, than that the issue of Osiris fought against Apophis; for the first Egyptian king was dead long before the time of Apophis, as appears by his time, stated by our primate Osher's Annals.

But the story concerning Typhon, is so darken'd by the extravagant fables, both of the Egyptians, and of the poets, that I despair of finding any certainty concerning the true name, and parentage of the first leader, or leaders of the Canaanitish forces, who kill'd the first Egyptian king, and manag'd the war against his son Athothes, those nine years which were precedent to the beginning of Salatis. There is indeed a Typhon mention'd by Sanchoniatho, whose time is by him intimated to be near the time of Cronus, or Ham, who was father to Mizraim, and grandfather to Athothes, fent by him to govern Egypt; but Sanchoniatho's fragment gives us no notice that this man Typhon had any command in Egypt; nor indeed tells us of any thing that he did. Let others guess whether he might be a commander in this war, or not. The

The Egyptian names Seth, Bebon, and Smy, which Plutarch makes to agree to Typhon, give us no notice of what family he was

They feem industriously to conceal of what family or nation the man, or men, were, that so outragiously distress'd their country, foon after its first plantation: And Plutarch labours to have it believ'd, that those names signify the evil Dæmons, whom he contends to be the causes of all the mischief and distress that is in the world. Which feems to me to import, that $Eg\gamma p$ tian priests, whose patron he is in that book de Iside & Osiride, would not allow him to confess that Egypt was brought near to destruction by a party of their neighbours the Canaanites, near the beginning of their kingdom, altho' in following ages the Egyptian monarchy grew far more renown'd than any of the Canaanites ever were.

Wherefore I will no further enquire after these first invaders of Egypt, considering that it is fufficient to my purpose that we know near the times both of Mizraim's founding that kingdom, and of Salatis the Phanician, or Canaanites dominion therein, who had none of Mizraim's race

race that could stand before him in the Lower Egypt, taking in Memphis, but held it, while he liv'd, in subjection, and had five more Phanician kings his successors therein.

In this king's reign we may reasonably place the division of Egypt into two great kingdoms, one of the Upper Egypt, beyond Memphis southward; the other of the Lower Egpyt, including Memphis, and all the Delta. In this latter the Phanicians, or Canaanites, reign'd until their sixth king, who was expell'd by Amosis, or Tethmosis; who rising in Thebais, or the Upper Egypt, and conquering the Phanicians in the Lower, seems to have reunited both these kingdoms.

There is, I must confess, great obscurity, in this matter of the reunion, and difficulty to reconcile those few authors which remain to inform us thereof. But this is not the proper place to propound my opinion therein; therefore I will defer that until I come to Amosis's time.

Here only I inform the reader, that these Canaanitish kings are not in the series of kings, given us by Eratosthenes; who gives us only the Theban kings, descended from Thoth, and consequently from Mizraim,

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And I now follow Josephus's citation out of Manetho, who only informs us particularly and originally concerning these Phanician and pastoral kings, for whose cattle there was good pasture in the Lower Egypt, but not in the Upper Egypt; altho' we are assured that Salatis made an invasion into that also: But sinding it not for the purpose of pastors, altho' he got some contribution from them, we hear nothing of his continuance there, nor of any of his successors attempts thereupon.

Neverthelefs, we find clear evidence, that he fortify'd the eastern parts of Egypt, that lay towards Asia, to prevent any invasion from the Asyrians; knowing they, having a desire to subdue the Egyptian kingdom, must come thro' that Ishmus that lay between the Mediterranean and the redsea, for that way the Phænicians themselves enter'd Egypt; and that way must all the recruits come which they might expect from Canaan or from Seir; and that way they must make their retreat, if the Egyptians should prevail against them, as it fell out about 200 years after Salatis's time.

Here, therefore, they fortify'd the town which *Manetho* tells us was call'd *Abaris*, in

in their old theology. Now this Abaris is a Canaanitish, or Hebrew name, and signifies the pass. The Egyptian name seems to be Sethron, which is deriv'd from the Egyptian name Typhon, their great adversary, whom they call'd Seth: And here was the last refuge of the Canaanites; the most known name of it is Pelusium.

Here, and in the country near this place, I conceive that the Caphtorim and Philistim dwelt before Salatis conquer'd it; and then they being distress'd in their own country, went in all their strength that remain'd, into the Canaanites land, to the antient seat of the Avim, to revenge themselves upon the kindred of those Canaanites, especially Hivites, that would not let them rest in their old seat at the passage into Egypt. But of this matter I have written a whole chapter, to which I must refer the reader, because I mention it here only as a remarkable thing that fell out in the time of Salatis and Thoth; and because I have one proof more to add to that discourse, taken out of Stephanus de Vrbibus, in the word Azotus, which fignifies Ashdod, as our translation calls it from the Hebrew

Tis.

Tis certain that Azotus is one of the Philistin's cities: and Stephanus tells us, it was built by one of the ourades from the coasts of the red-sea. This I take to be an exact description of the Caphtorim or Philistim, when they were forc'd by Salatis to leave their old post upon the passage out of Egypt, near the coasts of the red-sea. And, since it is certain that Ashdod was a considerable city in Joshua's time, inhabited by Philistins, with some Anakims among them; and that the Philstins were of Mizraim's race, and were in Canaan even before Abraham's time: and there is no war recorded in history, besides this of the Canaanites in Egypt, which could make them fly out of Egypt fo early. I doubt not but this proof, added to what I have elfewhere faid of this matter, concerning the Philistins, will give good fatisfaction to the confiderative reader.

There remains yet one thing more, as I believe, concerning the time of Salatis, and the war which he is affirm'd to have made; not only in the Lower, but also in the Opper Egypt; altho', as I have noted, he seems not to have staid there long, nor to have broken the succession of the Theban kings there remaining: And that is, the

the taking captive, and felling into Africa and into Greece, those two women who first founded the famous oracle of Jupiter Hammon, and Jupiter Dodonaus. Manetho tells us only in general, that Salatis invaded the Upper Egypt also; and that the pattors overthrew temples, and kill'd some Egyptians, and others they carry'd away into flavery. But Herodotus is more par. ticular in his Euterpe, assuring us, that both the Egyptian Theban priests, in his time, and the priestess of Dodona, agreed in the substance of the story: Those of Thebes calling them clearly, two women priestesses taken from Thebes! Those of Dodona calling them, metaphorically, wo doves that spake with human voice, informing that the Fates had appointed two oracles to be there erected.

Now there is no pretence that ever the Phænicians were in Thebais, to take away captives, in any other time, than the time of this Phænician war, under Salatis: Therefore we may conclude, that these soundresses of these most samous oracles, both in: Libra and Greece, were then taken by them: And because the time of Salatis is well six'd, the time of the beginning of these oracles is reduc'd to some degree

of Canaan and Egypt. 111 degree of certainty. And it is as certain, from *Herodotus*, that then, or so early, the *Pelasgi* were in that part of *Greece*. But having in another place noted this, I will insist no longer upon it.

5. My fifth note shall be concerning all the rest of the *Phænician* kings, or royal passers. And because I judge the kings of the *Horites* in *Seir* to have erected that kingdom before the pastors were driven out of *Egypt*, and therefore to have been partly contemporary with them, I shall, in this note, consider that kingdoms rise also.

Concerning Been and Apachnas, who were the fecond and third of the Phanician kings, I have met with nothing, but that they vigorously carry'd on the war against the Egyptians; and the time of their reign, which is express'd in the table. But their fourth king Apophis I find mention'd by Plutarch de Iside, as one that warr'd against the gods; and Osiris is affirm'd to be on the god's side; yet I doubt not but he was then dead, and made a god, and therefore judge that all is attributed to him, that was done by his issue; in defence of the kingdom, that they inherited from him.

I shall

I shall only add this, that, by my accounts, the time of Semiramis's reign, in the Assyrian empire, falls in with the time of Apophis's reign in the Lower Egypt; and therefore she might join with these Phanician forces in distressing Egypt, although the might ultimately design to bring both the Egyptians and the Phanicians also under the Assyrian empire. And I have before shew'd, out of Plutarch, that what she did in this matter was by her ships in the red-sea, which, I suppose, was the rather done by her, because, as I have before noted, the passage by land into Egypt was fortify'd so well by Salatis, that she thought not sit to attempt an entrance that way.

Concerning Janias (who is call'd Sethos by Syncellus) the fifth of these Phænician kings, I shall observe, first, that in his time Abraham enter'd Canaan, and from thence, the next year, was driven into Egypt by a famine. His entertainment by this Pharaoh, and his dismission, are recorded by Moses. In his time also sell out the invasion of Canaan, and its neighbouring countries, by Chederlaomer, and his associated princes. But, among these people, invaded by him, I am oblig'd to take special notice of the Horims in Mount

Mount Seir, and unto Elparan, which is by the wilderness, Gen. xiv. 6.

Now the time of this invasion being fixed, and it being reasonable to believe that the Horites had a king when this war came upon them, or soon after; I have thought it most reasonable to place the first king of the Horites, Bela, about this time. The invasion is stated in the year of the world 2092. So I take the next year 2093 for the beginning of Bela's reign. But it will not be seasonable here to speak particularly concerning the time of these Horites; that will more conveniently be stated, when we have done with the last of these Phænician kings.

The fixth therefore, and last of these Phænician kings, as Africanus justly calls them, is call'd by Manetho in Josephus, Assis, which certainly is from the Hebrew root Aziz, signifying the strong. In Africanus and Eusebius, he is call'd Archles, which is Hercules. He may be that son of Demaroon, mention'd by Sanchoniatho, and so not a Canaanite by birth, but call'd and chosen for their king and general, on account of his valour and conduct: For none of their kings are affirm'd to be kings by inheritance. In Syncellus, very

very unhappily, he is as it were, split into two kings, Kertus and Aseth; yet the same time, viz. 49 years just, and no more, is assign'd to these two, that belongs to Assis only. And, moreover, Kertus seems to be a corruption of Melcartus, which is the Phænician name of Hercules; and Aseth is a corruption of Assis, which signifies the eminently strong man or Hercules

This man seems to have been a stout warrior, and to have deserv'd this title of Hercules Phænicias, because his interest and authority was over the Phænicians or Canaanites: Yet he may be call'd Hercules Ægyptius also, because he held Egypt in a vigorous war full 49 years, and at last carry'd off his men with their arms and goods into other colonies or plantations.

He feems also to have been a learned man, because Syncellus tells us, that in his time the year was reform'd, by adding to it those five days, above 360, which the Greeks call the Emayousus. And because those days are the days on which they keep the birth-days of their gods, we may collect that those festivals are not elder in Egypt than his time. And they being

being the principal parts of their fettled religion, and connected with all the my-flical fable in *Plutarch*; I thence collect, that their chief folemnities and my-fleries were not fettled until after the expulsion of these *Phænician* kings, of whom he was the last.

Our next enquiry should be whither these expell'd Canaanites went; for by their capitulation with Amosis, they might go where they thought fit out of Egypt. Herodotus tells us that it is reported, that Typhon lies in the Lake Sirbonis, and that Lake lies near the way into Canaan. This Typhon relates to all the Canaanitish power that invaded Egypt, from the first to the last. And hence not only he that murder'd Osiris, is call'd Typhon, but also the city Abaris, which Salatis fortify'd, is called Urbs Typhonia, according to the old theology, as Josephus speaks: And in Plutarch, Typhon is faid to ride on an ass, (after he was expell'd) to found Ferusalem.

6. But I remember I have discours'd on this enquiry in another place, therefore I will not enlarge on it here. Yet give me leave to insist a little on two kingdoms of Canaanites, which stand distinct from the old settled tribes of the race of Canaan,

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which never went out of that country; and such Canaanites, I believe, we are to understand, to be these resugees out of Egypt, return'd to their kindred in the land of Canaan. The first of these is in the south part of Canaan, within the borders of the Horites: The second is in the north of Canaan, far spread about their capital city Hazor, which stood near the Lake Samochonitis.

Of the first of these, we find their posterity mention'd by Moses, Num. xxi. 1, 4. xxxiii. 40. They liv'd near Mount Hor, where Aaron died; and in Moses's time. which was near 300 years after the Canaanites were expell'd out of Egypt, they had a king, whose name was Arad; who hearing that Israel was near his borders in the wilderness, went out, and fought against Israel, and took some of them prisoners. Whereupon Israel made a vow to the Lord, if he would deliver this people into their hands, that they would destroy their cities. And accordingly they did, and call'd the place Hormah, from Cheren, that signifies their vow to destroy them.

These I take to be descended from a party of the Canaanites, that had been expell'd

pell'd out of Egypt: And who leaving the main body of those resugees, who went into Canaan, retir'd into the country of the Horites, in which Mount Hor was, and there erected a kingdom, and built cities of their own, distinct from those of the Horites, who had staid in their country.

Nevertheless, I believe it most probables that these resugee Canaanites were the posterity of those Horites, who before, or during the Canaanitish war in Egypt, had gone out of the Horites land, Seir, to seek better quarters in Egypt; where they prosper'd above 200 years, and then were forc'd to go back again into the barren and mountainous country of their ancestlors, where they and their issue liv'd above 300 years more, before they and their cities were destroy'd by Israel under Moses.

For it is to be noted, that, altho' between the time of the expulsion of the Canaanites out of Egypt, which was, by Armagh's Annals, about A. M. 2180, and Aaron's death at mount Hor, A. M. 2552, when also Arad was near that place destroy'd, there had been a great revolution in Seir, or the Horites country, by Esau's posses.

posserity conquering the Horim: Yet A-rad's kingdom of Canaanites in that country was not then destroy'd; but stood, and dar'd to fight against Ifrael, tho' to their ruin. For if these Canaanites had been embodied into the Edomites kingdom, Mo-ses must not have sought against them.

Nevertheless, 'tis certain, that Arad's kingdom of Canaanites, lying about mount Hor, lay within the old bounds of the Horim, which extended from Mount Seir to Elparan, as Moses describes them, Gen. xiv. 6. But, in Moses's time, the Amalekites kingdom, wherein Elparan lay, and Arad's kingdom, about Hor, were separated kingdoms from that about Seir, which was then in the possession of Esau's issue the Edomites. And the kingdom of Arad lay between that of Seir, and that of Amalek.

The second kingdom of these resugee Canaanites was in the northern parts of Canaan, about Hazor, under Jabin in Joshua's time: Moses not being concern'd to deliver us the history of these heathens, but only of his ancestors, (especially from Abraham's time,) hath not told us when any of the kingdoms of Canaan began; and therefore I wonder not that he hath

not set down the beginning either of A-rad's, or of Jabin's, whom I conceive to have been of later erection, than those of the Amorites, Hivites, Hittites, &c. that were there before Abraham came into Canaan

Nevertheless, because Moses takes notice in many places of these Canaanites, distinguish'd from the several tribes of descendents from Canaan, and settled in known places; and because Joshua's wars with these so distinguish'd Canaanites continued fix years, whereas the other tribes were fubdu'd in one year: I cannot but think that these were some of the issue of that great body of Canaanites, that capitulated with Amolis or Tethmolis, to go with their goods, arms and families, out of their garrison, near the entrance of Egypt; and accordingly did, the far greatest part of them, go into the more northern parts of Canaan, where Hazor was made their metropolis, Josh. xi. 10.

On this account the beginning of this kingdom must be about A. M. 2180, which falls near the time of Abraham's death, A. M. 2183. And because Joshua did not end this war till about A. M. 2559, it follows that this Canaanitish kingdom, in Which

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which there appear feveral fubordinate kingdoms, was about 379 years flanding. I have also observ'd carefully, that Moses takes notice of some Canaanites, and Perizzites, by which I understand such Canaanites as liv'd in small villages and tents. like Nomades, that were in Canaan before the time of this great migration out of Eg vpt, in three places, Gen. xii. 6. when Abraham first enter'd; and xiii. 7. and xv 21. These I understand to be such Canaanites as had been in Egypt, but thought fit to go back into their original fettlement, when the Canaanitish power in Egypt declin'd, before it was distress'd to the uttermost

Yet these places do not intimate these Canaanites to be then formidable. But after Abraham's death, when Dinah was ravish'd, and Shechem destroy'd by his sons about A. M. 2265. Then Jacob express'd great fear, that the Canaanites and Perizzites, who now were return'd out of Egypt, should come and destroy his family, Gen. xxxiv. 30. And yet Jacob was not then in the northern parts of Canaan, where their strength lay. But then, when the Canaanites, that had invaded Egypt, were return'd, there was a vast army of them,

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that might easily, in human judgment, have fwallow'd his family up.

These men had been train'd up in a long war, and had brought horses and chariots of iron out of Egypt; and we find that several of their cities were never conquered by Joshua, or his successors, in many ages after. For, it seems the Israelites thought they had land enough for all the tribes, without conquering them, and therefore would not lose their men in warring against old soldiers and fortify'd towns, when they had so weaken'd them, that they fear'd not to be invaded by them; and sound they were willing to pay some tribute; see Judges i. 21, 27; and so to the end of the chapter: And Judges iii. from y. 1, to 7; and Joshua xvii. 11, 12.

Agreeably to this notion, that, from about the time of Abraham's death, when the Canaanites or Phanicians were forc'd to leave Egypt, these resuges made their chief retreat and residence, in the northern parts of Canaan, is this observation, that I have made; that, after this time, we never read that Isaac or Jacob went into those parts, which now were full slock'd with these Canaanites; where there was no room for the great families, and multitude

titude of cattle, that the patriarchs had. Isaac, most of his time, was about Gerar and Beersheba: and at last about Mamre or Hebron, where he died, and was buried. So also Jacob, when he fled from Esau. went on the east side of Jordan, to go into Padan Aram: and when he came from thence, after twenty years fervice, to Laban. came not thro' the northern parts of Canaan, between Jordan and the Mediterranean sea, where these Canaanites dwelt. Numb. xiii. 29. but about by Mount Gilead, and that country that lay east of Jordan, he met his brother Esau, and by God's assistance, made his peace with him, and at length pass'd over Jordan, near the fouthern parts of Canaan, where the great strength of the Canaanites did not lie; and there he continu'd till he went into E_{-} gypt.

Moreover, I believe the Canaanites had great reason to chuse these northern parts of Canaan to retire to, because there is sufficient proof that Sidon, which was the northern boundary of the promis'd land, was built by Canaan's eldest son Sidon, Gen. x. 15. whose name it bears, as Josephus and Jerome testify; and that the seat of this eldest brother was in the midst of

his brethren. Canaan had eleven fons, the founders of nations or great tribes, reckon'd up by Moses, Gen. x. 15. to \$18. inclusively: And the nations that were to be subdu'd by Israel lay to the south from Sidon; but there lay north of it the Archites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and Hemathites, which had no reason to expect any invasion from Israel, but might give assistance to their brethren of Canaan, when Israel should invade them.

Accordingly, I have observ'd that Fabin. the king of the Canaanites, when Johna warr'd against him, is affirm'd to have sent to the kings that were on the north of the mountains. Libanus and Antilibanus I understand, Josh xi. 2. besides those that were under him, and his nearer neighbours: and they all met as he defir'd: Much people, even as the sand on the sea-shore, for multitude, with horses and chariots, very many, as it's faid v. 4. Nevertheless. there is not fufficient proof, that all these people were subjects to Jabin; they might be confederates, and agree to oppose his enemies, who was their friend. And the kindred and friendship of so many people, descended from Canaan, was a sufficient motive to the first conductor of the Canaanites

anites out of Egypt, to chuse to settle in that place with the far greatest part of his followers.

These are the *Phænices* that are so well known in *Greece*, both for merchandise, and for sending out many colonies into divers countries, that lay on the shores of the midland sea, and many considerable islands therein, as the learned *Bochart* hath prov'd. And they seem to me to have had much more time to make those plantations than that learned man thought of: For, as I understood their history, they had time from about *Abraham*'s death, which was above 370 years before *Joshua* invaded *Canaan*, from which *Bochart* begins.

And, moreover, they had all that multitude of above 200,000 men, which came out of Egypt to employ in plantations, besides what they could spare out of Canaan itself, before it was distress'd by that terrible invasion which Joshua made, by God's appointment, when their iniquities were full ripe. Certainly then not many of the seven nations escap'd, besides those which were made tributary, and so stay'd in their places.

I know of the fingle example at *Tingis*, or *Tangier*; but that was but a fmall plantation.

tation, and will prove no more than that those few in that place, fled for fear of Joshua; and that probably a little before he came into Canaan. But it is more credible, that most of the plantations sent out of Phænice went thence, when the Phænicians first came out of Egypt, and sound themselves too numerous to find settlement among their kindred in Canaan.

But the remains of history, which we have, tell us little of this old Phanician kingdom, besides its beginning, and its end; which yet it will be useful to consider. Its beginning is ascertain'd not only out of Manetho, who hath determin'd the reign of Assis, who brought away his Phanicians by a capitulation out of Egypt; but also by Ptolemaus Mendesius, who is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus; and own'd also by Eusebius, transcribing him. And this Ptolemy affirms that Amosis, the expeller of Ass, liv'd in the time of Inachus, the founder of the Argive Æra; which agrees well with Manetho's time of Assis, as may be feen in Armagh's Annals. Its end is in 70shua's time, who conquer'd Jabin, its last king. And by comparing the beginning and end we find its continuance thro' an interval of about 370 years.

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What became of Assis after he led his people into Canaan, is not clear by the histories now remaining; but his successors seem to have honour'd him with the title of Hercules Salvator, and to have built temples to him, both in the island of Thasus, and in Gades: Both which temples are evidently prov'd to be much elder than the Theban Hercules's time; and to be for the honour of this Phanician, or Egyptian Hercules; for he is call'd Hercules Canobeus, in Pausanias.

Sir John Marsham tells us he had a coin of the Thasians, on which stood Hercules, with an inscription in Greek, Heanders Saring. Herodotus tells us, in his Euterpe, that this temple in Thasus was built five generations before Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, existed; and that it was built by the Phanicians; and certainly he was dead a good while before that temple was built. Thasus's brother Cadmus is affirm'd by Eusebius, Numb. 562, to have come with Phanix from the Egyptian Thebes, and to have reign'd at Tyre and Sidon, which were inhabited by Phanicians, of whom we now are treating.

And, it is agreed, that Cadmus's reign there was before Joshua's time; how long before before I will not now dispute; yet will note, that Sir John Marsham, from the Arundel Marbles, places Cadmus's arrival in Greece above thirty years before Moses's conducting Israel out of Egypt. But I will fuggest, that when Eusebius affirms Cadmus to come from the Egyptian Thebes, he is not to be understood to come from thence in his own person; and I rather think that his ancestors the Phanicians, coming thence, he is intimated to have come thence in their loins.

And thus it will appear, that the Phænicians are own'd by the Greeks to have come out of Egypt; and the letters and learning that Cadmus brought into Greece will hence also appear to have come out of Egypt. Nevertheless, I do not deny but that Thoth, the great advancer of learning in Egypt, was in Phanicia before he went into Egypt; and was skill'd in letters be. fore he went to reign there, as Sanchoniathe intimates.

But I must return to the consideration of our Phænicians or Canaanites, in their own country Canaan. For, fince I began to write this note. I call to mind another, or a third kingdom of Canaanites, which was situated in the fouthern parts of Canaan, which fell

fell afterwards to the lot of tribe Judah; and that is the kingdom of Adonibezek in Bezek, which is mention'd Jud. i. 4, 5. And this Bezek is nam'd also in I Sam. xi. 8, as a place where all Israel muster'd under king Saul. We find 10000 Canaanites slain here by Judah and Simeon's tribes, join'd together. And this barbarous tyrant Adonibezek owns his infolent and cruel usage of seventy kings that he had conquer'd. It seems that every governor of a considerable town was called a king in those parts: Nevertheless, the conqueror of seventy such little princes is not to be totally omitted.

For he feems to be the issue or successor of a governor of another detachment of Canaanites, distinct from that which I sirst mention'd, which adjoin'd to the Horites about Mount Hor, which I mention'd in the sirst place. But both these detachments seem to be lest by Assis, in the southern parts of Canaan, when he pass'd northwards with the main body of the Canaanites, that he led out of Egypt, to settle there the principal kingdom of Canaanites in the countries near Hazor and Sidon; and also near the other tribes of the Canaanites, beyond Lebanon, which Israel was

was not to invade; and therefore Moses doth only name them among the sons of Canaan, the Archites, Arvadites, Hemathites, &c. but describes not their places, or territories; nor relates any action wherein they were particularly engag'd. Yet Moses gives us some marks to distinguish those of Canaan's issue, that were to be cut off or subdu'd, from those which were not to be invaded.

- 1. He marks them by the land on which they dwelt, because that was to be given to the children of *Israel* for an inheritance.
- 2. By the names of distinction of families or tribes, into which the sons of Canaan were divided.
- 1. Their land is described Gen. x. 19. by such boundaries or lines, comprehending the surface of it, as may sufficiently inform us concerning its situation in respect to other nations; and concerning its quantity and extent, or superficial content, as the mathematicians express it. For there he doth in effect describe, 1. Its length from north to south, by a line from Sidon, its north limit, to Gerar or Gaza, the south limit. 2. Its breadth, from Gaza the west limit, to Lashab the east limit, which is at the

the end of the Lake of Sodom and Gomorrab. Now when the length and breadth of a rectangular or oblong figure is given us, the mathematicians affire the that the content thereof is determined, or easily found by the multiplication of the given length into the given breadth; or that parallel lines drawn perpendicularly to the ends of the given length and breadth, will exactly inclose all the furface of that land. I have cholen to express the bounds of Canaan in mathematical words, only to flew that though Moles prudently chose to express them by the ways from towns to towns, yet that proves him to have had a mathematical knowledge of the method of determining the surface of the promis'd land; and that was a part of the learning of the Egyptians, in which he was skill'd.

Now from the northern boundary, which was drawn from Sidon toward Hemath, we learn, that altho' many fons of Canaun liv'd farther north than this bound; yet when Moses speaks of the Canaanites, whom Israel was to subdue, he is never to be understood by them to mean any nation beyond that boundary.

2. We proceed to speak of the second mark of distinction, which Moles gives us. by naming the feveral nations or families against whom Israel was to make war. Now altho' all of them dwelt within the northern boundary, and Moles in several places names feven fuch nations, numbering them particularly, as for example in Deut vii. 1. 1. Hittites ; 2. Girealhites : 3. Amorites; 4. Canaanites; 5. Perizzites: 6. Hivites; 7. Febusites. Yet I observe that but five of these are reckon'd by Moses in Gen. x. among the fons of Canaan. There is no mention made there of the Canaanites, especially so call'd; nor of the Perizzites. Yet whenever he fpeaks of the nations that were to be destroy'd, he never misses to name the Canaanites and Perizzites, altho' he often leaves the Girgashites unnam'd, especially in Exodus.

There must be some reason why these are not nam'd among Canaan's sons, and yet are always nam'd as appointed to destruction. I have often consider'd this, and find it hath been noted by others; and some offers have been made at a reason of it, which I find not to satisfy me. That which gives me the best satisfaction, is, that I judge neither the Canaanites nor the Pe-

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rizzites

rizzites to have descended from any single fon of Canaan, but that both of them were mingled nations; yet mingled only with men that were all descendents from Canaan, viz. some Hittites, some Amorites. :Hivites and Febulites, embodied into two focieties. 1. One of which affected paflorage, and to live in villages; fuch were call'd Perizzites, the original word fignifying villagers. 2. The other fociety embodied together for military discipline and strade, either by fea or land; and thefe ewere call'd Canagnites. Vet I conceive shell affociations to have been made when -they went into, and abode 200 years in Ex yet; and that they continu'd in these focieties when they came away from thence into Cannan. whether before their last dithrefs, wherein they were forc'd to capitulate, or after it, as I have before inti-

This feems to me to give sufficient reafon why these two are so constantly join'd together, and still distinguish'd from the settled sons of Canaan; and also why they are mark'd out for destruction, as most dangerous and formidable, having been disciplin'd by long wars in Egypt, and breeding breeding their issue in the like discipline in Canaan.

Tis most certain that the Canaani hath a particular signification relating to merchants; and that the Canaanites possess'd themselves of all the sea-port towns from Sidon downwards, until we come to the ports of the Philistins, and were chiefly known to all foreign nations. Besides this their name, intimating their descent from Canaan, the common sather of the old sertled tribes, Hittites, Hivites, &c. did recommend their society to all of Canaan's line.

Agreeably hereunto, we find them possessed of many strong towns and chariots, like the Egyptian manner of war. And altho, they were but a part of them subdu'd, yet even that was done not without six years of war even in Johna's time; not with standing his great, courage, conduct, and the miraculous assistance which

Latily, because not only the Phanicians in general, of whom these were the chief, do, in Heradatus, own themselves to have come out of Egypt from the sides of the red sea; but also particularly Cadmus, the most known Phanician in Greece, look'd upon

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upon Egypt, and its metropolis Thebes, as his original country, and therefore call'd the town he built in Baotia by the name of Thebes, as the name of the country he most valu'd himself by, as Conon in his thirty-seventh Narration clearly testifies; Affirming also, that Cadmus's business was to erect a dominion or a confiderable plantation in Greece: for the common faving that he came to feek Europa was but a fable. Now when Cadmus is call'd a Phenician; that is but the Greek word, which translates the Hebrew name a Canaanite as I have elsewhere prov'd, and can add much more proof of it if need requir'd. But I shall wave it here, because I have been too long in this note already.

7: A feventh note on this chronological table must be concerning the times of the Horites, mention'd in the column of Canaan, because I have shewn in a distinct chapter that they were Hivites of his posserity, and that some of them join'd with their brethren who went out of Canaan, at, or near the same time that Mizraim or Osiris went to plant his colony in Egypt, and siv'd quietly there; or essentially there; or essentially there is or essentially there is or essentially there is on the direction direction.

direction of his and their father Cronus or Ham: Among these colonies I find Lydia to be one; and the founder of it Menes or Meon, as in Eusebius he is call'd, I have intimated to be Menes or Osiris or Mizraim. His grandchild Atys is by Dionyfius Halicarnassensis affirm'd to have mar-

ried Callithea, the daughter of Choraus.

This father in law to Atys, Choraus, I conjecture to have been an Horite, who either himself or his father follow'd Menes into this plantation of Lydia, and was so confiderable in it as to marry his daughter into the royal family there; and his time must be very near the time of Mizraim, or of his fon, which appears in the table. Nevertheless, I have not mention'd him in the table, because my chief aim therein was to state the times of such Horites as are mention'd by Moses in Gen. xxxvi. where we have only a succession of eight kings, whom I have afferted in a distinct chapter to be Horites.

I consider'd therefore where the be-

ginning and end of this interval may be plac'd, fo as to agree best with all that we know of the history of those times. Now because the first time wherein I find the Horites nam'd, is when Chederlaomer invaded

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ded them and their neighbours: (Which time is fix'd by Armagh's Annals to the year of the world 2002.) We may reasolably think that the Horites set over them a king, who should on any such occasion for the future lead them out to wat.

for the future lead them out to wat.
This I found would agree well with what we have recorded by Moles concerning the middle and end of this kingdom. Near the middle of this interval Mofestells us that their fourth king Hadad flew Midian in the field of Moab; and I have in a proper place shew'd that this account agrees well with the time of Midian, son to Abraham by Keturah. Then I proceeded to confider that the end of this interval being A. M. 2429, would also agree sufficiently with the times of Efau's sons by Aholibamah, his last wife, who were dukes contemporary with his grandfons the children of Eliphaz and Revel; as I have shew'd in a treatise on that subject: And these dukes put an end to the monarchy of the Horites, and brought all mount Seir under a fort of aristocrasy, wherein the dukes of Seir's issue had a share; but the dukes of Esau's race a much greater part.

Now because it is clear that dukes succeeded these kings, it's natural in the

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flext place to confider how long thefe dikes continu'd that ariftocratical government, which it's most likely that they conflituted. And all that I can fay to this enquiry is, that I find dukes of Edom mention'd in Moses's song, made just after 1/4 ruel departed out of Egypt, Exed. xv. 15. The dukes of Edom shall be amazed. And this is the last mention we have of such dukes. Now because we have plac'd their beginning about A. M. 2429, and the last mention of them is A. M. 2513. it follows by subduction of the former out of the latter, that they continued about eighty four 143 2 1 1 1 veârs

Within this time there must be many changes of persons by reason of death. I have elsewhere observed, that in the sirst set of these dukes there were seven Horites sons of Seir, named Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21. but sourteen of Esau's race. In the second set of these dukes there is not one Horite, but all are Edomites, and their number is but eleven, named Gen. xxxvi. 40 to 43 inclusive. In the last mention of them in Exocutes, they are all call'd dukes of Edom, no Horites lest; and no number of them is given to us. But before Moses led Israel to the borders of Ganaan, we find a king

of Edom mention'd, but not nam'd 5 to whom Moser tent an embally to desire leave to pass through his country.

Thus the ariflografy feems to have been dissolved while Israel was in the wilderness, and a monarchy re-establish'd; vet not in the Horises line, but in the line of Eleu. Amalek, who was one of the dukes of Eles's line, of the first set, seems quickly to have left the fociety of his brethren that rul'd in Seir, and to have fet up a monarchy in that part of the old Harites country, which fell to his share to be duke in; and he feems to have united his posterity to the Horites that dwelt there, and not to have subdu'd them, as his brethren did subdue the Horites in mount Sein: And this union of Amalek with the Hos rites made, the Amalekites more opposite to Israel than we find the Edomites about mount Sqir were. For these permitted Israel to pass towards Canaan, by the borders or skirts of their kingdom, altho' they deny'd them passage through the middle parts of it. But the Amalekitas, without any parley or pity, fell upon the feeble. faint, and weary Unaglitage in the rear of their army; and provokid Gon by their inhumanity to decree an utter excision of their 10

of Canaan and Egypt. 139 their nation. See Exod. Evil. 8. compar's with Deut-Ixxv. 18, 19.

· Upon account of this union between the old Horites and Amalek's posterity, I think it to be that Balaam, faith Numb, xxiv 20. That Amalek was the first of the nations that is, one of the earliest plantations; and accordingly we find Amalekites ham'd by Prolepsis, among the people invaded by Chederluomer, Gen. xiv. 7. and plac'd about Kadelo and Hazezon tamar, which lay with in the Horites territory. Amulek, Efait's grandchild, was not then born; but that country in Moses's time being under Amalek's posterity, is call'd Amalek; and so I conceive that Balaam meant, that that kingdom, which in his time was under A mulek, was an antient kingdom even be fore Amulek was born : the country being first planted by Horites, whose mitigiffy we have before thewn, and their the 1871 remaining there, though mik'd with Amule River, in whole hand the government was now placed. Other II Thall conclude thefe notes with that fingle observation, viz. That Goo did by his providence weaken the family of Ca naan many years before the children of Israel were to make war against them, in order

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order to the expelling the seven nations out of that land, which he had promis'd to the issue of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

be Canaanites, were most of them destroyed by the Philistins coming from Egypt.

2. The Horites, who also were Hivites,

were conquer'd by the Edomites.

that invaded Egapt, was much weaken'd by about 250 years war there, and with loss of many battles, were forc'd to capitulate for liberty to depart thence.

were weaken'd by being divided into two kingdoms, left in the fouthern parts of Canaan; and a third kingdom, which yet was subdivided, was settled in the northern parts of Canaan, between Jordan and the Mediterranean sea, on which they had all the northern ports, and the morthern ports, and the morthern ports.

they dispers'd themselves into many continents adjoining to the midland sea; of which see Bochart's Canaan. But the times of those plantations I find not sufficiently prov'd: Only the times of two of those plantations from

from Phanice or Canaan, are recorded by Eusebius, viz. 1. The colony into Greece by Cadmus. And, 2. That into Bithynia by Phanix: And it's affirm'd by him that both these plantations were contemporary with each other, and therefore both of them considerably before the time when Joshua subdu'd those who remain'd in Canaan.

Hence it evidently follows, that because all these things did lessen the force of the Canaanites remaining in the promis'd land, the conquest of them must be made the more easy, and all must conduce to the settlement of Israel, God's peculiar people; and to the suffilling of the divine promises made to their foresathers; altho' the men who manag'd the foremention'd wars and dispersions meant no such thing as any ease to the settlement of Israel.



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TRACT IV.

Concerning the possibility of a sufficient Increase of men from the three sons of NOAH, to a number large enough to found all the nations mention'd in the eldest credible histories; and that in the times assign'd to their foundation, agreeably with the Hebrew accounts.

With some suggestions about the disperfrom of men to plant in several parts of the earth: Particularly the building of Nineveh, the metropolis of the Assyrian monarchy.

HE true reason why it is by some thought impossible that Noah's three sons and their wives should produce men enough to sound those several nations, whereof we read in Scripture, and in other credible

eredible writers within three or four hundred years after the flood, is, because such men confider not fufficiently how much longer the lives of those patriarchs were than men's lives are found to be in the ages wherein we live: For this well ponder'd would assure them that the constitution of such long-liv'd men must needs be much stronger than our's is, and consequently more able and fit to propa-gate mankind to great numbers than men can now do; whence it's clear that we must not judge of the increase of mankind in the first ages after the flood, by what we see done in our own times. Tis true indeed that the Scripture hath given to us only the length of the lives of the progenitors of Abraham in the line of Sem, paffing over all the history of Noab's other fons in a few words, without any fixing of the times of their continuance on this earth. And the reason of this is clear, because Moses's intent was to be more particular in registering the pedigree and lives of those who in a direct line were the ancestors to all the people to whom he gave the divine laws, and of whom the Messiah, the prophet like him, was to come. But this measure that Moses hath given of these men's

men's lives near the flood is the best guide which we can take to assist us in estimating the lives of their contemporaries respectively. There is indeed some agreement in heathen authors, that the former ages were longer liv'd than the latter; but none of them descends so to particulars as to determine numbers of years, by which we may see by what degrees the life of mankind hath been shorten'd, as the Mosaical history doth.

The course of nature also is observ'd to be fuch, that she makes not great changes in a whole species, as that of mankind, all of a sudden, per saltum, but by degrees. So the long lives before the flood shorten'd gradually from the time of the flood to the time of Israel's being in the wilderness; then we find Moses complaining, Psal. xc. 10. that they were reduc'd to seventy or eighty years, whereabout they fland ever fince. And betwixt the flood and that time were about 850 years, in which space several degres of abbreviation of life are easily observable. The three first generations recorded in Scripture after the flood, Arphaxad, Salah and Heber, liv'd above 430 years; yet not so long as their ancestor Shem, who being born about

of the Increase of Mankind. 145 about 100 years before the flood, liv'd above 500 years after it. The three next generations recorded in the text, Peleg, Reu and Serug, liv'd not much above 230 years; and from their time I find only Terab that liv'd 200 years, and a little more: all the others less than 200: Moles

These gradual diminutions recorded in the text, I take to be the best measure we have of the length of those men's lives, which are not recorded in all the interval between the flood and the departure out of Egypt.

came not to above 120.

And therefore upon these variations, which stand recorded to have happen'd three generations together in the gradual abbreviation of men's lives, I have fram'd my theory about the length of their lives who were contemporary with Shem, and the first three, born after the flood in three fucceeding generations; the contemporaries I mean of Arphaxad, Salah and Heber: Before all which died Peleg, who was born after them, within a shorter period of life. And to this interval of time only I have extended my tables that relate to the possible multiplication of mankind in that first period after the flood; without fuppoling

fupposing any miracle wrought to that end. But I do not pretend by any tables to determine exactly how many were in being in all the parts of that interval: An approach to exactness is sufficient in such cases, wherein nature may vary much, and accidents that human wisdom can't foresee may alter more, either to increase or diminish the number.

These things being premis'd, we shall in order to the making of tables, (by help whereof we may come to a probable near estimate of the increase of mankind in the three first centuries after the slood) proceed upon these suppositions or postulata, which we think may reasonably be granted.

r. That the brethren of *Shem* were of like constitution with him, and in the course of nature might live much about as many years as he did; *Ham* and *Japhet* might live near the matter as long as he, and beget as many children.

2. In like manner I postulate, that the sons, grandsons and great grandsons of these two brothers be granted to be as strong, long-liv'd and fruitful as the descendents in three generations from Shem were, viz. as Arphanad, Salah and Heber, whose

Of the Increase of Mankind. 147 whose years are express'd in scripture to

have been above 400.

3. I postulate that the male issue of these three brothers might begin to generate other issue soon after they were twenty years old. This every year's experience proves not to be an unreasonable demand: Therefore I can't allow Isaar Vossuus's postulate, that these patriarchs might be longer before they came to puberty than now men are; and he hath given no proof of what he supposes.

4. I grant the iffue produc'd shall be half males, and half females. This many yearly and weekly registers of christenings will prove, wherein the number of males and females baptiz'd is generally found to be near the matter, equal. On this ground in the following table we shall halve the whole number of every year's issue, to find the number of males, and shall leave

the other half to be wives for them.

It will make the calculation of tables

It will make the calculation of tables more distinct and easy to divide the time that these three sons of *Noah* liv'd (where-of we will consider only 340 years; tho' we know *Shem* liv'd above 160 years longer) into seventeen vicennia, or spaces of twenty years, whereof we will most di-

L z flinellý

stinctly consider the first vicennium after the slood, and the issue then produc'd, and the offspring of that issue, begotten after every male was at least twenty years old, unto the year 340, in which Phaleg died; who is the first man, whose death is determin'd in Scripture after the slood. There can be but seventeen such vicennia in 340 years; because seventeen multiply'd into twenty makes just 340.

From these postulata or reasonable suppositions, it will follow, that in the first twenty years after the flood, the three sons of Noah might beget each of them twenty children; the sum of which is sixty; the half of these is thirty males; and the other thirty yields a wife for each one of them.

I lence it follows that at the fixtieth year after the flood the youngest of these children, whether male or semale, will be forty years old, and may have generated twenty children more; the sum of them will be 600, whereof 300 will be males, the other 300 wives for them. And it is to be observed, that by allowing forty years before we reckon of another offspring, we have not only secured that the youngest of the former generation shall be twenty years

vears old before he beget a child, as our supposition requires, but have allow'd time for the eldest three males to be thirty nine vears old: and the next three males and their wives to be thirty-eight years old; and proportionably the rest to be above twenty before we reckon of any child from them: So that they will have had time to beget a great many more than twenty children: And all this furplusage, and all their issue in every succession we reckon not in our table, but give in liberally to compensate all later marriages, barrennesses, and casual deaths which can'r be accounted for: and to the same end we reckon upon no births of twins, nor their issue, altho' many such might fall out. To add to our compensation for casualties, we reckon of no births within less time than a full year; altho' we know that feven children may be born in every fix years, allowing only fingle births. These also, and all the possible issue of such births, we have omitted in our table, that our postulata may the more readily be granted. For, in truth, here are about as many generate above thirty years old, as under thirty years of age, although we have postulated them to generate at twenty years old.

L 3 These

These things being well consider'd, see the first table, which expresses not only the number of the offspring of Noah's three sons within the first twenty years after the flood, but adds the issue of that offspring within 320 years after the flood. The end of the first Vicennium is A. M. 1676.

А. М.	years after the flood.	nium	es born in the first Vicen- after the Flood; and the les that descended from
1676	20	30	
1716	60	300	
1756	ioo	3,000	Observations Celest. sent by Callisthenes, begin.
1796	140	30,000	Hereabouts Babel's tower is attempted to be built.
1836	180	300,000	
¥876°	220-	- 3,000,000	
1916		— 3,000,000 · 30,000,000	About this time Ægialeus founds the Sicyonian kingdom.
1956	300	300,000,000	Jostan Phaleg's brother founds a kingdom in Arabia.
1996	340 3	,000,000,000	·
	The fum	3,333,333,330	Males furnish'd with wives.

I have thought fit to end this table at the end of 340 years after the flood, for many good reasons.

1. Because

- a. Because I think that even this number of men, though it be but the fruits of the first twenty years generation of Noah's three sons is sufficient to found those kingdoms, that any credible history remaining to us does report to have been sounded within the first 340 years after the flood; and consequently this table alone will stop the mouth of those bold pretenders that say it was impossible that in this time men enough could be begotten to plant the kingdoms; concerning which we have good records.
- 2. I stop a while here, because even our adversaries will grant, that if there were so many millions in being when *Phaleg* died, the ages that follow'd would easily be stock'd with many more millions to people the earth.
- 3. I chuse to stand at Phaleg's death, because he is the first man whose death can be prov'd by the Scripture to have sallen out in all that interval of 340 years, from the flood to his decease. All his ancestors, Heber, Salah, Arphaxad, Shem, and even Noah were then alive: So that there is no evidence that any one man died in that interval to put any stop to the constant increase of mankind to that space L 4

of time, according to the *Hebrew* account, which I follow in all this discourse. And I am unwilling in these accounts to be entangled with difficulties that may arise by reason of the deaths of many, which will make it hard to adjust allowances for them.

4. Because the Scripture testifies, that in Phaleg's days the earth or land was divided, Gen. x. 25. I Chron. i. 19. For by our table it will appear, that in his time mankind was so increas'd in number, that a division of the proper estates of single families and of diverse nations was necessary to be introduc'd. Therefore between the time of his birth, which was A. M. 1757, and his death A. M. 1996, I have plac'd the origin of the eldest dominions, whereof our best historians and chronologers give us notice, and have offer'd evidence, that there were men sufficient to begin them.

Lastly, because *Phaleg* is the first man after the flood who is recorded in Scripture to have liv'd less than 400 years, and therefore had much less time to propagate mankind than all before him, it was fit I should end these tables in him, because I design'd in them only to consider such as had the longest time given them by

by divine providence to repair the loss of men who perish'd in the flood. All that surviv'd in the ark and all born before him, that appear in Scripture, and have their age there recorded, liv'd considerably above 400 years. So Heber Phaleg's father liv'd 464 years, Salah 433, Arphaxad 438, Shem above 500 after the flood.

Nevertheless, I will not suppose that these patriarchs did beget children near the last years of their lives, but will leave all that time wherein they furviv'd Phaleg out of the following table, as if then they were quite superannuated as to the concern of propagation. By this method I shall exclude the last 160 years of the life of Shem, and of his brothers, if they be suppos'd to live as long as he did. We shall leave unaccounted the 100 last years of Arphaxad, and of all his contemporaries. We charge with no issue the 130 last years of Salah, and such as we may suppose born in Ham and Japhet's line about the same time with him: And so we leave unreckon'd 191 years of Heber and all his contemporaries: Besides that we leave quite out of all our accounts all the 350 last years of Noah, altho' it be certain that the Scripture's filence is no cogent argument

argument to conclude that he begat no children all that time, when foon after the deluge there was a great want of men to people the earth.

These things I thought sit to mention, briefly to shew that we do not violently lay hands on all possible methods of multiplying men, but have lest out very many ways whereby we might have increas'd our numbers; and therefore I may justly expect that the numbers which I have already, and those additions which I now proceed to make to them (after those abatements which I have now allow'd) will the more readily be accepted as reasonable.

After the fruits of the first twenty years generation of Shem and his brethren, estimated in the first table, there remain within the space of 340 years in their lives (which I have limited my self to) sixteen more vicennia, wherein they might generate, and their posterity might multiply, (as in the first table) to the time of Phaleg's death; and the numbers might be express'd in sixteen more tables, like the first; which numbers must all be added to the former in their several descents, because all of them would be born after Phaleg's death.

But

But to avoid prolixity, and the tiring my reader, I will only affirm that fixteen such tables will increase the sum to above ten times as many as are above express'd; and this is enough to people the earth as much as we have good reason to believe the earth was peopled even in Abraham's time, who was born twelve years after Phaleg died, and remov'd into Canaan eighty-seven years after it, and yet found room enough there for himself and a numerous family, and many cattle to feed, by permission of the inhabitants, because they had more land than they could stock.

The rest of the earth (excepting perhaps about Babel) was yet more thinly peopled, because the celebrated sertility of Egypt and Canaan drew men thither early. Yet there may be considerable numbers spar'd out of this early increase to spread into all the quarters of the then known earth: Particularly some might be carry'd in the travels of Cronus, (whom I have prov'd to be Ham) and in the removes of Astarte, into many parts of the habitable earth: Which removes are recorded by Sanchoniatho, and cannot reasonably be thought to be any lower design than to plant

plant colonies; as one in Attica is mention'd expresly.

These might well be about 260 or 300 years after the flood. The travels of Osiris on the same account into Phrygia, Attica and Macedonia, are mention'd by Eusebius out of Diodorus Siculus; and we have shew'd that Osiris is Mizraim; whose time falls within our table; see Euseb. Prapar. 1. 2. p. 46. So whereas the table can only shew that then great numbers of men were possible, the history of many plantations so early made, proves great numbers actually to have been, and to have spread themselves into far remote countries.

But I cannot let pass without a special remark, that Diodorus affirms Osiris Τριπτο-λέμω επιτρέψαι τὰς κατὰ την Αττικήν γεωργίας, Τα leave the care of the tillage in Attica to Triptolemus; because here we have the most antient tillage in Greece mention'd to be in Osiris's time; with which it well enough agrees, that it is commonly ascrib'd to Ceres; for there is sufficient proof that she is Isis, the wife of Osiris, who might well be with him, and take a special care to instruct many in that husbandry, which was so fully understood in Egypt. Besides,

Of the Increase of Mankind. 157 fides, here is Triptolemus mention'd in O-sirus's time concern'd in this improvement, which assures us there was a Triptolemus long before the time of Erechtheus, in which Triptolemus and the coming of Ceres is commonly plac'd; together with the Eleusinian festival.

But our Diodorus, if he be well consider'd, will clear this matter to us: for he fufficiently intimates, that that coming of Ceres in Erechtheus's time. which he mentions, is an allegory or figurative narration: For he fays that the coming of the goddess Ceres is rightly attributed to those times in which bread-corn, those fruits of the earth that are call'd by the same name. with the goddes, (Ceres is bread-corn) were imported into Athens. Erechtheus had brought them much bread-corn from Egypt, when there was a great dearth or famine in Attica, Diod. 1. 1. p. 17. and they made him king for his benefaction: and he establish'd the feasts and mysteries of Ceres in Attica, which were long before us'd in Egypt, where she reign'd some centuries of years before, as Herodotus also testifies. Perhaps also some improvement in husbandry might be introduc'd in Erechtheus's days: But I can't believe that the

the whole skill of plowing, sowing and inning of harvest should come so late into Greece, that had been long peopled from the eastern parts of the earth, where these things were known many ages before: And therefore I can easily believe that Attica had learnt the art of tillage in the days of Oscilia or Mizraim, as Diodorus before doth inform us. And here also I observe, that the children of Ham planted first in Phanicia and Egypt, did quickly mingle themselves with the sons of Japhet that planted in Greece; and spread their idolatry among them.

This gives me occasion to consider some other reasons of the dispersion of mankind into the several countries of the known world, than those that are most commonly offer'd to us; and they are these. I doubt not but the fruitfulness of many countries above others, as Egypt, Canaan, Greece, and of Asia Minor; besides, the islands were known to Noah and his sons before the slood: and therefore they would acquaint their offspring therewith, which would naturally excite in them a desire to be early posses'd of those fertile lands, which could not be without removing from their first habitations.

2. Their

- 2. Their reason and observation would affure them, that plants would grow and fpread themselves into thickets and woods, which would make countries impassable, if men did not disperse themselves and labour to keep them down. But there would be greater danger from the increase of wild beasts, which would multiply exceedingly, and overspread the earth quickly, if their increase were not hinder'd; so that it would become dangerous to enter those countries where lions, tigers, &c. were multiply'd. I find in the antient wifdom of the Mosaical Law a caution given by God himself, Deut. vii. 22. That the Canaanites were not to be consum'd all at once, but by little and little, left the beafts of the field should increase upon Israel.
- 3. There was early so great a corruption of their morals grown among them, that they kept a distance often, because they dar'd not trust one another, but seared surprizes, fraud and violence from each other; and found distance a great security, which made them to affect it.
- 4. By fuch early removes they got before others the title of the first occupation of a country, which was most considerable when there were no boundaries to men's

men's land fet by law or civil government: But the first occupant made himself king of his family or retinue by confederacy, and challeng'd command over a large quantity of lately unoccupy'd land.

Astarte in Sanchoniatho, and of Osiris, who is the old Dionysius, celebrated for travels, not only by Diodorus, whom I have before quoted for his perambulating Asia and Greece, but by others, for his march eastward; even to the Indies: These prove a design in them to lay the foundations of a large empire. They prove a boundless ambition, which would make them quickly over run the earth.

6. The information that Sanchoniatho gives us, that the Dioscuri and their sons made improvement of ships or vessels, wherewith they pass'd over the sea, (which by our account must be made within the two next generations after the slood) will evince us, that thus men might pass early even into islands and countries, separated by sea from each other, which must needs help forward the dispersion of mankind into many countries. And accordingly we find these sons of Sydyc, call'd by Sanchoniatho Samothraces, which imports that they

they got very early into that island, and into Thrace, near adjoining. For Herodotus also says the Thracians were initiated according to the rites of the Cabiri, whom he records to have been early in Samothrace, and thence to have remov'd with the Pelassi into Attica, and thence into other parts of Greece, where, Pausanias assures us, that their mysteries were upheld even to his times.

I will not here digress to follow the Cabiri thro' diverse countries, because I have elsewhere spoken of them; but chuse to conclude this discourse of antient plantations with one example, which I think is the eldest mention'd in the sacred history, viz. that of Nineveh, whereof we have also some memoirs preserv'd in the gentile historians. And because several difficulties or disputable matters may occur therein, I shall beg leave humbly to propose my thoughts on this subject in this method.

1. I shall offer to consideration what Mofes hath deliver'd concerning the founder of Nineveh, whence we may make some approach to the knowledge of his time.

2. I shall briefly intimate what the heathen antiquaries have said concerning its M founder:

founder; and shall shew how I conceive their words may be consistent with the *Mosaical* history.

3. This agreement between the facred and gentile history being admitted, I will propose a method to fix the time of this foundation of *Nineveh* more exactly by the help of some other credible chronologers, than we can do by the words of *Moses* alone.

All these things will be the fitter for us to consider, because it's agreed among those who differ in the question whether the numbers of the Hebrew text, or those of the Septuagint and Samaritan are to be preser'd; that in this case that controversy hath no place: For that question concerns only the line of Sem by Arphaxad, not by Ashur; much less the line of Ham, in which Nimrod is found to be a grandchild. Wherefore we will apply ourselves to the three enquiries propos'd in their order.

1. All that Moses informs us of the founder of Nineveh, is contain'd in Gen. x. 11. Concerning which the translators of our Bible into English have suggested very faithfully, that the original words may be translated two ways; either, 1. That out of the land (of Shinaar) went forth Ashur

and built Nineveh: Or, 2. That out of Shinaar he (which is Nimrod mention'd in the verse foregoing) went into Assyria and built Nineveh. So they translate it in the margin. We may with equal honour to the translators take either of these translations, both being offer'd us by the same men: But I think not with equal honour to the divine historian Moses: For if we take the former of them, Moses must be made to bring in a narrative concerning Ashur, one of Sem's fons, most incoherently and impertinently, in the middle of his narrative, concerning the fons of Ham, which begins \$\varphi\$. 6. and ends \$\varphi\$. 20. Which will be fo much the worse; because Moses, before this eleventh verse, had not inform'd us that there was any fuch man born into the world as this Ashur, whom the first tranflation brings into the text. Therefore I chuse the marginal translation, and understand Moses in this place to inform us that Nimrod built Nineveh, &c. This is no new translation or exposition of the words, but as old and authentick as the Targum or paraphrase of Onkelos on the Pentateuch; and also the Targum of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel: And I have observ'd that the Chaldao-Samaritan version translates the M 2 hame

name Ashur by Astun, in \dot{y} . 11. which we are explaining: But Ashur the son of Sem, in \dot{y} . 22. is call'd Ashur in the Hebrew, not Astun.

And herewith concur many modern translators; as Vatablus, Junius and Tremellius: and the excellent orientalist Rochart, who may be consulted in Phaleg, 1. 4. c. 12. p. 259, &c. where he gives many good reasons for so translating the words. I know that it may be objected, that the Septuazint and the vulgar Latin, and some other translations, seem to own Ashur as the founder of this great city. But I answer, that it is not necessary to take them in that fense, as speaking concerning Albur the fon of Sem: They may be understood as affirming that this Assyrian monarch (meaning Nimrod) went forth from Shinaar and built Nineveh: For Albur generally in Scripture (excepting only in the genealogies) does fignify the Assyrian; witness Num. xxiv. 22, 24. Ezr. iv. 2. where Esar haddon is call'd king of Ashur. So Hof. xiv. 3. and many other places. And I have observ'd that the Hierusalem Targum on this place, which is now under confideration, doth fo understand the word Ashur, taking it for the Assyrian; not for one

one fingle man, who was Sem's fon: For whereas here he writes אשורה, there he writes אשור אינובא, there he writes אשור אינובא. 22. where Sem's fons are reckon'd up. If this be not admitted as the fense of the Septuagint, &c. I must crave leave to dissent from them for the reasons above given.

I will shut up this first enquiry with an etymology of the word Nineveh, given by Schindler in the word nin, where I think he truly affirms that it's compounded of it, signifying a son or progeny, and schindler in the fon of the habitavit: So it imports the habitation of the son; either eminently the heir of the crown and family, or more generally a place where the spreading numerous progeny of Cush, (the chief of which was Nimrod) and those under him may conveniently dwell. A colony or nursery for posterity, especially for the heir, might with good reason be so call'd.

This gives me a fair transition to the se-

cond enquiry.

2. What do heathen authors say of this, and how doth their report agree with Mofes? I answer, that Strabo, both in his second and in his sixteenth book, expressly affirms it to be built by Ninus: So doth Diodorus Siculus and others. Even the christian M 3 father

father Enfebius, in the beginning of his second Chronicon, saith Ninus built Nineveh: And in the Greek text, kept by Syncellus, he affirms the city to have its name from Ninus. Niva example. And so doth St. Augustin de Civit. 1. 16. c. 3. Which is a plain argument that they did not think of Ashur as a distinct person from Nimrod or Ninus, to be the sounder of Nineveh: Yet certainly they meant not to contradict Moses.

1. Therefore I think it necessary to believe that Nimrod and Ninus are two names of the same man, and then all will agree. So Chronicon Alexandrinum: and Scaliger on Eusebius. Nimrod signifies a violent man and a rebel; and Moles knew this man to be fuch; and fo did his neighbouring people. Those that were his subjects consider'd him as the eminent son of Culb, the possessor and heir of the crown: and so call'd him Nin. Thus far I agree with Bochart. In other things that follow in his writings I crave leave to differ, (without any difrespect;) and shall offer my reafons for my opinion, passing over his conjectures in silence; because if my assertions are prov'd, his will fall for want of proof.

2. The agreement between Moles and the heathen writers in this case will be vet more evident, if it appear that the father of Nimrod or Ninus, who is call'd Culb in Moles, be shew'd to be call'd Belus in them. I suppose it known that Belus is deriv'd from Baal, which is but a title of honour, fignifying a lord in the Hebrew and Chaldean languages. Now it is clear from Eupolemus and Polyhistor, cited by Eusebius, Prapar. l. 9. c. 17. where not only they but the Babylonians generally affirm that their first king was Belus, called also Cronus; and that he had four sons; two of which were Belus the second, and Canaan. This proves Belus the second to be Canaan's brother, as Cush in Moses was? And Eupolemus presently after mentions the accusative case of that name Xèu. There may be some disorder in the words; but Ham and his four fons are certainly design'd, Canaan and Mizraim being exprefly nam'd as Moses names them; and another call'd Belus, as his father Ham - also was in Chaldaa: And this Belus is agreed to be Ninus's (or Nimrod's) father in many other historians. Add hereunto, that our author Sanchoniatho does expresly M 4 affirm

affirm that Cronus had a fon call'd Zèus Binos, whom Moses calls Cush.

It may be confirm'd that Ninus is Nimrod, the grandchild of Ham, because his father is Belus, plac'd first in the Assyrian fuccession, which Syncellus affirms to come from Africanus: For this Belus is by Hierom's translation of Eusebius affirm'd to be call'd Deus and Saturnus, which in the Greek are Ilus: from the Chald. איל: and Cronus קרן, the horned king, the first crown'd head. Also from the city Ninus, which is affirm'd by the Greeks to bear its founder's name, Euseb. Prapar. p. 484. although call'd with some change Nineveb in Hebrew, i. e. the habitation of Ninus: But Moles expresly affirms Nimrod to be its founder. There is no reconciling Mofes and the Greeks, but by owning Nimrod and Ninus to be the same man.

See Scaliger's Greek Collections in his Eusebius, p. 356, Col. 2. In Eusebius, as I just now said, the first Cronus is affirm'd to be the father of Canaan, a sure mark of Ham: And also the father of Coum, (which is Cush, and was call'd Belus the second) who was the father of the Æthiopes, who are the Arabians or Cushites: And that this Cush was the brother of Mizraim, the father

father of the Egyptians. No better description of Belus the first as Ham, than by three of his sons, can be desir'd.

And whereas he faith that the Greeks call this Coum or Cush, Asbolus, and affirm him to be Mizraim's brother: That name Assoco is of the same signification in Greek as Æthiops, black or tawny-fac'd: And so Cush is often translated. Yet now the learned generally agree, that Cush means Arabs, not Moors or Africans.

In the eighteenth chapter of this ninth book, Eusebius from Artapanus, (who relates it from a book that was adecrets, that is, of anameless author) affirms that this Belus only remain'd of the impious race which was of men that was destroy'd by the gods, (so the heathens speak of the flood which only the one true God brought) and dwelt in Babylon in the tower which he built, and which was call'd by his name. This place plainly relates to Ham, here call'd Belus, and makes him or his son Belus the second to found the tower of Babel, which doth not hinder but that Nimrod his grandchild assisted.

Agreeably hereunto, Sanchoniatho in Eusebius, l. 1. p. 37. line ult. and p. 38, the first line, affirms that Cronus had in Peræa (understand

(understand countries beyond Euphrates or Fordan) three fons, one who was call'd Cronus, namesake to his father; a second call'd Belus: the third Apollo. Here Belus is affirm'd to be a ion of Cronus the eldest which is Ham. And it must be confess'd, that both Cronus and Belus are in the eastern languages titles, importing dominion; and therefore may in the east pass to many that have like dominion; tho' they have other names, whereby they are distinguish'd. As the first Cronus was Ham. altho Sanchoniatho informs us that even his confederate princes were call'd Cronii, as he was Cronus; and Eloim as he was Ilus. Euseb. p. 37. B. Much more might his fon be call'd Cronus and Belus eminently: So in Sanchoniatho he is call'd Zeus Bnaos, altho' his distinguishing name was Cush. I find also that his grandchild Nimrod or Ninus was call'd Cronus in Scaliger's Ίτορίων Συναγωγή, p. 356. Col. 2. Tit. Ετι περί Ασσυρίων.

Here, because we have noted that titles, instead of distinguishing names, are us'd in this history, it may be seasonable to enquire about Adodus, who, p. 38. C. in this history, is call'd the king of gods; who he was and what's the true import of his being call'd king of gods. And truly I conceive that

that this is also a title which belong'd either to Ham's son Cush, or rather to his grand-child Nimrod; because the Scripture intimates that his dominion was much more extended, even to Assyria, and its several parts; and therefore he might well have many subordinate kings under him, who are call'd gods, as we have noted that his grandfather Cronus's confederate princes were call'd Eloim, which is gods.

Agreeably hereunto, we find that Hadad was a kingly name, very antiently among the eldest kings in the land of Edom; for Gen. xxxvi. 35. the fourth of those kings is call'd Hadad; and I Chron. i. 50. the eighth of them is call'd Hadad also; altho' in Genesis he be call'd Hadar. In like manner that Syrian prince, who in 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6. is call'd Hadadezer, is I Chron. xviii. 5, 7. call'd Hadarezer: Not only because the letters Daleth and Resh are very like in Hebrew, but also the signification of the names Hadad and Hadar are also near of kin. For as Macrobius Saturnal. 1. c. 31. hath inform'd us Adad fignifies among the Assyrians the one eminently, which is confirm'd by Bochart out of Arabic in his Canaan, p. 811. and therefore may well be the title of a monarch, or fingle fovereign, and

of the fun their deity. So also Adar or Adir is the magnificent or mighty potentate, which in the same manner may be a princely title.

Hither belongs also Josephus's observation from Nic. Damascenus, that the ten fuccessions from Hadad-ezer in Syria took all of them the title of Hadad; and that they call'd their subordinate princes and confederates kings in Syria, also is clear by the thirty-two kings following the command of Benhadad, as appears I Kings xx. 1. 'Tis certain, that altho' Moses has not given us the years of the life of Ham, and of his descendents, yet we may prudently believe, and in accounts, allow to that line very long lives in the ages near the flood, in some correspondence to Shem's line; although it be credible that Ham and his descendents did, by their wicked debauchery, shorten their own days, and provoke God judicially to shorten them also. Here we have suppos'd Ham only to live about 300 years after the flood; and this may well be granted, because his father liv'd fifty years longer; in which time I have prov'd that *Nineveh* was built by his grandchild Nimrod; and it is certain that his brother Shem liv'd 200 years longer; and

and all the men of the generation following him, recorded by Moses, liv'd above 400 years: And the time of Ham's death is not determin'd by Scripture, or any other book that I know of. But Sanchoniatho says plainly that by Cronus's consent and authority Adodus reign'd over many gods or kings, which I cannot understand otherwise than that Ham allow'd so large a dominion to his son Cush, or his grandchild Nimrod.

Let the learned confider, that in the Samaritan version of Gen. xiv. 9. Tidal, whom we translate king of nations, is there translated the king Sultan of the Chammim, or confederates, or subjects of Cham or Ham. The Latin translation annex'd to it calls them Chamai

And this I take notice of in this fragment of Sanchoniatho, because it seems to point at the beginning of that great empire, commonly call'd the Assyrian monarchy, and is very well consistent with what Moses delivers concerning Nimrod; the beginning of whose kingdom he places in Babylon, but the height and grandeur of it in Assyria; especially in Nineveh, and the cities adjoining to it.

Sancho-

Sanchoniatho also affirms, in the last line of Eusebius, p. 37, and the first of p. 38, that Cronus's or Ham's three principal fons were born in Peræa, which Scaliger well interprets of the country beyond Euphrates, in his notes on his Greek Eusebius, p. 410. These fons I have shew'd to be Mizraim, Cush and Phut; whereof he feems to have plac'd Cush or the second Belus, at Babylon; and he is honour'd with the title of Zac Bñaoc, because he was in after-times deify'd. Mizraim is generally agreed to be fettled in Egypt, and Phut in remoter parts of Africa. He seems to have plac'd himself for some time at Byblus, p. 38, A. that from thence by fea he might have correspondence with Egypt and Africa, where two of his fons rul'd; and that by land he might correspond with Babylon and Nineveh, where his fon Culh, and his grandchild Nimrod were; himself being feated in the middle of his children that were vicerovs or kings, by his confent, as our author affirms.

Agreeably to this, we find in Plutarch de Iside & Osiride, that when Osiris (whom I believe to be Ham's son Mizraim) was kill'd, his wife Isis sails from Egypt to Byblus, where she finds Melcander; (which

is a made name in that myslical story, and plainly relates to the Hebrew name Melech or Moloch, which was a Hebrew name of Ham or Cronus) and from thence a successor is sent into the kingdom of Egypt, whom our author calls Thoth, Plutarch names Orus, the grandchild of Cronus, and the fon of Menes or Mizraim. For the clearing that Thoth may well be call'd Oras when he came to be king in Egypt, I remember that the learned Salmasius, in his feventy eighth epistle, which he sent to Golius, informs us, that in the Egyptian or Coptic language, sed fignifies a king, and adds hinc Los Gracis; and in Horapollo Boods est Basiliscus, a little king.

In passing also, I will note, that when Sanchoniatho says that Cronus built Byblus, πρώτην πόλιν την ἐπὶ Φοινίκης, the first or a principal city in Phœnicia: There is no reason to understand him as if he said this was the first city of the world, and to inser that Philo writ sassely to give honour to his own birth-place. Tis certain Byblus might be elder than any city in Phænicia, and might be the first place in that country of this great king's residence, without pretending to be elder than Babel, or other towns that were sooner peopled after the

flood.

It feems probable that the town was not then call'd Babel (when the Cælestial observations were first taken) because Moses assures us that the name Babel was given from the confusion of languages, which was after the attempt of building that stupendous tower. But it's probable the town was call'd Sinaar, and gave name to the adjacent country, which continued when the city's name was chang'd to Babylon. The Chaldao Samaritan version calls Amraphel king of Shinar, Gen. xiv. 1. and the same man king of Babel, \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 9. making Shinar and Babel synonymous.

I must also add, that whereas Sanchoniatho doth, in the place fore-quoted, fay that Cronus had three fons born beyond Euphrates, (so I understand, in Peraa) and I have interpreted them of Mizraim, Cush and Phut, 'tis certain that Moses names a fourth fon brother to these, who is by him call'd Canaan. And Sanchoniatho not mentioning him here among those born in Peraa, feems therefore to intimate that he was born not beyond Euphrates, but on this fide of that great river. He knew him I doubt not, because he mentions him on another occasion, and calls him Xvã: Which Stephanus rightly interprets to be a Phænician s

nician: and Sanchoniatho favs expressy that he was the first Phanician or Canaanite: and indeed the father of them all: And Berveus. Sanchoniatho's birth-place, being in Phænicia, he must be his father or ancestor. I doubt not but in that book of the Phase. nician history, of which this fragment preferv'd by Eusebius is a part, the history of Canaan and his fons was largely written: but Eusebius not having occasion to quote other parts of that book, it falls out that this only stands preserv'd to our use.

But it is to be noted, that because Canaan was a fon of Ham or Cronus, as well as Cush or Mizraim, and his posterity the Phænicians or Canaanites, enter'd into and made war in Egypt in the life of Cronus, and because Thoth or Orus was in his time fent by him as his grandchild to reign in Egypt; therefore the arguments taken from these times fix'd by heathen authors, and agreeing with the age of his children and grandchildren, if the Hebrew numbers be embrac'd, but impossible to be in his time, or in his grandchild's time, if the Septuagint's numbers be preferr'd, will hold good in favour of the Hebrew text.

For these causes also the discourses which I have written concerning the Phanician

war

war in Egypt, and their expulsion thence; also the discourses concerning the Caphtorim and Philistim, and the discourses about the Horites are to be connected with the history and time of Canaan, the son of Ham.

Note also, that all these are confirm'd by Castor's express connection of the beginning of the Sicyonian kingdom, with the reign of Belus or Ninus, (or Cush and Nimrod, as they are prov'd;) so that it must begin in the third generation inclusively from the time of the flood, according to the Hebrew numbers: Whereas the followers of the seventy's numbers must either reject as some do, the concurrent testimony of the heathen Greeks and the christian sathers, or must remove all these monarchies farther from the slood, than they can reasonably believe that Ham or his grandchild could reach to.

Here also Varro's testimony must have weight, that there were about 1600 years between the first flood and the olympiads: Which number is exceeded 7 or 800 years by the Septuagint's account.

Consider whether the Pelasgi Ægialenfes or Littorales, who seem to be of the same time with the inland Pelasgi of Ar-

gos

gos and Arcadia, and their gods and teachers the Cabiri, who in the time of Isis and Thoth spread over Egypt, Asia and Greece, have a like sirm connection with the latter end of Cronus, and his issue, Mizraim and Thoth in Egypt: They are Thoth's scribes or Amanuerses.

Tis certain that Sanchoniatho makes the Cabiri contemporary with the latter end of Cronus's life, and to flourish under his grandchild Thoth, whose father is call'd Misor or Mizraim. The same time is assign'd to them, and Typhon contemporary with them, (besides Pontus, Nereus, and Neptune, whose time cannot be clear'd by any other record that I know.) But Typhon's time is clear by Plutarch, and all writers of Egyptian antiquity, to be the same with Osiris's or Mizraim's, who is agreed to be their first monarch, and slain by Typhon.

Compare Pausanias Bxotic. p. 300. line ult. where he makes Ceres (probably Isis) deliver the rites of the Dii Cabiri to Prometheus. Bochart, Phaleg, l. 3. c. 13. affirms Magog, the son of Japhet, to be Prometheus, whom the Greeks agree to be the son of Japetus. And Pausanias affigns him a son, nam'd Ætnæus, whom I N 2 find

find in no other author; and from these he derives the sirst rites of the Cabiri in Baotia, which spread thence into other parts of Greece. But he represents those rites as so sacred, that his religion forbad him to tell who the Cabiri were, and what was done to them, and to the mother of the gods.

Here we have it confess'd, that the issue of faphet receiv'd and propagated this sort of heathenish religion in Greece, as it was spread by Thoth of Ham's issue in Phanicia and Egypt: And our author makes the first Cabiri to be the issue of Sydyc, whom I think to be Shem. How much credit is to be given to our author in deriving the Cabiri from Sydyc, I will not determine, but leave it to the reader's judgment. 'Tis certain that Apollodorus derives the Corybantes, whom our author makes the same with the Cabiri, from Apollo. Straho, citing Pherecydes, derives the Corybantes from Apollo and Phytia.

However, it's generally agreed among christians, that some time before Abraham was call'd to be the pattern of the true saith in the true God, heathenism was spread in the samilies of Shem and Japhet, as well as in the descendents of Ham or Cro-

nus,

nus, whom our author makes the great promoter of that religion, and the great governor of the world or earth, that was then inhabited.

I think that Plutarch's name of the king then residing at Byblus, Melcander, which signifies the king of men, sounds like an universal monarch at that time, just after Mizraim's or Osiris's death. And Sanchoniatho, mentioning p. 36, two travels through the dissussion, or inhabited world, one (in C.) by Assarte, the sister of Cronus, and another by Cronus himself (in D.) I cannot imagine any lower design than the planting of colonies under such laws and religion as he thought sit; especially since there is express mention that he then gave to his daughter Athena that kingdom which is call'd Attica.

Besides these in Eusebius's Prapar. Èvang. p. 48. There is a third travelling about the then inhabited world, mention'd out of Diodorus Siculus, perform'd by Osiris, who liv'd in Cronus's time but died before him, into Lydia, India, Phrygia, and thence into Macedonia and Attica.

I judge also, that the Meon, whom Eufebius mentions p. 58, as king of Phrygia, whose daughter was Cybele, to be the same

N a man

man who is call'd Osiris, Menes and Mizraim, and stands first in Eratosthenes's catalogue of Egyptian kings; and that from him the Phrygians and Lydians were first call'd Meones. But of him and his issue, reigning in Lydia, and sending a colony into Italy, under Tyrsenus, I have an enquiry in a chapter by it self.

By what has been above written, it will appear that *Moses* and the heathen writers agree in affirming *Nineveh* to be built by the grandchild of *Ham* (known to them by the name *Belus* or *Baal*,) who must live in the third generation inclusive from the flood, because *Ham* was sav'd in the ark.

Indeed a long life, and a very numerous issue (such as appears in our table, founded and demonstrated by reasonable postulata) are necessarily required to this purpose, and because that such plantations and kingdoms were early founded, as is agreed by both sacred and prosane history; it is demonstrated that men then lived so long, and had such a multitude of children; which is the substance of what I proposed to evince in answer to the second enquiry.

If this second affertion be admitted, that Ninus is the same man with Nimred, I can proceed

proceed to make an useful approach towards the fixing the time of Ninus's beginning to reign in Assyria; which will lead us to the founding of Nineveh, then made the capital seat of the empire: But to such as deny the former, I pretend not to do the latter. Wherefore supposing it granted, that Nimrod and Ninus are two names of the same man, I shall now proceed to

The third affertion: That this man's time is confiderably nearer preciseness, determinable by help of other authors, who herein contradict not, but constst with and clear the history of *Moses*. The authors I shall produce are,

1. Castor Rhodius, who liv'd in Julius Casar's time, and writ critically to confute vulgar mistakes about antient times, a book call'd Χρονικά άγνοήματα, of which there are only some fragments now remaining; but they are so good, that the learned deplore the loss of the rest. 2. Eusebius. 3. I shall add others; particularly Josephus.

The passage in Castor, that I shall argue from, is to be seen in Scaliger's Greek Eufebius, p. 19. n. 15, 19. where he affirms that Ægialeus, the first Sicyonian king, liv'd in the times of Belus and Ninus, the

4 firj

first founders of the empire over Assyria, and other parts of Asia; and he places his beginning about the fifteenth year of this Belus. Now it's clear, by the table of Sicyonian kings, there following, that the beginning of Ægialeus was 1313 years before the first olympiad; and therefore is certainly fix'd (as Scaliger and Armagh agree) to the year 2625, in the Julian period, and consequently the first year of Belus, is found by subducting fifteen out of the foregoing number; fo there will remain 2610 in the Julian period for Belus's beginning. The years of Belus's reign being added hereunto will lead us to the first of Ninus, which is the thing we feek: For it may be prefum'd that Ninus began to build Nineveh, the seat of his empire, as soon as he began to reign in Asyria. Africanus gives Belus's reign to be fifty-five years. Syncellus intimates that Eusebius allow'd him fixty years: The difference is fo fmall, that we will not dispute about it in this enquiry: We shall take fifty five as most commonly receiv'd; then Ninus's firsbyear will be P. J. 2665; and here we place the founding of Nineveh by Castor's authority.

For I believe that his father Belus reigned at Babylon, as Eupolemus in Eusebius

de Prapar, intimates; but the son, to avoid the trouble of frequent inundations, which Babylon was then annoy'd with, or to enlarge the empire, remov'd to a place nearer the springs of Tigris, designing to fix his court there, where Nineveh was accordingly built. But still in these early times both Nineveh and Babylon were under the same monarchy of Ninus, (both after his father's death, and in conjunction with him living.) And agreeably thereunto, his wife Semiramis greatly improv'd Babylon, to secure it against inundations, and resided there when she pleas'd. I know that Pezeron affirms the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies to be at this time distinct; but he gives no good proof thereof from antiquity; and it were easy toshew many absurdities in his canon, as he calls it, of these times; but it's not feasonable here to enter into that dispute. I shall therefore pass to the proof of the time of Ninus's beginning, which in the fecond place! I affirm'd to be deducible from

2. Enfebius; which I clear in this method. (See also Enfeb Prapar. p. 484.)

His first number places the birth of Abrabam in the 43d year of Ninus; and it is agreed

agreed by chronologers, that if 2697 be added thereunto, we have the Julian period belonging to it, 2698. Wherefore, if we deduct hence forty-three, the years that Ninus had reign'd before this time, we shall find the first year of his reign 2655 in the Julian period: Which number differs but ten years from the number we found by Caftor's account: which difference is not confiderable in a matter of fo remote antiquity, but is near enough to agreement to fit it to be given in evidence against those that differ many centuries from our accounts. And fome fuch approach to agreement and accuracy is all that we can hope for in these dark and remote times. If my judgment be ask'd which of these two I think the better, I answer, the former, viz. Castor's, both because he is the more antient, and because the number deduc'd from his words is nearer the true time of Abraham's birth, in which I see cause to differ from Eusebius.

For this cause I shall, in pursuing this argument, rather make use of the P. J. 2665, (answering A. M. 1955.) Now it's well known that this, as all other numbers in the Julian period, will determine the distance of the thing it belongs to, from the

the first olympiad, which in this period is 3938: So by subduction of 2665 from the first olympiad, we find the difference or distance of time, reckon'd backwards, to be 1273. So long before the first olympiad was the building of Nineveb, or the first year of Ninus or Nimrod's reigning there. by this account. Now by the same method we may reckon backwards to the time of the flood, stated either by the numbers of the Hebrew text, or by those of the Septuagint's translation. By the former, calculated by our learned Armagh, the distance between Castor's first year of Ninus, and the flood's decrease, is thus found. Subduct from 2665, the number 2366, (which is the time of the flood in the 7ulian period by the Hebrew account) the difference or remainder is 299, or numero rotundo, take 300. So many years after the flood may well, in those times of long life, be allow'd to Ham's grandchild to begin to reign, and to mankind to increase, according to our table. And this consideration, besides others, makes me incline rather to the Hebrew numbers of the patriarch's generating, than to the seventy's; because by the seventy's numbers there must be about 900 years between the

the flood and the first year of *Ninus* or *Nimrod*, which certainly is too much distance between a grandfather and his grand-child's beginning to reign.

And I like the placing of Nimrod so long after the flood so much the worse, because Josephus informs us that Nimrod, whom he calls Nabrodes, was not only born at the time of the attempt of building the tower at Babel, but was then an active man, and a great leader of the party engag'd in that design; and there is no proof that I know of in history that that attempt was near 900 years from the flood; but it's generally reputed to be many centuries before that time.

But the unreasonableness of allowing 900 years between the grandsather Ham and his grandchild Nimrod, may be clear'd surther by that only example which we have recorded in that long liv'd age, which is in the line of Sem: For his grandchild Salah; according to the Hebrew text, dy'd in the year 470 after the flood: And his grandchild Gainan, after the Septuagint, dy'd, according to their numbers, (which interpolate a century in the time of Arphanad's begetting him, and give him 460 years of life) in the year 700, after the flood:

flood: Yet here are wanting above 300 years of that time, which was, in the Septuagint's account, between the flood and the first of Ninus, they stating the flood about 1030 years before his beginning to reign; and his death was sifty-two years after that. Thus I have sinish'd what I propos'd concerning this first plantation after the flood, that's mention'd in the Scripture.



TRACT



TRACT V.

An Appendix to the preceding Chapter, in an essay, towards the better stating of the interval between the sounding of Nineveh, and the sall of Sardanapalus, which broke from the antient Assyrian empire two monarchies; i. That of the Babylonians, beginning with Nabonassar; and, 2. That of the Medes, begun in Deioces, yet left to Tiglath-Pilezer, and his successors, an Assyrian empire which recover'd good strength, so as to conquer Syria, and to captivate the ten tribes of Israel.

ALTHO' Ninevel was not quite deftroy'd at the fall of Sardanapalus, yet the empire, whereof it was the metropolis, was then so violently torn in pieces, particularly by the rending from it the great kingdoms

kingdoms of Media and Babylonia, that the antient heathen historians have conflantly dated the duration of the Assyrian monarchy by respect to that time as its end, and have little or not at all consider'd that the Assyrians, after this great blow receiv'd, struggled, and recover'd great strength under Tiglath-Pileser, Salmanassar, Senacherib, and Esar-Haddon; under whom, the Jews, being a neighbouring nation, suffered bitterly, as the Scriptures do testify.

This is certainly a great defect in the heathen historians; and yet I being now concern'd only to observe how much agreement I can find in them with the Scriptures, and thereby not oblig'd to supply their defects, must only shew how agreeable to Scripture chronology the best heathen accounts of this interval are found to be, or at least how consistent they are therewith; and we shall see reason to pardon many defects in them, if we consider how far distant both in time and place those historians, which we have some fragments of, were from the times and places in which this empire flourish'd.

I shall therefore, in this place, wave the consideration of what duration the Assyrian kingdom had after Sardanapalus's time,

time, and only feek what is the most agreed continuance of it before that time; and that I find to be about 1300 years.

This I prove by shewing that herein is an agreement between those that begin the empire with *Belus*, and those that begin it with his son *Ninus*. This may seem strange; but I will first prove that such an agreement is, and then I will offer a reason on which it may be founded.

I. Those that begin the empire with Belus, and yet assign but about 1300 years are Eusebius and St. Augustin; both these I know to be christians, yet I can't doubt but they being engag'd in disputation against the heathens, took their accounts of this empire from the heathen historians. That Eusebius so reckon'd when he accounted the beginning from Belus is expressly affirm'd by Syncellus, altho' it appear not in his chronicle as it is now extant. See this in Scaliger's animadversions on Eusebius, ad num. 1197, pag. 64, Col. A. and B.

The place where St. Augustin so reckons is in lib. de Civitate Dei, l. 18, c. 21. He allows 1305 years from Belus, which is about the round number. Justin from Trogus Pompeius expresses it by 1300 precisely.

2. Those

Diodorus Siculus from Ctesias, and Castor Rhodius. These also are about the same number when they determine the years of its continuance. I. Diodorus, I confess, in Stephanus's print, hath 1360: But I have great reason to believe that it was otherwise in the antient manuscripts: For this place of Diodorus is cited otherwise in Syncellus twice. See the Greek Eusebius, p. 32, and p. 415; & 416. Notarum Scalig. on the Greek Eusebius.

There Diodorus is quoted ἀυτολεξα, to affirm only somewhat above 1300, α. τ. The same place is also quoted by Agathias, and express'd to be 1306. Whence it is probable that the number 6, which is at the end of that sum, was by some careless transcriber chang'd, in Stephanus's edition of Diodorus, into 60. See Agathias, l. 2. p. 63, D.

Page 62. He quotes Berosus the Babylonian, Athenocles, and Symmachus, Dion,
and Alexander Polyhistor, as having given
the most antient history of the Assyrians
and Medes; and that the Assyrians had all
Asia under them, excepting the Indians beyoud Ganges; and call'd Jupiter, Belus;
Hercules, Sandes; Venus, Ancirtis; and
Deep 100

he places the fall of Sardanapalus about 300 years before Cyrus.

By these authorities I am convinc'd that Diodorus, agreeing with Ctelias, did affert the duration of this empire, counted from Ninus to Sardanapalus's fall, to be only somewhat more than 1300; and that his numbers in the printed books, both this in the fixth chapter of his fecond book, which makes it 1360: and much more that at the end of the seventh chapter, which expresses above 1400, inconsistently with himfelf, and quoting no author from whom it's taken, are corrupted numbers, and therefore are wholly to be rejected: Unless perhaps we may allow this last number in Diodorus to refer to the total destruction of Nineveh, which was above 120 years after Sardanapalus, was ruin'd by Nabopolassar.

Castor Rhodius also begins his account, as Syncellus informs us, from Ninus, and he reckons the duration of the empire unto Sardanapalus to be 1280 years, which falls short of the other historians only twenty years; and it's probable therefore, that since it's generally agreed that Sardanapalus reign'd twenty years, Castor reckon'd only to the beginning of his reign; so those

APPENDIX to CHAP. IV. 195 those years are to be added to the account to bring it to his fall; and so Castor's number will agree with the rest to make the whole duration in a round number to be 1300 years.

Now I shall offer a reason of this agreement, notwithstanding the difference of the beginnings taken by these several antient authors; and it is this: That Ninus went out from Babel, to plant a colony at Nineveh early, while his sather Belus was yet alive, and reign'd at Babylon, but allow'd his son to reign at Nineveh at the same time; and both these cities were parts of the same empire, and so their times were coincident; yea, his son might govern in Babylon subordinately, and yet be call'd king there.

Besides the necessity of this expedient to reconcile the seeming difference of the authors nam'd, who are all of good reputation, I can offer a testimony from Castor Rhodius, and an example of a like case in the Egyptian monarchy that was contemporary with this. i. Castor's words, which intimate that Belus and Ninus govern'd this monarchy at the same time are to be seen in Scaliger's Greek Eusebius; p. 19; 1. 15. where he says that Ægialeus began

the Sicyonian kingdom κατα Βηλον κ Νίνον τες πρώτον 'Αστυρίων βασιλεύσαι κ της 'Ασίας μνημονοδομένες. Which words plainly favour them, who believe these two to have reign'd at the same time.

And it's certain, that (according to my opinion, that Belus is Cush, the son of Ham) he being contemporary with Arphanad (who did not die till 440 years after the flood) might live to the end of Ninus's reign, which by Eusebius's account must be plac'd in P. J. 2707, which is but 341 years after the flood, according to the Hebrew account; whence the possibility of my hypothesis is clear

If yet this my reconciliation of these authors concerning the founder of the Assyrian monarchy be not admitted, nevertheless their concordant testimony concerning its duration ought to be esteem'd valid; and that's the only thing which I endeavour to establish in this chapter.

2. The example which is exactly like, is the case of *Cronus* or *Ham*, who sent his son, brother to *Cush* or *Belus*, to reign over his plantation in *Egypt*; and from this beginning of *Mizraim*'s time there all the *Egyptian* accounts run, taking, as I have prov'd, *Menes* to be the same man:

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Yet his father Cronus was sovereign at the fame time over the land of Ham, and he liv'd after Mizraim's time was ended, to send his grandchild Athothes or Thoth to reign there, as Sanchoniatho tessifies.

I remember, that in the preceding chapter, I did admit, that according to Africanus, Belus reign'd fifty five years before Ninus; but I did not affirm it to be certain, that he reign'd so long alone; for Castor, in Syncellus, confesses that the time of his reign, before Ninus, is not well known: Nor is it necessary to be known as to my accounts, which descend not to particular kings times, but affirm the sum of all their reigns to have been about 1300 years.

Upon consideration of all these things I think the safest course we can take in this matter is, 1. Not wholly to reject this antient monarchy, wherein Nineveh and Babylon and most of Asia, on this side of India, were united in some degree, so as yet there were many little kings and kingdoms under them. 2. Nor yet to think this sum of 1300 to be the precise number of years belonging to this monarchy's duration; but to understand it as a round number, pretty near the exact time be-

108 APPENDIX to CHAP. IV. tween Ninus and the end of Sardanapalus.

3. Yet I prefer this number far before the number which Syncellus faith was affign'd by Africanus, viz. 1484, which he makes up, by naming forty-one monarchs, of whom Belus was the first, and assigning years to their respective reigns; which added together will make up that fum: And I shall offer my reasons against this series of kings

thus attributed to Africanus.

1. Because I can find no authority extant to justify this series. Ctesias, who was the only author that is recorded before Africanus to have deliver'd the names of all the Affyrian kings, did expresly affirm, as Syncellus himself assures us out of Diodorus, that Sardanapalus was the thirtyfifth king, counting from Ninus; yet he tells us that Africanus sets down forty-one. Diodorus expresly affirms Teutamus to be the twentieth king of Assyria, reckoning from Ninus as the first: Africanus makes him the fix and twentieth. These things are not confissent.

Diodorus also from Ctesias, in Syncellus, is acknowledg'd to own the fum of their time to be only somewhat above 1300 years. Castor, that was also before Africanus

Appendix to Chap. IV. 199

canus, gives us the fum yet less. Cephallion, who is nam'd in Syncellus, to give authority to Africanus's series of kings, mentions only twenty-three kings, as Syncellus confesses, and blames him for it. And I find Cephallion's credit to be very little among the learned.

In short, I find none elder than Africanus, from whom he could receive his series. Sir John Marsham gives no proof that Africanus's series of Assyrian kings was taken out of Ctesias: Photius indeed affirms that Ctesias. concluded his Persica with a catalogue of kings from Ninus to to Artaxerxes; but he tells us not the number of years, or of kings, contain'd therein; and it's now lost. And Eusebius, who came after Africanus, and hath set many of his Assyrian kings in his canon, yet leaves out four of them, and changes the number of years in several of them, which proves that he thought not Africanus's series to be as it should be.

I know Syncellus rails at him for this, and that Scaliger blames him highly, but in a more civil manner. Syncellus, when he is cooler, tells us that Eusebius did rather follow Castor. I was glad to find an enemy to Eusebius, to acknowledge that Q4

Eusebius

Eusebius had so good authority for what he did; and I should be more glad if we could recover more of Castor's Xeoura ay-vonpata; for I believe that author to have been an excellent chronologer, and judge Eusebius had greater reason to follow him, than now appears, because we have so little of Castor preserv'd to our use; and Eusebius's chronicle also comes to our hands with many alterations and omissions, made in Hierom's translation, which cannot be set right compleatly by all the commendable endeavours of Scaliger out of Syncellus, Cedrenus, and others.

2. I have observed that Africanus is confess'd by Syncellus to have own'd that the beginning of the Assyrian monarchy was but 200 years before the Argive Æra, beginning with Inachus; and it's certain that this cannot consist with that sum of years 1484 which he assigns, and with the time of the end of this monarchy.

To make these things clear, 1. The place where Syncellus acknowledges this, may be read in Scaliger's notes on the Greek Eusebius, p. 414. 'Tis true that Syncellus blames Africanus for owning that the Argive Æra began 200 years after the Assyrian monarchy. But this proves that African

quote it for: And tho' Syncellus thought him mistaken, yet he hath not prov'd the

contrary.

2. We must fix the place of the Argive Æra in the J. P. which is thus done by a perpetual rule. Add the Eusebian number (which is here 161 for the first of Inachus) to the number 2697, the fum which is 2858 is the place in the Julian period. Then by subduction of 200 we find the beginning of the Assyrian monarchy according to Africanus's affertion. P. J. 2658, which number falleth between the numbers which in the foregoing chapter I found from the doctrine of Castor, and Eusebius, and differs but three years from one of them, and feven years from the other: which in these dark remote times I account very near agreement, being about 292 years after the flood in the Hebrew account.

Then, 3. We must see where Africanus's number of years will make this monarchy to end, and how that end will agree with the accounts of its end, which we have from Eusebius and Africanus.

By adding 1484, which is Africanus's number of years to the beginning of P. J. 2658,

2658, we find the fum P. J. 4142. But this is long after the fall of Sardanapalus, which is stated by Eusebius, num. 1197, to which add 2697, whose sum gives P. J. 3894; the difference is 244 years, which is intolerable.

And yet Scaliger, in his animadversions on Eusebius, p. 63, ad num. 1171, assures us, that by Africanus's accounts, the Affyrian monarchy fell sooner than by Eusebius's, particularly ninety-seven years before the first olympiad. Wherefore, out of the first olympiad, in P. J. 3938, deduct 97, the remainder is P. J. 3841; whereas before we found, by Africanus's years, added to the beginning of the empire, that it ended P. J. 4138. Now the difference of these numbers is 297, which is yet more intolerable. Wherefore I think we may conclude, that we must not state the duration of the Affyrian monarchy by that series of reigns which is given us as Africanus's; because it makes him inconfiftent with himself, as well as with all others.

Now by rejecting this series of Assyrian monarchs, and the times affix'd to them, (which Syncellus reports to be by Africanus's authority, whereby they have gain'd reputa-

APPENDIX to CHAP. IV. 203 reputation with many) upon reasons that are cogent, we have gain'd two advantages.

r. We have taken away a great objection against our stating of the flood according to the Hebrew account. For this feries of kings being ended ninety-seven years before the first olympiad at P. J. 3841, (as Scaliger on supposition that Africanus fo taught, hath plac'd its end in his *Isagogic Canons*, p. 137, and 138) the beginning of it must be found by substraction of its sum, which is 1484 out of 3841, the remainder will be P. J. 2357, for the beginning of Belus, whom he places first in the Assyrian monarchy; and that is before the flood, stated by the Hebrew numbers, which is P. J. 2365, and part of P. J. 2366: Wherefore it was necessary that I, who defend the Hebrew numbers, should give such reasons as I have done against this series of kings.

2. Hereby a great prejudice against the credit of authors, elder than Africanus, is remov'd, and we shall be encourag'd to endeavour, by their help, to state a better interval between the beginning and end of the Assyrian monarchy than his series would permit to take place: For the name of Africanus.

Africanus weigh'd heavy against them, being join'd with a particular enumeration of monarchs, and the years of their reigns, which do not appear in the elder monuments which remain to us concerning this monarchy.

But if things be well consider'd, it will appear evident, that it's more reasonable to stick to those elder accounts which do not contradict the Hebrew numbers and which come near to agreement with each other, speaking only in round numbers that pretend not to preciseness, than to take the latter accounts attributed to Africanus, which pretend indeed to be precise numbers, but contradict the elder historians; and are supported by no testimony of authors who liv'd before Africanus, but are also contradicted by both Fusebius and Augustin, who came after him; and, which is worst of all, make Africanus inconsistent with himself.

Wherefore, fince in the foregoing chapter, by the help of these antients, we found the first of *Ninus* to be 1273 years before the first olympiad; and in this appendix we have found the most agreed duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy after *Ninus* to be about or above 1300 years; whence it follows,

follows, that its end was after the first olympiad, yet not long: For the difference between 1300 and 1273 is but twenty se-

ven years.

Wherefore, if we go a little further, but two years after those twenty-seven from the first olympiad, we meet with the famous astronomical Æra of Nabonassar. begun, as Censorinus informs us, at the first year of his new erected kingdom at Babylon, which rose by the breaking in pieces of the Asyrian empire at the fall of Sardanapalus: Therefore I believe that our learned Armagh has wisely chosen to place Sardanapalus's fall at the beginning of this Æra, which the antient historians did not take notice of; but Ptolemy's Σύνταξις μεγάλη hath made it illustrious; and its place in the Julian period twenty-nine years after the first olympiad is agreed on by all intelligent chronologers.

I am sensible that the principles, out of which I draw this conclusion, that Sardanapalus's fall was about the beginning of the Æra of Nabonassar, are not the same with those made use of by the learned primate; yet I am well satisfy'd that I come to the same conclusion. I agree also with him, that after the Medes and the Chal-

dæans,

daans or Babylonians were torn off from the great Affyrian monarchy at the fall of Sardanapalus, and were become separate kingdoms; yet the city of Nineveh was not quite destroy'd, but there remain'd with it a considerable monarchy of Affyria, whose kings are mention'd in the sacred history.

But it is not my design to prosecute this enquiry any farther. It's enough that I have made this essay to fix the duration of this monarchy from the first building of Nineveh through all the darkest time, call'd Xçóvos μυθικὸς, till we are come on this side of the first olympiad, within the bounds of Varro's historical time.

Because I know that the fall of Sardanapalus is plac'd in elder times by some learned men, I think sit to add, as a confirmation to my preceding reasons, the authority of Velleius Paterculus, who was in very honourable stations, and wrote his book in Tiberius Casar's time, and therefore is much elder than either Eusebius or Africanus. He makes his accounts by rekoning backwards from the consulate of Vinicius, which was in the year of the Julian period 4743; and he affirms that the Asyrian empire fell under Sardanapalus

palus 770 years before that time. Wherefore, by deducting 770 from 4743, we find the number belonging in his accounts to Sardanapalus's fall to be P. J. 3973. Now this year is not, I confess, precisely the same with the first of the Æra of Nabonasar, but is so near to it that I esteem it a great confirmation of my opinion: For in matters of so great antiquity, an approach to the true time is as much as we can reasonably expect. How near this approach is will easily appear, because the Æra of Nabonasar is fix'd at P. J. 3967; and 3973 is but the sixth year after it.

Hence it appears, that Velleius Paterculus recedes a little farther from Eusebius and Africanus than I do; and I can't forbear conjecturing that this little difference which is between Velleius and me arose only from Velleius's chusing of a round number 770 to express the distance between Sardanapalus's fall and his own time, or Vinicius's consulship; for if he had said 776, there had been an exact agreement with the Æra of Nabonassar.

On this occasion I shall farther note, that the fall of Sardanapalus being not 800 years before Velleius's time, and coming within the compass of historical time, and

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also being the occasion of the rise of the two great monarchies of the Medes and Babylonians, must needs be a very remarkable occurrence or parapegma in history; and therefore might be more certainly known to Velleius, who liv'd when the Roman empire was in its greatest height, and had under it much of that land in Syria, and Asia Minor, which formerly belong'd to the Assyrian empire.

belong'd to the Assyrian empire.

But the credit I give to his account of its fall, doth not oblige me to believe that he knew its beginning fo well, nor its duration, which must be reckon'd from its beginning to its fall. These things run far backward into the darker age of the world; and therefore I declare that I do not affent to his report, that it had continu'd 1070 years, as a full account of its duration, but believe that it continu'd 230 years more than he expresses: Yet I obferve, that even this defective account of the duration of this Asiatic empire (as he calls it, intimating it comprehended the greatest part of Asia, known in his days) hath this useful in it; that it confutes those who totally reject this antient empire, as a fiction of Ctesias, and say that he is the only author, from whom all the Greeks and

and Latins who mention it, have taken all their history concerning it. Now it's plain, by his great difference of 2/30 years, in the continuance of this empire, from Cte-sias, that he did not take his number from that author.

The same I may say also concerning Eusebins, who differs from both these, altho' his difference from Ctesias's number rightly represented (which I believe to be about 1300) is but fixty years; yet those are enough to prove that he did not follow his judgment: Neither did he follow Castor's account throughout, altho' he came nearer to that than any other. 'Tis certain that these men had other authors then extant, whom they follow'd. Cephallion mentions Hellanicus Lesbius, who was not only elder than Ctesias, but also before Herodotus, who had written of this empire. And Agathias, as Sir John Marsham himfelf confesses, mentions Bion and Polyhiflor, who not only wrote of this empire, but also blame Diodorus, a follower of Ctesias, for saying that it pass'd from sather to fon in one family, and affert the contrary; particularly they affirm, that after Belleus (who is the second Belochus in Eusebius, numb. 583) the race of Semiramis.

ramis, call'd Denetadæ, from her, mother, fail'd, and then came in Beletares, who had been the royal gardiner, and brought in his race, which lasted to Sardanapalus.

These things demonstrate that the history of this monarchy does not depend solely nor chiefly on the credit of Ctesias, who yet had good opportunities in Persia to be inform'd concerning the antiquities of the neighbouring Asyria, which was then devolv'd into the hands of the Persians; so that they probably had the records of the Asyrian kingdom in their hands.

But above all these things, the Mosaical record of the building Nineveh by Ham's grandchild, and the happy agreement of Castor and Eusebius about the time of Ninus's beginning to reign, determine both the reality and the antiquity of this empire.

[Moses, Gen. xxv. 18. recording the death of Ishmael, and settlement of his isfue, describes their country to be in the way from Egypt to Asyria, which intimates a commerce between those countries, as then flourishing kingdoms.]

Wherefore I will hasten towards a conclusion of this enquiry, by producing some evidence

evidence concurrent with what has been deliver'd from Josephus and Clemens Alexandrinus. Maimonides, More Nevochim. assures us that the Zabian histories, tranflated in his time into Arabic, express. declare that Abraham's younger days were in Nimrod's time, who perfecuted him for afferting the sovereign God. See Hottinger's Syntagma, p. 296. Agreeably hereunto, Eusebius makes him contemporary at his birth to Ninus, who is Nimrod. 701 fephus, in his first book against Apion, hath feveral passages relating to the eldest times of this Assyrian monarchy; as, first, when he treats of Salatis, the first pastoral king, who reign'd at that fame time over part of Egypt, that Ninus reign'd over Assiria. He tells us that he fortify'd Abaris, and kept a strong garrison of men there, it being the passage into Egypt; foreseeing that the Assyrians might have a defire to enter that way upon that country. This plainly evinceth that Josephus and Manetho, whom he there transcribes, believ'd the Affyrian power to be then growing formidable as far as Egypt, which was a great distance from Nineveh.

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Agreeably hereunto, Josephus, lib. 1. c. 10, 11. makes those kings whose conquests and whose overthrow by Abraham is recorded in Gen. xiv. to be Assyrian princes, and expresly affirms that then the Assyrians did rule Assa. Moreover, the Targum of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel on Gen. xiv. saith, that Amraphel is Nimrod: And Achior, an uncircumcis'd Amorite under the Assyrians, owns Terab to come from Chaldea of the Assyrians.

Near 300 years after Salatis's time, Josephus (from Manetho, not Ctessas) tells us that Tethmosis, who is also call'd Amosis, drove the pastors out of Egypt; and they built Jerusalem sufficient to contain their vast multitudes, fearing the Assyrians that then were lords of Asia. Clemens Alexandrinus, speaking of this Amosis, affirms, out of Ptolemeus Mendessus, that he liv'd in Inachus's time, and narionales the Assyrian fome overthrow. So Bochart proves Arugian to be Assyria. See Phaleg, p. 82.

tries; particularly against the Asyrians and Medes, who are known to have revolted from them afterwards. See Josephus, 1.5. c. 3, 4. Eusebius, numero 472, notes a war between the Chaldeans and Phænicians, which falls out to be when Moses was in Pharaob's court, about thirty-two years old, eight years before he fled from Egypt to Jethra in Midian. This proves that then the Chaldean or Assyrian bounds reach'd near to Phænicia or Canaan.

Now these things could not have been so generally entertain'd if it had not been a thing commonly confess'd, that this monarchy was of most antient original and long duration. These passages, which relate thereunto, falling within the first six hundred years after its beginning: Sesostris's expedition against them being above 700 years before the fall of Sardanapalus, according to the accounts of our learned Armagh, and while Moses led Israel in the wilderness. In the twelveth year of Cecrops, Eusebius assirums the Chaldeans, who were under Assiria, to have warr'd against the Phocians: This was before Moses brought Israel out of Egypt.

This brings to my mind the mention of Ashur, or the Assyrian kingdom, that is P₃ made

made by Balaam, prophelying of great revolutions then future after many ages: Especially in the latter days, when Messias the Star rising in Israel should appear. Num. xxiv. 24. He fays, Ships shall come from Chittim, understanding. I suppose, the Macedonians and Romans: and Iball afflict Ashur. It's probable that Balaam himself coming from Aram or Syria, might be concern'd in the Assyrian kingdom, Syria and Assyria being often names of the same country: So Lucian. Herodotus. and Straho confess. I believe he would hardly have taken notice of so remote a kingdom as Assyria, if it had not been a confiderable power in those days, (which should captivate the Kenites) whose standing or falling might greatly concern both Moab and the Fews, neighbours unto 215

The Babylonish garment found at Jericho by Achan gives me suspicion that the Canaanites had correspondence with the Babylonian Assyrians, Josh vii. 21. I find also, Judg. iii. 8. &c. the first oppressor of Israel after its settlement in Canaan to be call'd Cushan-Rishathaim. This name the old paraphrast renders the wicked Cushite, or descendant from Cush by Nimred, which I believe

I believe fignifies the Assyrian king, the king of Aram Naharaim he is call'd, which

was part of the Affyrian empire.

Long after this time also I find the plalmist, Psal. lxxxiii. 8. when he reckons up those that distress'd Judea, mentions also Alkur, as joining with them. The Pfalm is probably judg'd to be compos'd on occasion of the attempt made in Jehosaphat's time against the Jews: And if this be admitted, this Scripture will testify that Affyria continu'd to be a formidable power about 165 years before the time of the fall of Sardanapalus, for Jehosophat's reign was fo long before the Era of Nabonassar: Although I rather think it made earlier, in David's time, when Hadarezer call'd the Syrians beyond the river to help him. See 2 Sam. x. 16. Compare the Persian records, Ezra iv. 19. Jonas of Gath heper is mention'd in 2 Kings xiv. 25. who foon was fent to Nineveb, then a great city of Af-Syria, in the time of Feroboam the second, the fon of Foalh: This falls about A. M. 3197, about fixty years before the fall of Sardanapalus.

There remains one place of Scripture besides those before quoted, which mentions the Assirian kingdom, as concern'd

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in the affairs of the Yews before the beginning of the Æra of Nabonassar, or before the fall of Sardanapalus, and that is 2 Kings xv. 19, 20, where Menahem having kill'd Shallum, and struggling to be settled king of I/rael in his stead, gives Pul, the king of Assyria, a thousand talents of silver to affift him, and by his help obtains his end. Now this fettlement of Menobem falls in the Julian period 3943, by Armagh's Annals; and the Æra of Nabonassar begins later, P. 7. 3967, which shews that twenty four years before the fall of Sardanapalus this settlement was obtain'd. Now this atchievment of Pul to establish a king in Ifrael over the ten tribes that had rebell'd against the line of David, is very remarkable, 1. Because it's the only successful act of that empire before Sardanapalus's fall, which is recorded in Scripture, and proves by our accounts to be within the historical time of Varro; for it's five years after the first olympiad. 2. Because hence the Assyrians certainly learnt the weakness of the Israelites, thro' factions among themfelves; and finding they could fettle a king in Israel, they quickly became inclin'd to bring I/rael under the Affyrian government. God's providence did indeed delay

lay this time, by the divisions that fell out in that empire, which was greatly weakened by the Medes and Babylonians falling off from it: But about thirty years after this expedition of Pul, these Asyrians recover'd strength enough under Tiglath-Pilezer to carry away into captivity the tribes beyond Jordan, and some others; and about twenty years after that they captivated the rest of this kingdom of Israel in the time of Salmanassar, and yet grew stronger in the time of that king, under whom Holosernes serv'd.

But I must stop here, because my design is not to go further than that change in the Associan monarchy, which happen'd by the fall of Sardanapalus; which time is most noted among the gentile writers, altho', it not immediately touching the Jews, the Scripture hath not recorded it; the design of the sacred history being only to deliver to us the history of God's providence towards his peculiar people, which yet snequently occasions the mention of kings neighbouring to them, tho' it requires not that there should be recorded the full series of such kings in succession to each other.

It is sufficient that the Scripture expresly owns the so early foundation of Nineveb, the metropolis of the monarchy, and that it was a potent kingdom before the Æra of Nabonassar, able to settle Menahem in the government over the ten tribes about twenty four years before Sardanapalus's fall. This one instance will prove that the Assyrian monarchy did not begin with Nabonassar, as Sir John Marsham would have us believe, who yet forgot himfelf, when in his canon he places this Assyrian king Pul in P. J. 3936, which is feven years earlier than Armagh places him, and is thirty one years before Nabonassar began to reign: And it's certain that the kings whom the Scripture owns to be Afsyrians, Salmanassar and Senacherib, are not in that line of fuccession which begins with Nabonassar in Ptolemy's Canon. But those who are there nam'd as Assyrian kings are agreed to have reign'd at Babylon after it was torn from the old Assyrian monarchy, feated at Nineveb; and they feem to be call'd Assyrians there, because they were antiently parts of that monarchy, whence they as well as their ancestors, might justly be so call'd, altho' they had revolted from the government of the old Assyrian kings, and

APPENDIX to CHAP. IV. 219 and had fet up another succession of princes of Babylon.

Accordingly, I find Strabo to reckon the Babylonians among the Assyrians, adding also, under the same name, the Elymaans, Parætacæni, Gordieans, Mesopotamians, Arabs and Syrians, all the people from Egypt to Pontus. Pliny also, l. 6. 26. favs all Mesopotamia belong'd to the Assyrians: And Bochart, in his Phaleg, p. 81. gives great proof that all that large empire which stood 1300 years, was comprehended under the name of Assyrians. This title feems to have lasted not only while the Babylonians flourish'd under Nabopolassar. who destroy'd Nineveh, the old metropolis of Assyria, but also in the time of Cyrus, and fter the Persians had brought all those countries under their yoke.

For both Herodotus and Xenophon affirm that war whereby Cyrus at length became master of Babylon, to be a war against the Assyrians; and Herodotus expressly affirms that Babylon was the chief city of Assyria, after Nineveh was overthrown, and that the proportion between the Babylonians and the other Assyrians was as 1 to 2, or they were a third part only of the whole empire

empire which belong'd to Babylon. See Theodoret on Jer. v. p. 395, The Assyrian eldest
empire begun by Nimrod, one with Chaldea.

I observe that Ezra, cap. vi. 22. (so also Zechar. x. 10, 11.) and all the Jews with him kept the passover with great joy and thankfulness to God, because be had turn'd the heart of the king of Assyria towards them, to strengthen their hands in building the temple at Jerusalem: And it's prov'd that this king was Darius, the fon of Hy-flaspes; who tho' he was a Persian king near forty years after Cyrus's conquest of the Babylonian monarchy, yet because the far greatest part of his kingdom was the old Assyrian empire, now indeed under the Persian, is therefore call'd by Ezrathe king of Assyria, that far extended name, best expressing the largeness of his dominion; and also intimating, that both those who had captivated the ten tribes, and those also who had carry'd away the two tribes that continu'd under the line of David, were now all conquer'd themselves, and made subject to Darius, the friend of the Jews and finisher of their temple.
For these and other reasons, which I

For these and other reasons, which I think not necessary here to enlarge upon, I have

I have thought it useful to preserve the memory of the old Assyrian empire, notwithstanding all those suggestions which the learned Sir John Marshum hath offer'd to lessen or rather obliterate the renown of it. Let it suffice that I here briefly intimate these sive things.

- I. That Nineveh being not destroy'd at Sardanapalus's fall, recover'd that great strength under Tiglath-Pilezer and his successors, in this reduc'd Assyrian empire; that they were instruments of divine providence to sulfill many prophecies deliver'd by Isaiah against the Syrians, against the ten tribes of Israel; yea, some against the successors of David in Judah; besides other prophecies against the Philistins, and other less neighbouring enemies to the Jews.
- or Babylonian empire to its stupendous grandeur can't be understood but by confidering that it was formerly a great part of the Asyrian monarchy, which revolted first from it, and afterwards in the times of Nabopolassar, and of his son Nebuchadnezzar, united the whole Asyrian empire to that of Babylon, and added Egypt thereunto.

3. That

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- 3. That the sudden growth of the monarchy of the Medes and Persians, under Cyrus, depends upon the knowledge of this old Assyrian monarchy: For the first foundation of it was in the revolt of the Medes from the Assyrians, at the time of Sardanapalus's fall: And by the conquest that Cyrus made over Babylon, all the old Assyrian empire was devolv'd at once; first to Darius the Mede, under whom Cyrus commanded his army; and then to himself, as heir to this Darius or Cyanares, whose daughter he married. For the further clearing of which I refer my reader to Armagh's Annals, and to the Scriptures and historians by him truly cited.
- 4 Because hereby many Scriptures are elear'd that relate to both the captivities, viz. that of Israel, and that of Judah; others belonging to the return, and others to the conversion of a remnant in Assyria; particularly Zechar. x. 10, 11. Which prophecy was, at least in part suffill'd when the christian religion was spread by the aposities and their successors thro' Mesopotamia; and other neighbouring countries, in which the Jewish dispersion was seated when they were carried into captivity by the Assyrians; it being certain that but sew of them

them return'd upon the licence that Cyrus gave them. Perhaps many of them remaining there by their posterity, may hereaster be converted to christianity, and so give a fuller completion to the prophecies, concerning the salvation of Israel.

Hereby also the Scriptures will be cleared which relate to the place into which the Tews were carry'd captive; first two tribes and a half, then the rest of Israel, where many of them remain'd at the first spreading of the gospel, whereby the prophecies were fulfill'd concerning the conversion of a remnant. (Affyria was blefs'd after the Assyrian empire's destruction.) See Isa. xix. 23, 24, 25. XXVII. 12, 13. and the dereliction of the rest, many of whom fell to idolatry, in a land that was not theirs, Jer. xvi. 13. and became servants to strangers, Jer. v. 19. Others continued obstinate in Judaism against all the evidence. for christianity. Both these forts are either mingled with, and fo fwallow'd up by the Heathens and Mahometans there, or difpers'd partly from Assyria, partly from Judea into all the quarters of the world.

Of the Jews seated in these eastern parts, increas'd perhaps by some proselytes from beathenism, we may best understand that place,

place Acts ii. 9. Parthians, Medes, Elamites, dwellers in Mesopotamia: Who are call'd devout men, Jews and Proselytes, \$1.5, 10. Such proselytes as were circumcis'd, and came to Jewish feasts.

The Fews who return'd from the captivity were but a few, comparatively, only 42360, Ezra ii. 64. Among the twentyfour courses of the priests but four returned, Ezra ii. 36. Cc. Therefore twenty courses of the priests staid in the places where they were fettled in the Assyrian, or as they were afterwards. Persian dominions; That is, five parts in fix, for that is the porportion of twenty to twenty-four courses, which is the whole number of the priests courses. And if so many priests were unwilling to return to Canaan, out of their fettlements in Assyria and Media, it's probable that a greater proportion of the lay Israelites had forgotten their love to Canaan, the land promis'd to their fathers, and to the religion of the temple to be built at Jerusalem therein.

5. Nevertheless, God did not forget them, and the nations of Assyria and Media wherein they dwelt, but promis'd by Isaiah in the latter days, the times of the Messiah, to gather to himself a church there,

there, and to bestow spiritual blessings upon them. Isa. xix. 24, 25. Then shall lirael be a third with Egypt and Assyria (the two great monarchies, between which Ganaan lay) even a blessing in the midst of the land, whom the Lord shall bless; saying; blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance. Compare this place with Isa. xi. 16, and chap. xii.

This prophecy, and all that follow, from Isa. xiv. 28. to the beginning of chap. xx4 was, I believe, given to, and by Isaiab, in the year that king Ahaz died: For I have observ'd, that Isaiah hath noted the times of his receiving his visions, by the times of the kings under whom he liv'd: Uzziah. Jotham, Abaz and Hezekiah, as he intimates, Isa, i. i. after Abaz had begun to make himself a tributary servant to Tiplath Pilezer, king of Assyria, as appears by comparing 2 Kings xvi, 7. with xviii. 7. just about the end of Tiglath-Pilezer, and the beginning of Salmanafar's reign in Af-Syria, about 727 years before the birth of CHRIST, according to the christian Ara.

Now this time falls to be about fix years before Salmana far carry'd the ten tribes into

into that captivity, (into Affyria and Media) from whence the main body of them never return'd; nor have we any history that informs us of any removal of the whole body of them from thence: Only some scatter'd Jews, who know not of what tribe they are, we find in many countries: Of which see the learned enquiries of Breerwood. But of the continuance of vast numbers of them, distinguish'd by their tribes, he proves from the Itinerary of Benjamin Tadetensis, who liv'd and visited them there not 500 years ago.

And the learned Dr. Light foot hath further prov'd from the Talmudifts, that multitudes of them were also in the more southern parts of the Assyrian empire in

Mesopotamia, and about Babylon.

Through all these parts was the gospel spread, and converts to christianity gathered both out of Jews and Gentiles in the apostles times, or in the first centuries after Christ's preaching. And thus was Affyria consisting of both Jews and Gentiles, bleffed, according to Isaiah's prophecy. Then not only the ten tribes in these parts of the Affyrian and afterwards Persian dominions, but the two other tribes of Judah and

and Benjamin; even those that rejected Christ while he liv'd among them, and were scatter'd in all parts of the Roman dominion after the destruction of Jerusalem, had a call from God; and some of them repenting, mourn'd over him whom they had crucify'd, and became members of his church.

Hence St. James, an apostle to the circumcision, i. e. Jews at large, writes his epissle, James i. 1. To all the twelve tribes scattered (not to those in Judea) which would not have been regarded but by christian converts. Therefore he implies that such converts were known to him out of the twelve tribes so scatter'd.

In like manner St. Peter's first epistle (he being likewise an apostle to the circumcisson Gal. ii. 9.) is directed to the strangers (i. e. Jews, sojourners) scatter'd through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, and dated from Babylon, which had many Jews remaining in it, and seems to be design'd for the instruction of Jewish christians of all the twelve tribes, being limited by its superscription to no one tribe of them, as the whole gospel was to be prearb'd by, Christ's command, among all nations

nations, beginning at Jerusalem, Luc xxiv. 47. whither came, especially at the passover, Fews from many countries. But the first nam'd (I take special notice) are Parthians, Medes, Elamites, dwellers in Mefopotamia; and all these are within the bounds of the antient Afforian and Persian empires, and therefore feem to be of such as remain'd there since the captivities under Tiglath-Pilezer, Salmanassar and Nebuchadnezzar, and became united to the Persian dominions by the conquests of Cyrus; who doth not appear in Scripture to have forc'd any to return to Judaa, but only to have permitted and encourag'd fuch to do fo as were fo inclin'd. And I need not shew that these countries by conquest pass'd to the Gracians, Syro-gracians, and were now come under the Roman empire partly, and partly under the Persian kings, who permitted the Jewish religion, and passage to Jerusalem, on that account: History being clear enough in this matter.

I think that the celestial observations, found in *Babylon*, when it was taken by or furrender'd to *Alexander*, which had been made from above 1900 years before his time,

time, and cannot be presum'd to be kept as publick records before a monarchy was founded, prove the antiquity of the Assirian monarchy, whereof Babylon was a part, and was its first head. See Gen. x. 10. Altho'inlater times Nineveh grew to contest for superiority. Nevertheless I acknowledge, that after Sardanapalus's fall, Assyria and Babylon became for a time distinct kingdoms, but were again united in the time of Esar-haddon, and stood united under his successors even after Nineveh was quite destroy'd.

The beginning of these observations being P. J. 2480, that year Scaliger affirms from Callisthenes in Simplicius, to be the first year of the eldest Epocha of the Chaldwans, supposing their years to be Julian years. Hence to P. J. 2665, where I place the beginning of Nineveh and the Asyrian monarchy are 185 years for Ham and Cush and Nimrod in Babylon.

The histories likewise of the later Jews and Arabians, concerning this old monarchy (such are Elmacinus, who affirms Nimrod to have reign'd in the 130th year of Reu, answering A. M. 1946, according to the Hebrew numbers: Such also are Abul-Q3 phuraius,

phuraius, and others in Hottinger's Syntagma) are not inconsiderable testimonies while they concur with the antients, as Clemens Alexandrinus; and cannot reasonably be presum'd to follow Ctessas, but other eastern monuments that now are lost to us.



TRACT



TRACT VI.

Proofs from Scripture and from Heathens of the Assyrian Empire before NABONASSAR.

MAY justly alledge the first motive to consider the Affyrian empire to be, because I believe that Abraham, the father of the faithful, in whom the Fewish and christian church agree to glory, and his issue by the wife of Isaac his son, and the wives of Facob his grandchild, came out of that empire under the promise of special favour from God, whereby he should be settled in Canaan and his posterity. This may be prov'd from Scripture words. That he came from Ur of the Chaldees, Moses affirms. That this imports Vr to be in the land of the Chaldeans, St. Stephen afferts, Acts vii. 4. And that it was in Mesopotamia he expresly affirms: And it's agreed that Chaldea in the proper sense of the word is not chiefly in Mesopotamia, or the country between Euphrates and Tigris, but chiefly on the east of Tigris; tho' the Chaldeans

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Chaldaans might have fome towns in Mefopotamia: Wherefore we must own that
the Chaldaans then had Mefopotamia (at
least this part of it) under their dominion
when Abraham and his brother were born
there, Gen. xi. 28.

Amorites faith the Jews were descended of the Chaldwans; and they sojourned heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the gods of their fathers which were in the land of Chaldwans among the Asyrians, and says they were derived from them. So also Xenophon in his Cyropadia, and Herodotus in Polymnia, expressly affirms that the Chaldwans were part of the Asyrians.

I agree with Bochart; as also our learned bishop of Ely in his commentary on Genesis doth; that Ur, Abraham's birthplace, was in the northern part of Mesopotamia, which border'd upon Assyria, strictly so call'd, which lay eastward of Tigris, where Lycus and Caprus fall into it. And the authority of Ammianus Marcellinus and the situation of Haran, in the way from thence to Canaan, besides other reasons, make it necessary for me so to think. Bochart hath well prov'd in page 107 of his Phales,

Phaleg, that Haran it felf, whither Abraham went, was in Mesopotamia; and further proof thereof may be deduc'd from Ptolemy, lib. 5. and from Pliny, 1. 5. c. 24. Whence I collect, that by his first journey to Haran, Abraham reach'd only to the borders of the Astrian empire, where probably was more liberty for his religion, than in the heart of the same empire: but he was not altogether remov'd from Assyrian malign influence till he got into Canaan. This may be collected from the mixture of religion that was in Laban's family. Nevertheless, I believe, as Bochart alfo acknowledges and proves, that the name of Allyria did extend also much more fouthward, so as to take in Babvlonia, and the countries lying near the fall of Tigris and Euphrates into the Persian Gulph or Sea: And I believe that Moles himself, besides other authors that Bochart and I before-nam'd, useth the name of Assyria in this larger sense: For when he defcribes the feat of the fons of Ishmael, Gen. xxv. 18. He fays they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur that is before Egypt, as thou goeft towards Assyria. Here we have a way towards Assyria (certainly its fouthern parts) that lies fouth of all Canaan through Havilab, which is very different and far distant from

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from that northern way by Haran, whereby Abraham pass'd into Canaan and Egypt. I doubt not but Bochart hath well determin'd, that the Havilah here mention'd was denominated from the fon of Culb. mention'd Gen. x. 7. and that he was planted near his father or near Babylonia. Eratostbenes, cited by Strabo, 1. 16. p. 767, agrees well with Mases, when he makes the passage from Heroon Polis, which was in Egypt, towards Babylon (which was the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom) to be adjacent to the borders of Arabia Felix northwards, through the Nabathai, Chaulotæi (Havilah) and Agræi; names agreeing with Hagar and Ishmael's posterity, mingled with those of Cush. And Diodorus Siculus makes the strength of Ninus (Nimrod) to have risen from the conjunction of these Arabs with his nearer relations.

This union of feveral families must needs make him stronger than most of his neighbours, who feem to be now newly divided and planted in several countries, and therefore easily subdu'd by such a bold adventurer, who in confederacy with others like him, hunted men as if they were beasts, and drove them into the nets of his arbi-

trary

trary government. Moses seems to declare his judgment of him to this effect, and justifies his opinion by the consent of other men, among whom then it was a proverbial speech to express a man who in contempt of God invaded other men's rights, to call him a mighty hunter before GOD like Nimrod. It seems many nations esteem'd him the most notorious man of violence in his age.

There appears nothing in history to leffen the extent of the Assyrian empire, which Diodorus hath given until the time of David; then we find a Syrian kingdom founded at Damascus by Rezon, taking occasion to revolt from the overthrow which David gave to Hadadezer, king of Zobab: Yet after ten successions this kingdom was re united to Assyria by Tiglath-Pilezer.

The eldest testimonies, besides this of Moses that I have observed, concerning these eldest times, are, 1. Sanchoniatho, who saith that the confederates of Cronus (i.e. Ham) were call'd Eloeim, that is, gods, and Cronii, that is, crown'd heads, for so Cronus signifies: And he affirms that Adodus, which is the Syrian or Assyrian title of a monarch was king of these gods; who yet reigned

reigned by Cronus's consent or leave, as Astarte and Demaroon did, Euseb. Prapar. p. 38, C. This can fignify no less than that the sovereignty in those parts of Asia was in Ham and his descendants and confederates. Such were Culb, call'd Zeus Belus, and his fon Nimrod, who must have this title Adodus Adad, or some deriving from him. Agreeably hereunto, 70/ephus from Manetho affirms that the Assyrians reign'd over Asia in the time of Salatis. the Canaanitish king of Lower Egypt. whose reign is justly stated by Armagh to be somewhat before Abraham's time. See him A. M. 1920, with Fosephus against A. pion, lib. 1. Also in his first book of Antiquities, c. 8. he proves from Nicolaus Damascenus, that Abraham came out of the Chaldaan's country that lies above Babylon, that is nearer the springs of Tigris; and c. 10. he affirms that the Assyrians did, πρατείν της 'Arias, command Asia, and makes all the kings who first made the kings of and near Sodom, tributaries, and then captivated them, to be Assyrians princes, yet conquer'd by Abraham after they had burnt and wasted most of Canaan's country, and were repassing near Damascus about Hobal.

I observe

Tobserve also, that the Samaritan version on Gen. xiv. 9. calls Tidal, who in Abrabam's time join'd with Chederlaomer in the invalion of Canaan, and in Hebrew is called the king of nations, the king that was fultan over the Hammin or descendants from Ham: who can be no other than the descendants or subjects of Cush and Nimrod, the first princes own'd by Moses in the line of Ham. The same version expresses Amraphel to be king in Babel in-Head of Sinaar, which is in the Hebrew text. These passages seem clearly to point at the monarchy begun by Ham's posterity at Babylon, and thence spread into Assyria, and the neighbouring countries in those eldest times: Yea, they prove that the Assyrian dominions reach'd then to the borders of Canaan about the time when Abraham was bless'd by Melchisedec, which is sufficiently fix'd by the Hebrew chronology. Agreeably hereunto, we find in 70b i. 17. that the Chaldwans in three bands fell upon his camels, which were 3000, and kill'd all the fervants that kept them, except the messenger that brought this ill news: And it is agreed that Job dwelt not far off from the borders of Canaan; and confequently the Chaldeans dominions

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minions may be presum'd not to have been very far from the place which they came to rob, by carrying away its cattle: And we have prov'd before that the Chaldeans were part of the Assyrians.

Here we may add some degree of evidence given by Moses when he describes the country in which Ishmael's children were fettled, Gen. xxv. 18. a long tract between Havilah and Shur: the former of which is near Babylonia, the latter near Egypt; and he faith it's the country thro' which the passage is to Assyria. The Septuagint well expresses it, to the Assyrians, or part of their dominion, for so Babylonia was from the beginning of its plantation to that time; either when the Ishmaelites were fettled or when Moses wrote Genesis. The Assyrians had two royal cities, Babylon and Nineveh, the way for commerce between the two old kingdoms of Egypt and Affyria was then so well known that Moses chuses to describe the Ishmaelites country by that road.

The next Scripture testimony that makes early mention of Assyria is in Balsam's prophecy, (where 'tis twice mention'd as a well known power, whose original Moses had deliver'd Gen. x.) That Ashur should captivate

captivate the strongly situated Kenites. Yet even this conquering and captivating power should be afflicted by ships from Chittim, Romans and Macedonians. The plantations of Chittim were also made before Moses's time.

In Judges iii. 8. soon after Joshua's time we find the king of Mesopotamia the first oppressor of Israel. He is call'd Chusan Rishathaim: (Josephus, l. 5. c. 3. affirms him to be king of the Assyrians.) And I have reason to think that those words signify the wicked Cushite; such the kings of Affyria were, being descended from Cush by Nimrod: And the Chaldee paraphrase, the antient Syriac and Arabic so translate this name, as an epithet rather than a proper name. And Pliny affures us that all Mesopotamia was the Assyrians; and we never read that they revolted from them, but devolv'd with the empire to the Medes and Persians.

In Pfalm lxxxiii. 8. Ashur joins its power to the children of Lot; whether in David's time (to which I incline, because Mesopotamia or Aram Naharaim affisted them. It's certain also, from the title of Plal. 1x. that David fought with Aram Naharaim, which I believe was under Assyria. This Scripture

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Scripture expressly testifies; but no Scripture owns that any of Jehosaphat's enemies came from Aram Naharaim) or in Jehosaphat's time; tho' in the history of 2 Chron. xx. the Assyrians are not nam'd. Yet this last opinion is most receiv'd upon reasons that convince me not. However it be, either of these will prove greater antiquity of the Assyrian power than Sir John Marsham will own; both were long before Pul was king of Assyria.

After the Affyrians confederacy with Moab and Ammou, the next mention that the Scripture makes of the Assyrians is in the book of Jonah. The precise time of his message to Nineveh, their metropolis, is not express'd; but a good approach to it may be collected from what is recorded in 2 Kings xiv. 25 to 28. There Feroboam the fecond, the fon of Joash king of Israel, or of the ten revolted tribes, is faid to have reign'd forty one years, and to have restor'd the coast of Israel from the entring of Hamath to the fea of the plain, according to the word of Jonah the Prophet; and v. 28. that he recover'd Damascus and Hamath. The reason of his successes is express'd v. 26, 27. from God's pity towards Israel, for he saw that his affliction from

from the Syrians, was very bitter, for there was no helper; wherefore, to prevent the blotting out of the name of Israel, he fav'd them by the hand of Jeroboam the fon of Joash. Now it's evident that the bitterness of their affliction from the Syrians was not in Feroboam's time, wherein that kingdom was rais'd to its highest estate that ever it arriv'd at after their revolt from Reholoam. But their greatest misery was in his father's time, when he came weeping to the dying prophet Elisha, and receiv'd the comfortable intelligence of Goo's intention to deliver them from the Syrians, 2 Kings xiii. 17, &c. This deliverance God began to work by Foath himfelf, \$7. 25 chap xiii. by retaking the cities lost by his father, and by beating the Sýrians thrice: But the honour of compleating that deliverance was referv'd for his fon Jeroboam, and was foretold by the prophet Jonah. Now his reign being long, and the most prosperous of any king of the revolted Israelites, it's most probable that in the beginning of his reign he follow'd the three blows which his father gave to Syria: and consequently the prophecy concerning his fuccesses must be given by Jonah about the beginning of his reign, if not in his

father's time, to fecond the prophecy of Elisba. Now the beginning of Jeroboam's. reign is flated by our most reverend Armagh A, M. 3179, and that is about feventy eight years before the Æra of Nabonassar: before which Sir 7. Marsham will not allow the Assyrians to have any place in history. But it's most evident that in Fonab's time, who liv'd fo long before that, Nineveb, the metropolis of Assyria, was a very great city, which had more than fix fcore thousand persons, infants, in it, that could not discern between their right hand and left; and doubtless the body of the empire was then proportionable to its head city: And it's probable that the time of Jonah's prophesying in Nineveh was not long after the time of his prophefying in Ifrael, which we have shew'd to be about the beginning of the reign of Feroboam the fecond, who recover'd what his ancestors had lost, from the Syrians, and took Damascus and Hamath from them; which must needs weaken the kingdom of Syria, and make way for the total ruin of that kingdom which follow'd, by the power of the Assyrian monarchy, under Tiglath-Pilezer, about forty-four years after the death of Jeroboam the second; as appears by the Annals

Annals of the learned Armagh, and by the Scriptures. About the middle of that interval we find Pul. an Assyrian monarch invading I/rael; but Menahem purchas'd peace and fettlement in his government, by paying him one thousand talents of filver. Nevertheless, I own that great calamity which befel the Assyrians near the end of that interval of forty four years, wherein happen'd the revolt of the Medes and Babylonians from them and the fall of Sardanapalus thereby, altho' the Scriptures mention them not; but we know them only by the information which we receive from heathen hillorians. To those we owe all our knowledge of the rife of the kingdoms of the Medes and Babylonians, famous at this time, yet sprung out of their revolt from the Affyrian cmpire: Tho' the divine and human histories being well confider'd and compar'd, do give light mutually to each other. Therefore having now observ'd what the Scripture hath mention'd of the Affirian empire from its foundation by Nimrod and Cush unto the time wherein it grew formidable to Israel under Tiglath-Pilezer, let us compare therewith fome human te-R 2 flimonies

flimonies that speak concerning the same empire, and the same antient times.

We will produce, first, Manetho's testimony in Josephus against Apion, that Sesostris conquer'd the Assyrians and Medes, which intimates them then in conjunction. This is the only record that gives any history of the time and power that first broke or lessen'd, or check'd this empire. [Yet Tacitus, Annal. lib. 2. affirms the Egyptian priest to read it in the Egyptian letters, on the monuments near Thebes, to Germanicus, that Ramases (who is Sesostris) conquered the Medes and Persians, quasque terras Suri Armenique colunt. This must be the Assyrians. as Herodotus testifies: And it's prov'd to be contemporary with Moses in the wilderness. Sir 7. Marsham vainly attempts to invalidate Manetho's authority about the Affyrian conquests of Sefostris, supposing he had it from Ctesias, §. 14. p. 377. But he gives no proof that ever Ctesias wrote this or any thing else concerning Sesostris; nor can I find any fuch thing in Photius, who only hath preferv'd the remains that we have of Ctelias: Nor is it in any degree probable that Manetho should believe a Greek if he had written any such thing concerning the greatest king of Egypt Sefoftris.

Sesostris, if it had not agreed with the records of Egypt his own country. Nor is there any proof that Manetho ever follow'd Ctelias in any other matter of history, or that he ever faw his writings: Much less did he learn out of the mythology of the Greeks, that Armais, Sesostris's brother, was the fame with Danaus, whose name and time is well known in the best Greek chronology. Yet that learned knight tells us so, to disparage that remain of Manetho, which he knew could not confift with his Egyptian chronology; and yet there is no Greek mythologist found by him that says this which Manetho affirms.

But I must not stay upon this unpleasant work of confuting a very learned man. My business is rather to observe that Sefofiris's distressing the Assyrian empire about the time that Moses was in the wilderness, may give us a good reason why for diverse centuries after that time we don't read in Scripture of any great atchievments of that monarchy, like what Diodorus tells us of Ninus long before that time. But we find kingdoms in Syria and Lydia neighbouring to it, which are not recorded to have any dependance upon it.

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It

It might indeed fuffice to fay, that the divine historians undertaking only to record Gop's Providence over the Church, had no concern to inform us about Allyria until Pul the Afforian was call'd into Canaan, and hir'd by Menabem to settle him in his unrighteous possession of the government over the schismatical Israelites of the ten tribes: As afterwards Achaz, king of Judah, hir'd Tiglath-Pilezer to assist him against Rezin king of Syria and Pekab king of Israel. But it tends to give us further satisfaction, if we observe that the overthrow which Sefostris gave the Assyrian monarchy might give a good opportunity to many nations, that Diodorus tells us were formerly under Ninus, to take courage to refume their natural liberty and make kings of their own: For hereby that empire must be greatly distress'd, when its force was not only broken by a foreign invader, but those also, that formerly were its subjects and its flrength, do by revolting turn its enemies. Besides it's plain that about Moses's or Sesostris's time the several nations of Asia were replenish'd with people, and therefore could not fo easily be reduc'd when they revolted, as their ancestors were at

first subdu'd by Nimrod; when the world had but few people in it, and those very weak, because dispers'd into many distant countries. However it were, it's observable that we have no fuggestion from any history that Mesopotamia did ever own any elder government than that of the Affyrians, properly fo call'd; and this country alone was large and rich enough to support a very confiderable monarchy; fo that they needed not to molest the Jews dwelling in Canaan. It's no wonder therefore that after Moses's time until the beginning of the captivity of the ten tribes we find to little mention of them in the Scripture, which is the history of the Jewish Church: And there is no reason to infer from the silence of the divine hiflory of the Jews, that we must give no credit to human historians, who, however sparingly, yet deliver some accounts to us of those antient times of the Assyrian monarchy.

Herodotas, before Ctesias was born, occasionally, in his Euterpe, mentions Sardamapalus, king of Nineveb, in Affyria. The reason why Herodotus speaks so little there concerning him is clearly this: He was delivering the history of Egypt, and had only R 4

only occasion to shew that much earth dug up might be fecretly carry'd away by being cast into the Nile, as the earth dug out of a mine made by some Assyrian thieves to get into Sardanapalus's treasury, was carry'd away by the Tigris which ran by Nineveb, and was never discover'd. But Herodotus referv'd all that he knew further concerning Sardanapalus and the Assyrian monarchy to another book, call'd his Assyriaca, which he promis'd in his Clio; yet whether he ever wrote it or no I know not, but am heartily forry that it is not come to our hands; nor do I find it cited by any of the antients. Nevertheless, because no author that I know of ever affirm'd Sardanapalus to have reigned after the Æra of Nabonassar or the time of Tiglath-Pilezer, (which even Sir John Marsham acknowledges to be contemporary, and to be fix'd to 3967 of the Julian period, which is 747 years before the christian Æra) we must allow him to have been before that time, as all agree to place him; altho' they do not agree in determining how many years before that time his reign ended. His very being and the revolt of great kingdoms from him, and his war with them after their revolt;

and the greatness of his fall, are demonstrations that such a monarchy was in being, and was great before that time; and it was impossible that fuch a monarchy could rife in a night as mushrooms spring out of the earth.

After these proofs I will add other concurrent testimonies of heathen writers: And here I will give the first place to Herodotus, who owns the Assyrian empire to have been over the upper or northern parts of Asia 520 years before the revolt of the Medes and the fall of Sardanapalus. I am fensible that this being much less than what I have afferted, may feem to contradict it: But I answer, 1. That Herodotus's affirming that the Assyrian dominion had stood so long is not a denial that it had flood longer; for longer continuance is confissent with that duration which he owns. It's very likely that he did not know when it began, having never read the books of Moses or of any other author that related who was the founder of it, and when he liv'd, altho' he had found sufficient evidence that it had flood 520 years. He does not pretend to know where Ninus or Nimrod liv'd,

liv'd, nor from whom the city Nineveh took it's name.

- 2. It's not certain how far that which he calls the superior Asia did extend, and it's probable that some considerable part thereof might be first added to the older empire about 520 years before the defection of the Medes.
- 2. Even this defective account of Herodotus will reach to greater antiquity than they will own, who would allow no fuch thing as a great Assyrian empire before the Æra of Nabonassar, which the canon of Ptolemy and the eclipses dated thereby do demonstrate so clearly, that after that they dare not deny it. This account will lead us to the year 1268, before the vulgar Æra of CHRIST'S birth: For the fall of Sardanapalus was 748 years before CHRIST. To these add Herodotus's 520. the fum will be 1268 before CHRIST: which falls out to be near the time of the expedition of the Argonauts. And this is above 500 years sooner than Sir 7. Marsham would allow any Assyrian empire to have been in Alia.

His chief objection against this empire is, that it hath no authority of historians to support

Support it, but that of Ctesias, whom Diodorus Siculus quotes indeed, but never tells us that there were no others who asferted the antiquity of this empire. We have shew'd that Moses owns its early foundation and great extent: Its continuance in the time of Salatis's reign in Egypt, we have prov'd, before Abraham came thither, out of Manetho, cited by Fosephus: Its further duration in Abraham's time is prov'd from Josephus, who certain, ly could not learn that from Ctesias, who knew nothing of Abraham. Herodotus is by all acknowledg'd to be elder than Ctesias, yet he owns the Assyrian empire above 500 years before the time that Sir 7. Marsham assigns for the beginning of it. And altho' that Persian, from whom Herodotus receiv'd his information, did go no further backwards than 520 years before the revolt of the Medes from it: Yet he. denies not that it might be elder, as we. prov'd from Moses that it was.

A proof of like nature to this of Herodotus is afforded to us from his countryman Dionysius Halicarnassensis: For tho'
he intimates that the Assyrian dominion
was over but a little part of Asia in comparison with what the Romans in his time
had

had conquer'd; yet he expresly affirms that the beginning of that empire reach'd into the fabulous times, pointing hereby at the times before the olympiads, wherein the Argonautic is contain'd, to which Herodotus before led us; but he never mentions Ctesias or his series of kings of Assyria, and therefore can't be esteem'd a follower of him. It's evident also, that Caftor, whom Eusebius follows in his feries of Assyrian kings, doth greatly differ from Ctesias, both in the number of his Assy. rian kings and in the sum of years amounting from their several reigns; and there-fore Sir John Marsham is too rash in afferting that Castor's series is by Eusebius ta-ken from Ctesias. To conclude this point, I have observ'd that Agathias, with whom I agree about the antiquity of this empire, hath reckon'd up many antient historians now lost who affert its antiquity: Yet relies not on Ctesias, but confutes his opinion, that it was kept in one line; which is deliver'd by Diodorus, as I have before written.

There is one passage more in Herodotus (whom all confess to be before Ctessas, and therefore give more credit to him than they do to Ctessas concerning the Assyrians)

Associates) which I think fit to observe, altho' he delivers it when he is telling the history of the Medes in the time of Phraortes, who reign'd about 100 years after the fall of Sardanapalus. Towards the end of his reign he invaded the Assyrians, whom Herodotus there affirms to have been governors of all formerly, πρότερον πάντων nexor; but that then they were left alone, being deferted by their allies, or their helpers having revolted from them. Yet he adds, among themselves they were in a good condition; and this Phraortes found to his great damage, for there he lost his great army, besieging Nineveh, and himself was kill'd. This place I remark, because it's a clear testimony that formerly Nineveh, with its Assyrians, had great dominions and allies; and even after the revolt of its allies it remain'd a formidable dominion. And this agrees well with what the Scripture relates concerning the power of Tiglath-Pilezer, whose reign follows foon after the fall of Sardanapalus: As also with the power of Salmanassar and Esar-haddon, under whom the ten tribes fuffer'd bitterly, before Phraortes reign'd over the Medes, as may be feen well stated in the reverend Armagh's Annals: As what

what he mentions of their former greatness before the revolt of the *Medes*, and other nations with and after them, agrees well with what many other heathen historians testify concerning its antiquity, and with what *Moses* himself hath recorded, that it was founded by *Nimrod*.

I will conclude these proofs of the Asfyrians great empire before the fall of Sardanapalus, with two testimonies more of it, which the small remains of it that are found in heathen writers afford us. The first is taken out of the epitaph or inscription on the statue of Sardanapalus, found at Anchiale in Cilicia, recorded by Clitarchus and Aristobulus, historians that lived in Alexander's time; and from them cited by Athenaus, Strabo and Arrian, allmen of the greatest credit. Therein it was engrav'd, That he built Anchiale and Tarsus, two considerable cities in Cilicia, in one day. And the distance of Cilicia from Nineveh is a demonstration that his empire extended far from thence westward, besides its extent into Media eastward, and Babylon fouthward, before their revolt from him.

Suidas in Sardanapalus owns the fame inscription upon the monument of this diffolute

solute king, but he says it was at Nineveh. It's possible it might be in both places, that fuch a memorial of him might be preferved. But it's observable, that in all these authors he is faid to be the fon of Anacynderaxes, which intimates that this infeription was not made by any follower of Ctehas, for he makes his father and predeceffor in the empire of Assyria to be Acraganes, as we find in Syncellus, who is the only author, that pretends to give us the fuccession, according to Ctesias or Africanus, that follow'd him. Which catalogue I have given already some reasons why 1: think it fit to be rejected: To which reafons this inscription may be added, as a furficient cause to disallow it.

The second testimony that I shall offer to consideration is preserved to us by Velleius Paterculus, who cites it from Emilius Sura, whom foseph Scaliger in his Isagogic Canons calls Vetus Scriptor; but it is not known how long he was before Velleius Paterculus, who wrote in Christ's time. This Emilius Sura writing concerning the time of the Roman sovereignty over the then known world, dates it from the conquest which they obtain'd over the Macedonians, and Antiochus the Great in Asia,

Alia. not long after the victory over Carthage, which was about 200 years before CHRIST'S birth: and then he adds Inter hoc tempus, & initium Nini regis Assyriorum intersunt anni 1995. Wherefore, if we add 200 years to these 1995 the sum will give us the time before CHRIST, wherein Ninus began to reign. And it is 2195 years before CHRIST's birth; and this agrees very well with the time of Nimrod or Ninus, especially if we allow Nimrod to have built Nineveh, and to reign there in his father Cush or Belus's time by his consent; and perhaps also with the consent of his grandfather Ham, which is a very probable opinion: And it's expresly afferted by Sanchoniatho, faying, that Adodus, the king of kings, reign'd by the consent of Cronus, whom I have prov'd to be Ham; for it's certain that Adad, here call'd Adodus, was the common title of the kings of Syria or Assyria, those names being in the eldest times fynonymous; and no other than fuch petty kings can be thought to be there in those eldest times wherein Cronus liv'd. Otherwise I must confess that this account deduc'd from Æmilius makes Ninus's beginning earlier and nearer the flood than the accounts that I have collected from other

other authors. For according to Armagh's calculation substract the given year before CHRIST, which in this case is 2195 out of 4004, and the remainder will be the year of the world. In this instance A. M. 1809 will be the year of the world wherein Ninus's beginning will be plac'd, and that is but 153 years after the beginning of the It's likely indeed that Nimrod, flood. Ham's grandchild, was then a young man; and he might be then, according to Josephus, busy about the beginning of a kingdom at Babel, where Moses owns the beginning of the first monarchy was. But its probable that the foundation of Nineveb was later, and so his distinct kingdom allow'd him there by his father may well be of somewhat later date after the flood: not far from that which we have made an approach to by the help of other authors.

I pretend not either there or here to determine exactly the time of Nineveh's foundation or Ninus's beginning; but when so many good authors agree within a century in things so antient, I can't chuse but I must believe them rather than a few that deny the whole being of this antient empire before the time of Nabonassar, when

I am fure that it's impossible for them to prove their negative, altho' it be easy to find some difficulties against those that give testimony to the affirmative.

I will conclude my discourse about the testimony of *Emilius Sura* with this obfervation; that he cautiously left some laritude of time in his words concerning the date of the beginning of the Roman fuccession to the sovereignty of the world after the conquest over Philip the Macedonian, and Antiochus not long after the subduing of Carthage. Wherefore, we are not bound by his words to allow it, as I did for trial of the account, to be just 200 vears before CHRIST's birth. 'Tis certain that the great victory over Antiochus was obtain'd about the year 190 before Christ's birth, which is ten years after that time. It's certain also that the total destruction of Carthage was but 146 years after Christ's time; altho Scipio Africanus had conquered them above fifty years before CHRIST. Wherefore if we take Æmilius Sura's number 1995 and add to it 146, the sum will be 2141, the year before CHRIST, in which Sura puts Ninus's beginning; and this brings Ninus's beginning to be about 207 years after the flood, or about A. M. 1863, which

which is about fourteen years after Nahor was born, according to the Hebrew account, and fifteen years before the birth of Terah, and 145 years before Abraham's birth, as it's stated well by Armagh. Now this also must be confess'd to be earlier than my accounts, collected from others by 82 or 92 years: Yet it's later than the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy; and also later than the date of the eldest celesial observations, which were fent from Babylon by Alexander's order and Callisthenes's care; for they reach'd up to the year of the world 1771, which is ninety-two years before the year of the world 1863; to which the account of Amilius Sura leads us. as the beginning of Ninus's reign.

However, hence we may learn, that the accounts formerly deduc'd from Castor and Ensebins can't be said to be the eldest or to allow more antiquity to this empire than any; since here we have an account that makes it considerably elder, and that back'd by celestial observations that might be made in the time of Belus, the father of Ninus.

I will add only, 1. That all these accounts agree to confute those who deny the Asyrian empire to have been before the Era of Nabonassar. 2. That all of them begin S 2 after

after the flood, stated according to the Hebrew numbers of years affign'd to the generations between the flood and Abraham. 3. That it feems to me not impossible to make these several accounts last mention'd agree with each other within less than a century, by making the earliest to speak of Ninus as reigning with his father Belus. and the later accounts to speak of him as reigning alone; which is usually allow'd in chronology, and may best be allow'd in those long-liv'd generations that liv'd nearest the flood and erected new kingdoms. But this I leave to be determin'd by every reader as he shall see good cause; my design being only to shew that the heathen accounts of the antiquity of the Assyrian monarchy are consistent with the Hebrew numbers in Genesis; and it's clear by what I have faid, that altho' Castor's accounts and those of Æmilius Sura differ from each other, yet either of them may confift with the Hebrew accounts of time between the flood and the time of Abraham's going into Canaan; and they clearly agree that fuch a monarchy was in being in those eldest times, which is the thing chiefly contended for.

I will

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I will conclude this discourse concerning the Assyrian monarchy's beginning or first constitution with this one observation, that fuch an early union of the descendants of Ham into one kingdom is very credible in its own nature. They might be well drawn to it partly by a degree of love and mutual confidence, founded in confanguinity apparent while their common progenitors liv'd: partly by fear of the power of Culb and Nimrod, under whom the union in cities first began. The other families could not be very firong to oppose them; towns and fortifications being then few or none in Asia, to secure them against invasions: And we find no other obligation laid on them that were under the same government, but that they were to be (σύμμαχοι) affistants to each other in case of an invafion from without, or a rebellion arifing within the same kingdom.



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TRACT

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TRACT VII.

A Discourse endeavouring to connect the Greek and Roman Antiquities, with those of the eldest eastern Monarchies in Asia and Egypt; and consequently with the dispersion from Babel, which came near the great Flood. In two CHAPTERS. I. Concerning Greece, especially the Pelasgi, 2. Concerning Italy, particularly the Tyrrheni; or, as the elder Greeks call them, the Tyrseni. These, besides the Egyptians, being colonies from the Assyrian Empire, and the beginners of the Greek and Roman Empires.

CHAP. I.

Of the Greek Plantations; especially of the Pelasgi.

S Moses hath affur'd us that the sons of Noah were the sounders of the tirst plantations in all parts of the earth, after they were increas'd in their respective families,

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families, Gen. x. 5, 18, 32. So I have obferv'd that the heathen historians have retain'd some footsteps of several names of the sons and grandsons of Noah, altho' they have either lost or chang'd Noah's name, so as it is not easily to be gather'd out of their writings. Yet I believe that Lucian de Dea Syria points out Noah by the name of Deucalion Scytha.

My present business only obliges me to observe that the name of Japhet is as clearly discernable in the Greek 'Iámeros; and the Latin Japetus as Ham or Cham's name is in Hammon or Chemia, the old name of Egypt, the land of Ham. And it falleth out well that Pausanias in his Corinthiaca, p. 57, informs us that the Phliasians affirm that Arans among them was contemporary with Prometheus the fon of Japetus, and three ages (or 100 years at least) elder than Pelasgus the son of Arcas, or than the 'Αυτό-χθονες at Athens. This Arans I believe to be of eastern original, and to be the same name (I fay not person) with Abraham's elder brother, who in the LXX is call'd Aran, in Gen. xi. 26.

I value this piece of antiquity at *Phlids* the more, because a little before the place I now quoted *Pausanias* assures us that he S 4 would

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would only fet down the things that were most confess'd and agreed about them. And he tells also that their neighbours the Sicyonians agreed with them about their antiquities, which is to me a great confirmation; because the Sicyonians were, I believe, the eldest settled kingdom of all Greece that we have any distinct account of.

Besides, he tells us these Phliasians had a very holy temple, in which there was no image, either openly to be seen or kept in secret. This is certainly a mark of great antiquity, for the corrupt practice of worshipping by images grew very early in the world; and to worship without any image was certainly the oldest and best manner of worship. And he saith they had a sacred account or reason of this practice; but that was not to be reveal'd.

The river that parted the territory of these Phliasians from the Sicyonians is call'd E-lisson; and there is another river in Arcadia call'd Helisson, that falls into Alphaus; and other rivers, call'd Ilissus in other parts of Greece, which brings to my memory Elisha, one of Japhet's sons; and so do Elis and Hellus, and Helles or Hellen; altho' I know that the Greek writers will not own

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 265 own any person beyond the son of Deucalion to be the original of these names.

I know also that they make Ion, from whom the Iones are nam'd, to be a son of Xuthus, grandson to Hellen: Yet, if we grant there was such a son of Xuthus, I can see no reason why he might not be nam'd in memory of Javan, the radicals of which name make Ion. I therefore believe that the great people (the Iones) had their name from Javan; and thence also I derive the name of Jaon, a river in Arcadia, mention'd by Dionysius Periegetes, line 416: And Ioneus a great river in the northern part of Greece, as Conon, Narr. 4. tells us; afterwards call'd Strymon.

Pausanias also names in his Arcadica, a river call'd Buphagus, from a hero of that name who dwelt there, and was the son of Japetus, p. 260: And Japetus's wife there is nam'd Thornax: And he tells us that this her name is celebrated in Laconia as well as in Arcadia.

Before I leave this country Arcadia, I must call to mind that Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us that Atlas was their first king, and that he came from the mount Caucasus, which we know to be in the northern parts of Asia, and to belong to that vast ridge

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ridge of hills, among which the rest of the ark was, and the first habitation of Japhet and his family. Hereunto agrees Pausanias in the first Eliac, where he reports that the Eliac Antiquaries affirm the Idæi Dactuli or Curetes to have come to Ida in Crete from the land of the Hyperboreans, (far northern men) and thence to have pass'd to Olympia in Peloponnesus, where these men of Cronus's (Ham's) golden age built a temple to him on the hill, call'd in Pindar, Keónov or Keóns λόφος.

Agreeably hereunto, Apollodorus owns an Atlas to be the son of Japetus. And whereas he makes Asia to be his wife, and and the mother of his children, among whom he names Atlas first; I guess that this may myslically intimate only that the country now call'd Asia was the place of their birth and first education, as the earth is call'd our common mother: For the Greeks generally had no mind to own openly that they were descended from Astatic parents, whom they call'd Barbarians, and had rather be thought to have sprung like mushrooms out of their own ground, than to owe their original to fuch Barbarians. Nevertheless, the eldest writers of their mythical history might leave fuch and Roman Antiquities, &c. 267 fuch a hint in the naming of the wife of Japetus, Asia; tho' in other places she is call'd Thornax, as we have shewn out of Pausanias.

Besides these places in Peloponnesus that own Japhet and his issue their progenitors, I have noted one place in Pausanias's Bæoticks, where Prometheus the son of Japetus, and Ætnæus the son of Prometheus, are affirm'd to have first settled the samous heathen mysteries of the Cabiri in Bœotia; but they receiv'd this sacred depositum or trust of these mysteries from Ceres, as he thought he might tell us; but must not tell us what those mysteries were. See him pag. 300, 301.

The time of this Ceres may be reduc'd to some certainty, if it be admitted that the Latin name Ceres or the Greek name Demeter and the Egyptian name Isis signify the same person; and there is great authority to prove this, and to six nearly the time of Isis, by considering that she liv'd with her husband Osiris, who is Mizraim or Menes, the sirst king in the Egyptian chronology, as Syncellus expressy names him. Mings o n Mesquip.

Now the great authorities that make me believe that *Ceres* or *Demeter* is indeed *Isis*,

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Is, are these; 1. Herodotus, who liv'd long in Egypt as well as among the Greeks, doth twice affirm this in his Euterpe as a known truth.

- 2. Clemens Alexandrinus, who fully understood both the Egyptian and the Greek theology, not only affirms it, but proves it out of a book of Leon, who wrote the history of the Egyptian Gods, and is refer'd to by Arnobius, calling him Leon Pellaus in his fourth book against the Gentiles. And this place of Clemens is cited and approv'd by Eusebius in his tenth book de Prapar. p. 499.
- 3. Diodorus Siculus is cited by Eusebius in his second book de Prapar. p. 45, saying, that Osiris is Dionysius or Bacchus; and Isis is Demetra or Ceres; the latter of which is the thing that I undertook to prove.

Moreover, the times of *Prometheus* the elder, the fon of *Japetus*, and of *Osiris* or *Mizraim* the fon of *Ham*, agree very well, (*Diodorus* owning *Prometheus* to be contemporary to *Osiris*) they both being immediately descended from two brothers that were preserv'd from the flood; both of them were fallen into the practice of idolatry, which they are, by the history we

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 269

are reciting, prov'd to have propagated even into Greece; particularly into Macedonia and Attica, as Diodorus, quoted by Eusebius, p. 46, affirms; and in Bæotia, as Pausanias hath taught us. For Ceres or Isis being the wife of Osiris was with him in all this progress to settle plantations there.

I am further confirm'd in my belief of this fynchronism of Isis and Osiris, with Prometheus the son of Japetus, by calling to mind a passage in Plutarch de Iside, where being to prove that Osiris is the same perfon whom the Greeks call Diony sus or Bacchus, he quotes Anticlides, (an author now loft, but quoted by feveral antient writers as of good authority) affirming that Isis was the daughter of Prometheus, and was wife to Diony sus or Bacchus: And intimates this as a good proof that Bacchus was Osiris, to whom Isis is known to be wife, and (by the way) I hence observ'd a very early alliance between the families of Faphet and Ham.

I know very well that in opposition to this so early plantation of *Greece*, which will fall into the end of the second century after the flood or the beginning of the third century: It may be alledg'd, that in the time of *Erectheus* reigning in *Attica*, which

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is in the tenth century after the flood, diverse authors place the coming of Ceres into Attica, and the times of Celeus and Triptolemus coherent therewith, and the settlement of their mysteries at Eleusine also. But I answer,

- 1. That those histories (if I may call reports mingled with so much fable by that name) do not deny that Osiris and Prometheus had planted in Greece long before the time of Erettheus.
- 2. That to me it seems incredible that Greece being inhabited seven or eight centuries before that time should be without bread-corn or without fettled rites of its religion. Nay, the antiquity of the Dodonean oracle which was founded by a priestess that came from Egypt, and could not be unacquainted with the mysteries of the Egyptian religion, wherewith those at Eleufine in substance did agree, doth demonstrate that the first planting of the Greek religion was long before the time of Erectheus. And Cecrops and Cadmus and Danaus that came from Egypt were a considerable time before Erectheus, and could not but understand the sowing of corn to make bread.

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3. I answer, that when it is said that Ceres came to Athens in the time of Erectheus, in the Arundel Marbles or in Apollodorus, it is not meant that she liv'd on earth as one born in that age, but is understood, that altho' she was pass'd into Heaven long before as a goddess or deify'd person, yet she then came down from Heaven in shape of a woman, and came to Eleusine, and gave bread corn to the Athenians, who then suffer'd under a famine, and encourag'd them to sow corn again, as is clear by comparing Apollodorus, l. 1. c. 5. with the story that is told by the Egyptian priests in the sirst book of Diodorus Siculus.

Now altho' I do not believe this descent from Heaven of Ceres, which the heathens were taught to believe; yet I must hereby own, that they did not think Ceres to be a person born about 1000 years after the flood. I could add much more, but I think this sufficient to prove that this objection is of no force against the evidence that I have offer'd that Osiris and Iss settled some plantations in Greece, (in conjunction with the sons of Japetus;) as they are also affirm'd to have done in many other parts of the then known world, which I am not concern'd to speak of in this place.

Therefore

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Therefore I shall only add, that Sir John Marlham in his Notes upon the Marble Epocha of Ceres's coming to Athens hath this gloss upon it: That the coming of that goddess into Attica is rightly attributed to those times in which the bread-corn that bears her name was imported into Athens: Which is in effect to give an allegorical interpretation of the story, and to intimate that the person Ceres did not then come (she having long before been dead;) but only the fruits that bear her name, were then brought into Greece by Erectheus, a worshipper of Isis or Ceres, as the Athenians were also; and therefore are noted to be the only Gracians that us'd to fwear by Is, (in Diodorus.) And it was agreeable to their religion to attribute their prefervation from death by famine to their goddess Iss, and to affirm that she brought them bread corn from Egypt, where the Nile made plenty, when there was a famine by reason of drought in Greece and other countries.

This objection being now sufficiently (as I conceive) remov'd, I shall, before I leave Baotia, where we have already prov'd that Prometheus, a son of Japetus or Japhet was settled, proceed to consider those other antient

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 273 antient inhabitants of that part of Greete, which Paisanias has affur'd us were there many generations before Cadmus came this ther. For me have reason to believe that these were also descended from Japetus. there placid note we cannot deny that they were mindled with such other planters as Oficia might bring jout of the east: from whence he came as well'as from Egypt. Three nations or tribes of people are nam'd by Paulanias in his Bæotics, p. 285, to have liv'd about Thebes there. he tells us were call'd Hectones: of which name, because I find no account given by other authors: I could not forbear comecluring that it might come from lectan; which fignifies a younger or leffer brother: and fuch a name might as well be given in the family of Japhet, as we find it given in Sem's family to the younger brother of Peleg, the for of Heber: And he tells us they had a kind call'd Ogygus; which name I think to be of kindred to Og, (but not fo

late in time as) the famous king of Bashan; it being usual in the eastern languages to redouble the latter radical letter. And he tells us that from this king's name Thebes is

often in the spoets call de Ogygien Thebes.

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The Hectenes being destroy'd by a plague, the Hyantes and Aones dwelt in their places: But he believ'd that they were originally Bxotians, not men that came from another country. If he meant that they forung out of the ground or were there from eternity, I can't be of his mind.

It feems to me much more credible that fome of the old Hettener were left after the plague or other pestilential diseases that had rag'd among them, there being no example (that I know of) that a plague left none of a whole nation: And it's reasonable to believe that the neighbouring nations being of the race of Javan, and coming to possess the places of the dead in Beotia, might be call'd lantes or lanes; which by easy changes might come to be call'd Hyantes and Aones, and might be willing rather to own these names so near Javan than to own the name of Hectenes relating to a younger brother, and to a people that were most of them cut off by the plague.

However this be, Pausanias owns that these old inhabitants of Boeotia were not totally destroy'd by Cadmu's army of Phoenicians: So that if they were (as I think) of Javan's race, they continu'd by his allowance

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 273 ance to people this part of Greece. But he hath not told us how long before Cadmus (who liv'd in the same age with Moses) any of these people liv'd in Buotia. Nevertheless, because we find them near the place where Prometheus the son of Japetus was settled, and their names have some affinity with Javan's, I thought sit to take notice of them as people that were probably of his samily, and descended from Japhet, altho' many generations interven'd.

It is time that I should now come to enquire particularly into the antiquity of the Pelasgi, to see how near we can bring them to agree with the times of the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchies: Concerning which we have better accounts in the remains of old history than we can hope to find about these wandering people.

n. In Sicyonia. The most antient monarchy in Greece whereof we have any historical account, is that of the Sicyonians, seated on the north west side of the samous Peninsula; which is best known by the name of Peloponnesus, altho' that was not its first name. This kingdom was first call'd Ægialea, either from its first king Ægialeus, or because it lay near the shore ('Aryialdis) of that side of the Peninsula.

Tz Herodotus

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Herodotus assures us, that the Greeks affirm that the people of this kingdom were catl'd Pelasgi Ægialenses before Danaus came into Greece, and before Xuthus's time, whose son Ion made them to be call'd Iones. This may be seen in his Polymnia in the Balil edition, which I use; it's in p. 214. The change of their name into lones and their removal first to Athens and then into Asia the Less, in the Ionic migration, may be read in the beginning of Pausanias's Achaic's. But the time of the beginning of the kingdom of these Pelasei Ægialenses under their king Ægialeus, is 1313 years before the first vulgar olympiad; as is collected out of Eusebius's Chronicon, and out of Castor's table of their kings in Eusebius Chronicon in Greek, put out by Joseph Scaliger: And is by the learned Armagh in his Annals fix'd to the year of the world 1915, about the middle of the third century after the flood.

2. In Phlius. From this very great antiquity of the Sicyonians contemporary with Belus and Ninus in Assyria, and soon after the time of Mizraim or Osiris in Egypt, I cannot forbear thinking that we must derive the antiquities of the little dominion of Arantia or Phlius, which I mention'd before as in the borders of Sicyonia.

3. In

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3. In Arcadia. Also the more celebrated antiquity of the larger kingdom of Arcadia, which touch'd on Ægialea on its south and south west sides, being in the middle of Peloponnesus, both must be settled to be near the time of the beginning of the Sicyonian kingdom.

Pausanias expressly tostifies that the people of Arcadia were all Pelasgi, and their country call'd Pelasgia before the time of Arcas, from whom the name of Arcadia was deriv'd: See the beginning of Paulanias's Arcadics, where you will find this acknowledg'd. And altho' he do there mention a fabulous tradition that the earth brought forth Pelasus upon the high mountains of Arcadia, out of Asius an old poet, yet he believ'd it not; because he adds, out of his own reason, that there were other men there at that time; otherwise Pelasgus would have had no subjects over whom he should reign: And then he proceeds to tell us that they were Pelassi before Arcas was born.

But if we compare with him Dionysius Halicarnassensis in the latter part of his first book, we shall find that one Atlas, whose former habitation was on Caucasius, was the first king in Arcadia. And Apollodorus informs

forms us that he was the son of Japetus, and brother to Prometheus, (with whom Hesiod agrees.) And since Diodorus Siculus assures us that the eldest Prometheus liv'd in the time of Osiris, whom we have elsewhere shew'd to be Mizraim, the son of Ham, Japhet's brother, we shall perceive that Arcadia is intimated by these Greek writers to be planted about the third generation after the flood, not long after the planting of Egypt by Mizraim: But the planters of it were then call'd Pelassi, not Arcades.

4. In Argos. The next place that I remember in Peloponne fus where the Pelasgi were feated is in Argos: For here Dionysius Halicarnassens affirms that they were seated fix generations before they remov'd into Emonia. But he modestly intimates, that in many men's opinion, they were sprung out of the earth about Argos.

Quoniam autem hic locus Dion. Halicarnassensis plurimum illustrat antiquitatem Pelasgorum, & fundamenta jacit calculi quo investigemus, quam proxime, tempora in quibus se contulerunt in Peloponnesum; visum est diligenter expendere ea quæ breviter, ac in transitu suggessit scriptor adeo accuratus. Itaque

tempora primi illorum incolatûs in hac Peninsula, non per annorum numeros quos rudis Græcorum antiquitas non facile tradiderit, sed per numerum generationum, aut ætatum, more sane antiquissimo, utì ex traditione acceperat.

Sic scilicet affirmat per sex generationes priores eos in Argis habitasse, antequam eorum colonia missa est in Hamoniam seu Thessaliam. Deinde vero postquam per sex alias atates ibi habitassent, inde eos expulsos suisse à Lelegibus, & Curetibus, sub ductu Deucalionis. Hinc patet eorum primas sedes in Argis duodecim generationibus priores suisse quam victoria illa Deucalionis que illos ejecit e Thessalia, & in plurimas regiones dispersit, de quibus legatur auctor.

Nostrum est notare fundamentum calculi positum esse in tempore Deucalionis, de quo non adeo dissentiunt historici uti rixantur de antiquitate Pelasgorum: Quippe si retro numeremus duodecim generationes Deucalione antiquiores, perveniemus ad illud sæculum quo Pelasgos Argis primum vixisse tradidit Halicarnassensis noster.

Illud folum difficile est statuere quot anni singulis generationibus, adeoque duodecim conjunctim, tribuendæ sunt, in antiquis his ante Mosem temporibus; in quibus certum

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est homines multo diutius vixisse quam in temporibus Mosem secutis: Deucalionem autem Mosi com antecedentia Mose priora suisse in confesso est.

Certum est autem vulgarem computationem, quæ tantum centum annos dat tribus generationibus, recentiorem esse quam tempora Mosis aut Deucalionis. Certum est porrò quod inter Abrahami ingressum, & Exodum Israelitarum ex Ægypto erant 430 anni; sed paucæ tantum, scilicet ex generationes totum illud tempus exhauriebant.

1. Isaac; 2. Jacob; 3. Levi; 4. Kohath; 5. Amram; 6. Môses. Et ante has notissimum est pauciores generationes in pluribus annis extitisse: Nec licet mihi pro arbitrio numeros annorum in antiquis Pelasgorum generationibus singere.

Visum est itaque commodissimum ad hanc dissieultatem tollendam inspicere in annos duodecim primorum regum Sicyoniorum, quos Herodotus Pelasgos Ægialenses vocat; & in summam colligere annos eorum ut viderem quanta illa sit, eamque summere pro duodecim generationibus, aut ætatibus, quæ antecedebant tempus quo Deucalion expulit coloniam Pelasgorum ex Hæmonia. Videantur autem hi regum Sicyoniorum anni apud Eusebium, & alibi, eorumque summa

summa assurgit ad annos 530, numerando a primo Ægialei anno, ad ultimum Orthopolis, cui competit annus periodi Iuliani 3155. Hic autem annus est prior anno periodi Juliani competenti Diluvio Deucalionis qui est 3185, & quidem, prior annis 30, ut patet subtrahendo minorem numerum e majore. Sumo autem annum 3185 pro tempore diluvii Deucalionis, partim quia is conceditur à Marshamo, & probari potest e Marmore Arundelliano, quod is fumit pro Canone Chronico certissimo. Ille autem nullos in Peloponneso Pelasgos agnoseit ante Phoroneum, & totum rejicit laterculum Pelasgorum Ægialensium, partim vero quia certum est Deucalionis belium in Pelasgos Thessaliæ proxime secutum esse illud diluvium, quia circiter octavum post illud annum Hellen Deucalionis filius regnavit in Thessalia, virtute scilicet victoriæ quam Deucalion obtinuisset in Pelasgos inde jam ejectos, ut patet è Marmore Arundelliano.

Quapropter fixo jam (prope verum) belli Deucalionei & diluvii tempore ad annum P. J. 3185, subducamus inde annos 530 pro generationibus duodecim Pelasgorum, qui tanto prius habitarunt in Argis, restabit annus periodi Juliani 2655 pro anno primo

primo Pelasgorum in Argis. Is autem annus distat tantum per 30 annos ab initio Ægialei, primi regis Pelasgorum Ægialensium, (seu Sicvoniorum, ut postea dicebantur.) Is enim incepit anno P. J. 2625. Notandum autem, censeo utramque computationem. Castoris scilicet & Halicarnassensis. ponere habitationem Pelasgorum in Peloponneso ante mortem Phalegi, qui juxta Hebræorum numeros, obiit anno periodi Juliani 2706, ut numerat Armachanus noster. Hinc eorum dispersio pertinebit ad primam illam, quæ dedit Phalego nomen. & utì ego judico dedit nomen ipsis Pelasgis; sed majores monarchiæ Chaldæorum & Ægyptiorum prius fundabantur.

Hinc etiam colligamus exiguam hanc differentiam in rebus remotissimæ antiquitatis sufficienter indicare, Castorem in suo laterculo regum Sicyoniorum ad eandem antiquitatem regni primi apud Græcos collimasse, quam respexit Halicarnassensis noster, cum posuit Pelasgos Argis habitasse per duodecim generationes ante bellum Deucalioneum contra Pelasgos in Hæmonia, adeoque tantorum virorum auctoritatem, antiquitatem Pelasgorum merito posse extra dubium ponere. Nihilominus visum est alia nonnulla his adjicere, quæ prædicta quadan-

quadantenus confirmare possint, sive ut teslimonia concurrentia, sive removendo objectiones contra tantam Pelasgorum antiquitatem sactas.

Occurrit alius in eodem Dionysii Halicarnassensis libro primo, paulo post locum quem
jam expendimus, ubi ille Herodotum citat
ad probandum Pelasgos & Tyrsenos eis vicinos non esse ex eadem stirpe, argumento
sumpto a linguarum diversitate, quam evincit e verbis Herodoti sic dicentis. Etenim
neque Crotoniata (è Pelasgis criundi) cum
circumvicinis (Tyrsenis) communem habent
linguam, neque Placiani (circa Hellespontum) cum suis circumvicinis; ipsis tamen inter se convenit, satisque apparet quod quam
secum in ea loca linguam intulerunt, eam
retinent.

Ex collatione verborum quæ videmus apud Dion. Halicarn. cum verbis Herodoti in Clio, unde hæc citantur, colligamus hæc tria:

rmo Dionysium ibi legisse: Crotoniatæ super Tyrrhenos, non Crestoniatæ, uti nuno habent nostra exemplaria, ideoque recentia nostra exemplaria corrigenda esse ope veterum quæ legit Dionysius; manifestum enim est mendum, quia nulli sunt Crestionatæ Tyrsenis vicini.

2 de

2^{do} Hinc discamus Pelasgos qui Crotonem ceperunt (postquam expussi suissent ex Hæmonia) lingua convenisse cum Placianis, quos Dionysius agnoscit habitasse juxta Hellespontum; eandemque Placiam (unde denominantur Placiani) Plinius, lib. 5. cap. 32. ostendit suisse in Asia minore prope Hellespontum, una cum Scylace quam cum ea conjunxit; Herodotus eadem usam suisse lingua affirmat, nempe Asiatica, quam barbaram vocare solent Græci, proindeque recte colligit Herodotus, antiquos hosce Pelasgos suisse βάρδαρου γλῶσσαν ἰέντες.

3^{tio} Hinc probabiliter Pelasgos nonnullos ex Asia per trajectum hunc brevissimum transivisse in Græciam, atque inde post aliquod tempus in Italiam navigasse ut narrat Dionys. sed tamen reliquisse partem aliquam comitum suorum circa Placiam & Scylacem, quæ retinuit cum Herodotus scripsit linguam quam illuc tulissent ex remotioribus Asiæ partibus. Illorum vero, qui transierunt in Græciam & postea in Italiam, plerique novas linguas didicerunt, in novis fedibus, in quibus sparsim vixere cum aliis colonis; at Croțoniatæ, qui magna illa urbe utebantur pro arce belli, conjunctim multi, facile retinuerunt priscam linguam ad tempora Herodoti. Et Dion. Halicarnassensis testa-

tur,

tur, eam non multo ante suam ætatem cives suos mutasse cum nomine, viz. dicta Cortona, & facta Romanorum colonia. Herodotus autem in loco citato aperte loquitur de lingua Pelasgorum tempore Deucalionis, sed supponit eandem suisse & ante, & post ea tempora.

Sed pergamus ad alios authores de Pelafgorum antiquitate tractantes.

Pausanias in his Atticis speaking of the disputes (concerning Antiquity and the gifts of their deities) that were between the Athenians and the Argives, tells us that the Argive tradition is, that Ceres came to Argos, and there Pelasgus entertain'd her in his house. Yet when this Pelasgus liv'di or who was his father, Pausanias tells us But Dionysius Halisarnassensis tells us that from a Pelasgus, king of Argos, they were call'd Pelasgi; and that he was the fan of Jupiter by Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus, who was the first mortal woman that Iupiter embrac'd. Now this opinion. as well as the other, that he and his people forung out of the earth, is plainly fabulous, and contrary both to all fober philosophy and history of human generation: Therefore I must be excus'd if I reject them both, and

and rather embrace a probable conjecture that's confident with philosophy and the course of nature.

And I am the more bold to reject this Pelasgus that is pretended to be the first king of Argos, because I find no such man in the line of Argive kings that is given us by Castor and Pausanias, the only antient heathen historians that give us an account of this kingdom. And their credit will outweigh any thing that can be set against it, out of the mythic history and poets.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, when he sets down the generation of this Pelasgus, expresly owns that it is so said in the fables. (which may well imply that he believ'd it not.) Apollodorus reports there was such a man as Pelasgus, grandchild to Phoroneus, by his daughter Niobe; and confequently brother to Argus, out of Acustlaus (who turn'd Hesiod into prose to make a history of him, as Clemens Alexandrinus assures us;) but yet he doth not say that this Pelasgus was king in Argos; nor can I find any good authority by which Dion. Halicarnassensis could be induc'd to fav that Pelasgus was king of Argos: And he quotes only the fables which I think he himself did not believe: For it was usual among

among the judicious heathens to fet down in writing fuch vulgarly receiv'd fables with fufficient indication that they did not believe them altho' the vulgar did.

Therefore, since there is no historical proof that the Peninsula now best known by the name of Pelopounesus, was call'd Pelaseia from Pelaseus, (the brother of Argus) who never reign'd there; and a good part of it was inhabited (as Herodotus and others prove) by the Pelasgi Ægialenses, about 300 years before the time when he is faid to have liv'd there: And fince Ephorus and others, quoted by Strabon do affirm that the Pelasgi were the first inhabitants that had any dominion there. I think it most reasonable to believe that the name of Pelassi was spread over all or most part of Peloponnesus, by the influence of the Sicyonian kingdom, whose subjects were call'd Pelasgi Ægialenses.

Nevertheless, I am inclin'd to believe, that within the first three or four hundred years after the time of Egialeus's first planting his. Relassi Egialenses there, many more planters might and did come under the name of Pelassi, from the many neighbouring islands, and from many parts of the continent of Asia, to settle themselves in

in that fruitful Peninsula, which had been fo long known to them, from the times of Oliris and of Atlas, and Prometheus the elder: and that fuch accessory forces might increase the strength and establish the name of the Pelasgi there.

But because I know that my argument

for this great antiquity of the Pelasgi doth chiefly, yet not folely bear upon the remains which we have of the Ægialean or Sicyonian kingdom, and I am not ignorant that Sir John Marsham and a few other late. vet not unlearned writers, have adventur'd to reject them all at once, I will briefly give my reason why I cannot be of their mind.

In general terms it is this: Because I cannot give credit, in matter of fact done in the most antient times, to the conjectures of modern writers, when they contradict the express testimonies of the eldest and most approv'd historians, who liv'd almost two thousand years nearer the times of which they write, and had many elder historians that are now lost, to direct their judgments. But, in particular, I.op. pose to their guesses the authority, first, of the Greek historians and chronologers that were heathens, and very inquisitive into the antiquiand Roman Antiquities, &c. 189 antiquities of their own country. Secondly, the testimony of the christian fathers and apologists, who writing against the heathens, were very careful to oppose them, by quoting the best authors among the heathens, that they might more effectually convince them, in order to converting them to christianity, or at least to moderate their sury while they opposed it.

The heathen Greeks that I shall quote, are, 1. Apollodorus (not in his mythic history, but) in his Chronica, which he wrote concerning the historical time; which Dr. Gale in his learned Differtation before his edition of Apollodorus, hath shew'd to be cited by many grave writers as a book of great credit.

A fragment of this book is preserved to us in Scaliger's Greek Eusebius, p. 19, 1, 5, 6. The substance of which is this, That it counting from Ægialeus the sirst Sicyonian king to Zeuxippus the last, the number of its kings were twenty six, and the sum of the years of the reigns was 967 years: That after these there succeeded in the government seven priests of Apollo Carneius, whose time was thirty three years. These sums together make 1000 years.

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2.

2. I cite Castor Rhodius, to be seen in the same place. He liv'd in Cicero's time, about 100 years after Apollodorus. He names all the twenty six kings, and the times of their reigns: Also all the seven priests, and the times of their government distinctly. And the sum that he gives us differs but eight years from Apollodorus.

3. I quote Pausanias, who is not so particular in the years of these kings, but a-

grees in substance.

I forgot to add in Castor's testimony, that he tells us that the last year of Charidemus the last priest's government was 351 years before the sirst olympiad; which is necessary to be noted, because it sastens all their times, and leads us to the beginning of this monarchy.

I will here also add, that to Apollodorus's testimony there are adjoin'd these words; that other authors testify the same things concerning the Sicyonians. This made me consider what other authors liv'd either with or before Apollodorus, who wrote of the Sicyonian Antiquities. Plutarch, in his book de Musica, near the beginning, mentions an arayeaph or publick record (not determining whether it were a Stels or a book) among the Sicyonians, which must

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 29 to must be elder than the time of Herodotus; because he affirms that Hellanicus transcrib'd out of it the times of the priestesses of Juno in Argos; the first of whom was near 100 years elder than Cecrops's time. And I find two considerable authors that were both Sicyonians by birth.

i. Menechmus, whose Sicyonica Vossius de Gracis Historicis assures us to be quoted by Athenaus in his sixth book; and that he liv'd in the time of the first Ptolemy.

The second is the heroical commander Aratus, whom he assures us to have liv'd in the time of Ptolemaus Philopator, and to have written of affairs of Achaia; where we may well think he would not neglect the antiquities of his own town Sicyon. But since these and many more authors natives of Greece, and heathers, are lost, will pass to the christian fathers, who had seen these lost authors, and out of them affert the Sicyonian succession from the time of Egialeus.

I will name but some of them, as Clemens Alexandrinus, Africanus, and Eusebius, who beginning his Canon Chronicus with the birth of Abraham, places it in the twenty-fecond year of the second Sicyonian king Europs, (yet owns that Ægialeus had reign-

ed fifty two years before Europs succeeded him) and makes Abraham's birth to be contemporary with the forty third year of Ninus's empire over Assyria.

It's certain that he chose this time for the beginning his Canon, because it was a Parapegma or fix'd point of time in which not only the Jews and christians, but the heathens also did generally agree: And that he might wisely avoid the differences or disputes that would arise from the disagreement in the numbers of the Septuagint and Samaritan copies from those in the Hebrew text. And it must needs be of dangerous consequence to break this antient agreement, by wholy rejecting this Sicyonian line.

The Grecians that knew there was a kingdom in their country of these Pelassi Ægialenses, contemporary with that of the Assyrians under Ninus, would have taken it ill if the christians had not taken notice of it in their chronologies; especially considering, that though it was but a small kingdom at first, yet it spread itself by the Pelassi afterwards into Thessaly and Macedonia, and from thence grew into a great empire by the conquests of Alexander; not to mention that the Pelassi had also a great

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 293 a great interest in process of time in Italy, and consequently in the Roman empire. But I must not digress on this occasion.

There is one christian father more who hath given his testimony to the Sicyonian Antiquity, whom I must not omit; and he is St. Augustin, in his eighteenth book de Civitate Dei, cap. ii. and iii. to which I refer the reader. Only one passage in his third chapter I cannot but transcribe, because I meet with nothing of it in any other author. Pratereundum non fuit, etiam apud sepulchrum septimi sui regis Thurimachi sacrificare Sicyonios solere, Varro refert. This custom of facrificing at Thurimachus's tomb must needs preserve the memory of this their feventh king. note this chiefly because it imports that the most learned of the Romans, Varro, bears witness to the reality of this feventh king; and confequently that there were fix before him: And doubtless Varro knew that he had authors of unquestionable credit to justify what he reports, for he was the best antiquary of that most learned age of the Romans, in which he liv'd: And if we had his works as St. Augustin had, I believe that no man would be so bold as to reject

reject the Sicyonian Antiquities, as some of late have done.

Here may be added two proofs from Herodotus; the first is, that he affirms that the Athenians were a Pelasgic nation, and had a barbarous language before they became Hellenes, and chang'd it into the Greek tongue, lib. 1. cap. 56. The second proof is lib. 5. cap. 67. Where he assures us that the Pythian oracle declar'd that Adrastus, the son of Talaus was a true Sicyonian king. He was one of the seven princes in the war against Thebes.

Having done, I hope, sufficiently to establish this most antient colony of the Egialean Pelassi, by great testimonies, which is the only way of proving matter of sact, long since done; and having made no use of any Pelassus, either Argive or Arcadian, to give their name to them; I may be ask'd, whence I think their name is deriv'd? I answer, that a probable conjecture is all that's necessary to prove an Etymology: And that if I sail in that, the proof of the sact by good testimonies is not weaken'd. My opinion is, that their name comes from Telassis, by inserting the letter s, which was usually done in antient times; and such

were the times when this name was first given. For one example of this, he is called Masnes in Dionysius Halicarnassensis. who is Manes in Herodotus. More may be feen in the learned Salmasius's Notes upon Tertullian de Pallio, in mine edition in Octavo, Lugd. Batav. p. 406. Such are Casmana for Camana; Casmillus for Camillus; Dusmus for Dumus, &c. For I believe it only signifies that they were strangers that came by fea (πέλαγος) to fettle more commodiously than they were before: So they might be adventurers of any tribe, family or nation; or mixt of many that would agree to feek their fortune by shipping into another country.

It's agreed that the Greek word πέλαγος comes from the eastern and divisit, the sea being the great divider of several countries from each other: And from thence also the Pelasgi being some of the earliest dispersers of themselves, and dividing lands among themselves as first occupants, may have taken their name, they being the first or second planters after the dispersion.

They were by this name distinguish'd from the Hyperborei that came out of the northern parts of Asia, by the land that lies north of the Euxine sea, and thence into U 4 Thrace.

Thrace, or over the Bosphorus, and so by land into Greece.

They were also distinguish'd by this name from all that pretended to be 'Αυτόχθονες, either as springing out of the earth, or because their ancestors had, beyond all memory of men or of records, been born in Greece. And from all those societies of men that took their name from their commanders, as the Danai, Dores, Iones and Heraclidæ did in after ages.

But the *Pelasgi* pretended only to come by sea from foreign parts to chuse a military life (as *Ephorus* expresses it in *Strabo*,) and to settle themselves by their swords in countries that in those early times were but thinly peopled, or altogether uninhabited; yet must be defended by their swords against neighbours who might encroach upon them or invade them. And he tells us that all that join'd themselves to them took the same name of *Pelasgi*.

Only I differ from *Ephorus* in this, that he thinks they were at first *Arcadians*: But I believe with *Pausanias*, that they were *Pelasgi* before *Arcas* was born.

In the next place I will give my reason why I believe there were *Pelasgi* about the same time in a part of the continent of

Greece,

Greece, which was afterwards call'd Thefprotia, where the oracle of Dodona was founded; which is generally confess'd to be the eldest in Greece.

I take my persuasion from Herodotus in his Euterpe, who assures us that he was at Dodona, and enquir'd of those there that were best skill'd in their antiquities; and found their reports to agree in substance with what he had been inform'd concerning the same matter by the learned in Egypt.

The fum of the history is, that when the Phanicians prevail'd in their war in Egypt, so greatly as to come to Thebes, the metropolis of Upper Egypt, and thence carry'd away captives, two priestesses; they sold one of them into Africa, where she prevail'd so on them as to found the temple and oracle of Jupiter Hammon; the other they sold into that part of Greece which was after call'd Thesprotis, where she prevail'd so with the Pelasgi there seated, that they sounded the oracle of Dodona. Hence I gather, that when the Phanicians were most powerful in Egypt there were Pelasgi in Thesprotis.

But because the war between the Phænicians and Egyptians lasted many years, I -cannot determine precisely in what year

of that war this taking captive their priesteffes did happen: Yet by the history thereof, which 70sephus hath preserv'd in his first book against Apion, it appears that they are never faid to rob both the upper region (where Thebes is) and the lower region of Egypt where Memphis is, but only in the time of their first pastoral king, named Salatis: and his time begins very near the time of Ægialeus, A. M. 1920. See Armagh's Annals. Therefore we may reafonably judge, that near that time also the Pelassi were about Dodona, and bought the priestess who persuaded them to found the oracle there, long before that at DeL phi was built.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us that after the Pelasgi's expulsion out of Æmonia, the greatest part of them went to their old kindred about Dodona; who enjoy'd peace, because they were esteem'd so sacred by reason of the temple there, that none would invade them by war. Which gives some confirmation to what we affirmed before out of Herodotus. But these finding that country too little for them, were admonish'd by the oracle to remove into Italy, which was then call'd Saturnia. They therefore rigg'd out a fleet, design-

ing to go to the part of *Italy* that was next them; but, by stress of weather, they were carry'd up the *Adriatic* sea, till they came to one of the mouths of the river *Po*, called *Spina*. Here they left such as were not able to travel; but others went forwards towards the inland parts of *Italy*.

I am not here concern'd to tell what fuccesses these last mention'd had: but I defign to remark, that the Pelasei that were left at Spinæ fortify'd the place well, and brought in to themselves all necessaries by fea, and were so successful above all that dwelt on the Adriatic sea-shore, that they long posses'd the sovereignty of that sea. This I thought fit to note, because it's the first example that I have observ'd of the dominion of the sea, being much elder than the time of Mines Secundus: For this feems to be not long after Deucalion's time, by whom these Pelasgi were expell'd out of Amonia, which was at the beginning of the Era Attica: whereas Minos Secundus's dominion in the fea was in the 280th year of that Æra: So that this appears to be about 200 years before it. Which feems not to have been observed by Thucydides, Castor Rhodius, Diodorus Siculus; who all make Minos

300 Connection of the Greek

Minos Secundus the first of the Θαλασσοκρατεντες.

Postquam finivissem quæ præcedunt de Pelasgorum origine, & primis sedibus, occurrit mihi locus in Epiphanii cap. primo, prope ejus finem, qui visus est mihi plurimum confirmare eam quam conceperam de eorum antiquitate opinionem. Epiphanius enim ibi tractans de initiis cultus idololatrici apud Græcos, quorum antiquissimi (Ephoro teste) fuerunt Pelasgi, assirmat ea initia prius excogitata fuisse apud Babylonios, Phænices, Phryges & Ægyptios (quibus consentanea nos etiam alibi scripsimus in hoc opere, præsertim in tractatu de Cabiris quem huic subjunximus.) Addit hac initia & mysteria μετενεχθέντα είς Έλληνας απο τῆς 'Αιγυπτίων χώρας ὑπὸ τᾶ Κάδμα κὰ ἀυτᾶ τᾶ Ivárs. &c.

Hinc statim observavi non solum Cadmum (qui serò circa Mosis tempora vixit) ab Ægypto venisse, ritusque idololatricos inde ad Thebas Bœotias transtulisse, quod apud plures est in confesso, verùm etiam ipsum Inachum (qui 400 circiter annos eo antiquior erat) in Peloponnesum postea dicam, mysteria hujusmodi vana apportasse. Hæc Inachi

Inachi gesta sunt planè historica, non my-Inachi gesta sunt planè historica, non mythica, & narrantur à viro side digno, qui in juvenili sua ætate vixerat in Ægypto, & linguam didicisset Ægyptiacam; unde in historicis veteribus illius regionis (qui nostra ætate deperditi sunt) haurire potuit hanc veritatem, quam nati in Græcia historici vel nunquam nôrunt vel celare maluerint, potiùs quam fateri, Græciam multos colonos, imo & religionem, artesque (quæ plerumque religionem comitantur) ab Ægyptiis accepisse

gyptiis accepisse.

Meritissimè itaque hanc Epiphanii historiam magni facimus, eamque præferimus Apollodori mythicæ narrationi, quæ nec rerum naturæ congruit, nec ullam habet cum vera historia eorum temporum cohærentiam. Ille enim narrat Inachum ex Oceano & Tethy natum fuisse, & habuisse tria millia sororum Oceanidum, quæ prorsus in-credibilia sunt. E contra autem Epiphanii historia de Inacho exactè cohæret in tempore cum expulsione Phænicum ex Ægypto, quam à multis probavimus historicis testimoniis. Incepta enim est ea expulsio ab Halisphragmuthose, qui Phoenices vicit, & è multis Ægypti partibus pulsos in angustias reduxit juxta Abarim, qua patuit tran-

fitus ex Ægypto in Arabiam, Syriam, re-

liquasque mundi tunc notas regiones.

Hæ Phœnicum ibi belligerantium calamitates contigerunt in tempore quo coeptum est & fundatum Inachi regnum in Græcia; unde admodum probabile fit eum, cujus nomen est planè Phœnicium, & derivatum ab Enach (ut ejus nomen exprimunt feptuaginta interpretes) unde mutatione unius vocalis E. in I. fit Inachus per acceffionem Græcæ terminationis. Non à me excogitata est hæc nominis Inachi derivatio, fed à Grotio ad Num, xiii, 23, ubi etiam hæc habet verba meam fententiam confirmantia Inachidas antiquissimis temporibus ab Oriente in Graciam venisse constat. Nec opus est alios criticos citare, cum Grotius est instar omnium, & res ipsa loquatur. men Hebræum Anak, torquatum significat, & torquibus ornari folebant Phænicum dynastæ, unde ad plures pervenit hic titulus. Ignoscatur mihi si ejus silium Phoroneum à Pharaone in Ægypto nomen suum sumpfisse existimem. Certum enim mihi videtur Phœnices, dum in Ægypto regnabant, Pharaonis titulo ornatos suisse: Et illum, à quo in Ægypto hospitio exceptus est Abrahamus, Phœnicem fuisse credo cum Armachano. and Roman Antiquities, &c. 303 chano, eundemque Pharaonem dictum fuisse Moses testatur.

Quinetiam Phoronei filius Car Phoenicium habet nomen (significat Hebraice arietem. ducem exercitus. Vide Castelli Lexicon) Apis etiam Ægyptiacum; quæ indicant eorum progenitores è Phœnicibus Ægypti incolis exivisse. Sed mitto argumenta etymologica, & rem potius conficiendam esse indico testimoniis ab historia & chronologia deductis. Redeo itaque ad Inachum nostrum, & observo ex calculo Armachani nostri completam fuisse expulsionem Phœnicum ex Ægypto, A. M. 2180, quo Amosis, seu Tethmosis expulsis jam pastoribus (fic vocantur Phoenices ab Ægyptiis) regnare coepit in Ægypto inferiore, cum jam regnasset Inachus in Argis annos 32.

Hinc colligo Inachum prævidisse (ex successibus Halisphragmuthosis contra Phœnices belligerantis) intra paucos annos casurum esse regnum Phœnicum in Ægypto, ideoque sibi suisque comitibus maturè consuluisse quærendo sedes quietiores in Græcia

Nihilominus Assis ultimus Phœnicum rex (cujus nomen Phœnicium existimo suisse Aziz quod robustum significat) remansit in Ægypto, & hostium suorum impetus per

annos sustinuit; donec tandem in Abarim compussus (qui locus erat probe munitus, per quem patebat transitus in Arabiam & Canaanitidem) ibique pacta secit cum Amose, postquam nulla spes restaret diutius regnandi in Ægypto, ut liceret sibi cum suis, qui erant 240000 viri, & omni præda quo vellent ex Ægypto abire, utì probat Josephus è Manethone.

In hac multitudine ducentorum & quadraginta millium qui usque ad extremas rerum angustias fortiter perstiterunt, præter innumeros alios qui aufugerunt, cùm vires Phoenicum longo bello quotannis minui perceperunt, existimo jacienda esse fundamenta omnium coloniarum, quæ à Phœnicibus deductæ funt, five in vicinam Canaanitidem, sive in insulas Maris Mediterranei, sive in continentem Græciæ, præsertim in Argos, de quibus nunc agimus. Nihilominus non negaverim Phœnices quofdam serius, cùm Joshuah eorum terram invaserit, inde fugisse in partes Mauritaniæ Tingitanæ; id enim credo factum quoniam insulæ, aliæque regiones ipsorum patriæ viciniores, à coloniis antiquioribus ex Ægypto & Phœnicia jam ante fuerint occu-patæ; fed hoc obiter notavimus. Redeamus itaque ad Inachum quem vidimus regnum

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 305 in Argolide fundasse ante completam Phœnicum expulsionem, quæ sub Amose contigit.

Probabile videtur regnum Inachi à primis ex Ægypto profugis constitutum, non fuisse magnum, nec bene unitum; quoniam affirmat Pausanias, Ante Phoroneum eius silium homines ibi vixisse sparsos, & separatim à se invicem habitasse, & Phoroneum eos primum in civitatem congregasse, eamque Phoronicum nominasse, que postea ab ejus nepote Argi nomen adepta est. dubium est quin circa tempus expulsionis, quæ contigit ante initium Phoronei, hæc colonia multum creverit ex accessione multorum è cognatis suis (sive ex Ægypto, sive è Canaanitide) qui cernerent res suas in deterius indies ruere & tandem esse plane defperatas.

Phœnices enim jam, ante longinquis navigationibus assueti, eos ad quietas in Græcia sedes sub Inacho, & mox sub Phoroneo, commode possent transferre, ubi cum cognatis habitarent. Nec mirum erit, si postquam celebrius evaserit Phoronei regnum, novis profugorum copiis auctum, minutiora regni initia sub Inacho apud nonnullos oblivioni traderentur, & Phoroneus ab illis velut primus regni fundator haberetur, X quanquam

quanquam ab aliis ille honos potiore jure illius patri tribuatur.

Atque hæc mihi videntur satis declarare regni Argivorum sundamenta & initia religionis idololatricæ in hoc regno erga Junonem præcipue celebratæ. Nihilominus præterire non possum nobile sanum Junonis Heason dictum, quod prope Mycenas in Argolide situm esse indicat Pausanias in Corinthiacis, p. 59, quoniam in ejus descriptione observavi duo quæ spectant ad Phænices ex Ægypto prosugos, tanquam antiquos illius regionis colonos.

Horum primum est, quod Junonis Argivæstatua ibi dedicata manu sua tenet & exhibet malum Punicum; notum autem est Punicum idem plane significare quod Phœnicium: unde colligo hanc Deam de fructu Phœniciæ suæ (quæ pomis hisce granatis abundat, Deut. viii. 8.) gloriari, adeoque adventum suum ex illa terra hoc signo prositeri. Notum est eam sub nomine reginæ cœli a Phœnicibus coli, necnon ab Ægyptiis etiam ante tempora Inachi & Amosis, idque per sacrissica humano sanguine polluta; donec Amosis crudelem hunc ritum abolevit, & cereas hominum imagines substituit in locum verorum hominum.

Secundo,

Secundo, inter insculpta hujus templi columnis, notavi Titanum pugnam adversus Deos. Didici autem a Diodoro (quem citat & approbat Eusebius Præpar. Evang. p. 481.) totam hanc fabulam de Titanomachia ab Ægypto profectam esse, cum iis quæ ad Cronum spectant, omnibusque quæ de tristibus Numinum suorum casibus sabulantur Ethnici. Et conqueritur, sive Sanchoniatho, five Philo Byblius apud Eufebium, res hujusmodi à poëtis, & mythologis Græcis multum exaggeratas esse, adeo ut historica in iis veritas pene obruatur. Agnoscit tamen Plutarchus, in tractatu de Iside, scintillas quasdam veritatis historicæ relucere; eas ego breviter notare & indicare conabor.

Deos Deasque, contra quos gestum est antiquissimum hoc in Ægypto bellum, cujus memoriam conservare voluerunt Phœnicum posteri qui in Argolidem migrassent,
intelligo suisse primos Ægyptiorum reges,
reginasque & cognatos corum: Quoniam
certum est hos ab iis consecratos suisse, &
divinis honoribus cultos: Osiridem puta
(qui Hebræis Mizraim, Græcis Menes dicitur) ejus uxorem Isidem (quæ Cananæis
sorte sha, i. e. uxor regis, seu regina dicebatur) cæterosque Ægyptiorum divos, cum
X 2 eorum

eorum posteris quibus adhærebant; & subiis militarunt sideliores eorum subditi, dum alii in eos rebellarunt.

Rebellium præcipuos existimo suisse Canaanis posteros, qui Græcis Phœnices dicuntur, ut ipse Canaan apud Sanchoniathonem primus Phœnix nominatur. Hi scilicet pacate sub Mizraimo, coloniæ duce, Ægyptum ingressi paulo ante ejus mortem, principatum totius Ægypti sibi rapere conati sunt, & Mizraimo per occultam conjurationem occiso in apertum bellum proruperunt, tandemque reges sibi è sua (Canaanis) samilia crearunt, & sub illis (qui sex successive regnarunt) diuturnum illud bellum gesserunt quod descripsit Manetho à Josepho citatus in primo contra Apionem libello.

Notandum autem est nullum aliud contra primos Ægypti reges, Deosque præter hoc Phænicum bellum, in ulla uspiam historia legi, quod ad Titanomachiam explicandam adhiberi potest, hoc autem commodissime eam totam enucleare: Quippe ipse Plutarchus in libro de Iside, &c. inter beopáxes, illos nominat Apopim; hoc autem est ipsissimum nomen unius è Phænicum regibus, qui diuturnum illud bellum gerebant. Quia etiam generale nomen horum bellatorum, Titanes.

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 309 nes, est plane Phœnicium, derivatum a Tit quod lutum significat, & innuit eos tales suisse qui proximi erant diluvii temporibus, & ideo quodammodo ex ejus luto nati.

Idemque notat gigantum nomen quod (ynysveis) quasi è terra diluta fuerint generati, in magnum robur magnamque procerita.

tem crevissent.

Perhibentur autem admodum robusti. satis congrue cum Mosaica historia; quæ generationes plusculas post diluvium admodum longævas fuisse narrat. Vita autem longa athleticam supponit corporum constitutionem, adeoque vires ingentes, unde non opus est dæmones, seu Deos Medioxumos hoc in casu confingere, utì fecit Plutarchus. Nihilominus ille satis aperte fatetur corum varios casus, & certamina in mystica illa, quam tradidit de Iside & Osiride, fabula interpolari, ne in oblivionem tranfeant & filentium: Ego vero hæc omnia non alia fuisse reor, præter diras clades & calamitates, quæ bellum ferox & diuturnum comitari solent. Tale autem suit illud quod per annos ultra ducentos gestum est à Phoenicum (qui pastores dicuntur) regibus contra Ægyptios, quorum regnum adhuc recens misere afflictum est. Hinc tantus ille luctus deflentium Osiridis mor-

X 3 tem,

tem, qui tamen tandem in gaudium, & triumphos mutatus, cum ille quasi reviviscit in posteris suis, qui regnum pene mortuum resuscitarunt & intestinos hosce hostes Phœnices expulerunt.

Porro satis constat ex Diodoro, Plutarcho & Manethone, omnem horum hostium vim sub Typhonis nomine comprehendi in hac sabula: Et Typhonem qui Osiridem nesarie occidit ejus suisse fratrem, qui jus successionis in regno Croni patris sui sibi asseruit tam in bello, quam in lite coram Diis dijudicata; hæc autem soli Canaani primo Phœnici, ejusque posteris, exacte congruunt.

Adde his congruere ipsam illam urbem Abarim, quæ totum transitum complectebatur quo ex Ægypto itur in Arabiam aut Canaanitidem, & in qua collecta est tandem tota Phænicum turba, urbem Typhoniam dictam esse in Ægyptiorum theologia. Porro eundem Typhonem rusi suisse collecta en Typhonem rusi suisse collectaris constanter tradunt, & homines quoslibet rusos Typhonios vocant, eosdemque tanquam Osiridis hostes sacrificare solebant priscis temporibus ad ejus sepulchrum quod Busiris dicitur, teste Diodoro Siculo, consentiente etiam Plutarcho.

Atque

Atque hæc quidem credo facta fuisse vigente bello Phœnicum contra Ægyptios, antequam Amosis victis Phoenicibus Avbear ποθυσίαν legibus sustulit, utì patet è Porphy. rio. Quoniam autem notum est è Palæphati fragmento in chronico Alexandrino Puniceum, seu rubrum colorem ad vestes tingendas in Phœnice inventum esse, idque antiquissimis primi Phœnicis temporibus, & porro solebant Phoenicum reges, & dynastæ vestibus sic coloratis uti, & ipsum verbum Puniceus color idem fignificat quod rufus, incidit in mentem meam suspicio, dicam, an conjectura Ægyptios hac de causa, hostes suos Phoenices talibus vestibus utentes, rufos, seu Typhonios dixisse, eorumque supremum ductorem (Tyrio fortasse ostro vestitum) Typhonem, tanquam rufi coloris in mystica hac fabula descripfisse. Verum in hac re non audacter pronuntio, sed penes lectorem relinquo conjecturam nostram vel recipere, vel rejicere.

Pergo tamen observare quod consentiant veteres omnes hac de re scriptores, tandem ejectum esse Typhonem per eum ex Ægypto transitum, qui ducit in Cananitidem. Hinc ex multorum opinione refert Herodotus prope initium Thaliæ suæ, Typhonem occultari in lacu Serbonide, qui

X 4 eff

est in collimitio inter Ægyptios & Canaanæos, quoniam scilicet illuc pulsus non amplius finibus Ægyptiorum molessus suit. Alii tamen apud Plutarchum referunt eum asino vectum ad Hierosolyma pervenisse; nec dubium est quin tantus exercitus, quantus exiit ex Ægypto, quam primum poslit in diversas se divideret partes, ad commodiores sedes in diversis regionibus occupandas.

Quanquam autem crediderim hanc esse verissimam simplicissimamque Titanomachiæ interpretationem, non tamen hoc sundamento nititur mea sententia de colonia Phœnicum ex Ægypto in Argolidem transslata. Novi enim quam lubrica res sit allegoriarum expositio; historicis & chronologicis tantum sido probationibus quæ antea, & alibi produxi. Hæc autem iis mantissæ loco adjecimus, quoniam specimen mihi videntur dare (in antiquissima sabula) veræ methodi, qua è mythologicis veterum scriptis aliquantulum veræ historiæ colligamus, sed summa cum cautela.

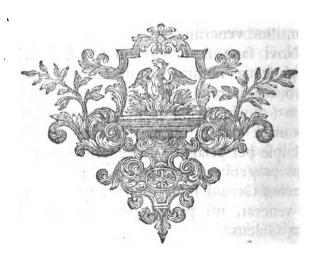
Restat nunc unicum huic capiti adjiciendum, nempe ut rationem reddam cur huic disquisitioni de Pelasgis institutæ connectam historiam hanc de Phoenicibus in Argolidem ex Ægypto translatis. Ea autem hæc

hæc est, quoniam omnes historici consertiunt omnes regni Argivi subditos ante Danai adventum Pelasgos dictos suisse; in confesso est etiam Inachum, Phoroneum, eorumque posteros Argivis omnibus imperasse ante Danai adventum, nec alios ullos populos in Argolide reperimus eis temporibus præter Pelasgos. Quapropter ego censeo hos Phœnices, sive sub Inacho, sive sub aliis post expulsionem ex Ægypto ducibus, huc advenientes Pelasgis esse annumerandos. Nec meliorem nominis causam assignare possum, quam quod per pelagus in navibus consanguineorum suorum Phœnicum illuc venerint.

Novi sane Apollodorum eos à Pelasgo Argi fratre nominatos esse affirmare; ego vero magis credibile censeo ipsum Pelasgum (qui in Argolide nunquam regnavit) potius à pelaso dictum suisse; quoniam vel ipse per pelasus huc venerit, vel saltem ejus progenitores, unde apud mythologos Inachus Oceani filius dicitur, quia per mare venerat, utì pridem annotavit doctissimus Galeus.

Fatetur certe Herodotus antiquissimos Ægialenses (quorum fundator erat Ægia-Jeus longe prior Inacho) Pelasgos dictos suisse; & Pausanias agnoscit Arcades antiquitate

quitate sua celeberrimos, prius quam Arcas nasceretur, Pelasgos suisse dictos; & Ephorus apud Strabonem expresse pronuntiat eos suisse alguarates. Sed quandoquidem lis est tantum de nomine Pelasgorum, & an id datum sit Argolidis incolis ante tempora fratris Argi, tantilli momenti est quæssio de nomine, ut de illa cum nemine velim disceptare; de re autem contendo, nempe totam illam Peninsulam, quæ Peloponnesus postea dicta est, primis temporibus à Pelasgis occupatam suisse.



TRACT



Of the Tyrrheni.

THE foregoing arguments I conceive fufficient to prove the antiquity of the Pelasei in Greece to be as great as Caflor's and Pausanias's Laterculus of Sicyonian kings affirm. Nevertheless, because I find in Herodotus a plantation or colony fent out of Lydia under Tyrrhenus into Italy, which is farther from Asia than these western parts of Greece, which we have before consider'd; and because I think I can prove that this remoter colony was near the same time; and Dionysius Halicarnasfensis proves strongly that many authors call these also Pelasgi; and particularly cites Hellanicus Lesbius, who was somewhat elder than Herodotus, to affirm that they were first call'd Pelasgi Tyrrheni, after they began to inhabit Italy, I shall make a further enquiry concerning this colony of Tyrrheni Pelasgi; and I shall do it the rather, because the country they planted

lay so near Rome; that in after times it became a good part of that force whereby the Roman monarchy was founded and supported.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis relates in his third book near the end: That when Tarquinius Priscus had subdu'd the Tyrrheni or Hetrusci, and granted to them their own laws and privileges, the Romans then receiv'd from them the ensigns of royalty with which their kings had us'd to have been adorn'd, the crown of gold, and the ivory seat, the sceptre with the eagle on its head, the purple robe embroider'd with gold, &c. such as had been us'd to be born by the kings of the Lydians and Persians.

But I must make this enquiry the more cautiously because the evidence from the fragments of history concerning these remote times is not so clear as I wish, there being many disagreements among the reports of the authors that have written about them. However, I shall be careful to follow those authors who best agree with the divine history which Moses has given us, being satisfy'd that no reports can be true that consist not well with his records, which assure us that all countries were planted out of Assa by the sons of Noah.

Therefore

Therefore I conclude that Dionysius Halicarnassensis's opinion that the Tyrrhenians were not strangers that came from another country into Italy (where he acknowledges that they were in the eldest times he knew of) but that they were rather 'Αυτόχθονες is not the true, nor a more probable opinion: And I think my self oblig'd to believe those who acknowledge them to be Lydians, which he confesses to be the opinion not only of Herodotus, who was about 400 years before him, but of many others: Altho' to lessen their credit, he says that they differ about the leader of that Lydian colony, and about his time.

Let it be granted, wherein so many agree, that there was a very antient Lydian colony in Italy, which found there only the Umbri, whom Herodotus calls Oucques; and we will afterwards inquire who speak most credibly concerning the time of their coming. I wish that Dion. Halicarnassensishad told us the names of those many authors whom he consesses to own Lydian planters there; they were extant in his time, but are lost before our days: Yet still we have Virgil owning Lydians there, before Æneas's time, the sounders of Agylla. And Horace Sat. vi. intimates the antiquity

318 Connection of the Greek antiquity of Macenas's ancestors, by relation to that plantation.

____Lydorum quicquid Etruscos Incoluit fines, nemo generostor est te.

Pliny also reckons among the old planters of Tuscany the Lydi.

The learned Bochart hath well observed that the Greeks, who wrote before Polybius, do all call them Tyrseni, not Tyrrheni. And Halicarnassensis tells us that they call'd themselves Rhasenas, from a leader of theirs who had fuch a name. Herodotus indeed calls him Tyrsenus. I have often thought that Resen, Rezin and Rezon are Asiatic names which we meet with in the Scripture; and I know that T is in the Asiatic tongues a servile letter, that is by them put with a vowel before words deriv'd from many roots; and therefore it is not improbable that Tyrsenus may be so deriv'd from Refen: And thus the Tuscans account of their own name, may be made to agree with the usual Greek name Tyr fenus.

But the strength of my proof that the Tyrrheni are very antient planters in Italy, doth not bear upon this grammatical conjecture

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 310 jecture or etymology, but upon the confent of many antient authors own'd by Dionysius Halicarnassensis. Among these the chief is Herodotus: Yet Dion. Halicarnas sensis sets down before his testimony an antient tradition that differs from Herodotus. only in this, that the tradition puts Atys to be the grandchild of Manes, Cotys being interpos'd, and a brother join'd to Atys, which will alter the account but one generation. For Herodotus calls Atys the fon of Manes in his Clio: Yet in his Melpomene he owns Cotys his fon, and Atys his grandson. Dion. Halicarnassensis objects against these; That Xanthus Lydius mentions no fuch plantation fent out of Lydia into Tuscany. But this negative or mere filence is no just argument against the positive testimony of so many as he acknowledges to own fuch a colony in the eldest times

Besides, he confesses that Xanthus owns that Atys had two sons, call'd Lydus and Torybus; which last name may have been chang'd by transcribers between the time of Xanthus, and of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which was about 500 years, and put instead of Tyrsenus. And it is probable

also that Xanthus might know of the colony sent into Italy, and in his time might think it so inconsiderable, as it was then, as not to be worthy of mention in his history; altho' afterwards Tuscany became a considerable part of the Roman monarchy; and therefore this plantation deserves now to be consider'd by us.

I might add more to invalidate the obiection that Dion. Halicarnassensis makes against the colony of Tyrsenus out of Lydia, - and founds on the filence of Xanthus, but that I think what I have faid abundantly fufficient: and I believe that he himself did not confide in that argument, but rather believ'd that his suggestion that the Tyr leni were autox boves was true, and thought it would easily be entertain'd, as most heathens feem to have believ'd, that in old time men forung up out of many countries as mushrooms are thought to do now. But this age has learnt better things, both from Scripture and from Reason. Therefore we will suppose the authorities before pointed at to fland good, (adding to them Eustathius, in his commentaries on Dionysius Periegetes,) and shall now proceed to fhew:

1. What people they found in Italy.

2. When

2. When they came thither: And

3. What places they settled in: Which we shall briefly point at by Pliny's direction.

Pliny agrees with Herodotus, that from the Lydian prince that brought them into Italy, they were call'd Tyrrheni; and afferts with Dionysius Halicarnassensis, that from their facrificing rites they were call'd by the Greeks Thusci, lib. 3. c. 5. But in his fourteen chapter of the same book he further informs us, that they posses'd most of that part of Italy which he calls the sixth region. That they took 300 towns from the Umbri, who were the most antient people of Italy.

These people, he tells us, the Greeks call'd Ombrios, or as it is in the margin, Ombricos: And Herodotus calls the people they found there 'Oucenus;: But Pliny adds these remarkable words as the reason of that name, Quod inundatione terrarum Imbribus superfuissent. Which I cannot yield to be true any further than that they were there not long after the general flood, and were the first planters after that universal calamity. Then he names a great many people distinguish'd by the towns and places where they dwelt, who were subdu'd by these Tuscans, and whose land they had in

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their dominion; but tells us nothing either of the parentage or place from whence they came, or what way these *Umbri* came thither: They seem to be the same with those who are call'd *Opici* and *Aborigines*. Nor indeed can I find any thing particularly concerning the *Umbri* in any of those *Greek* or *Latin* histories which remain to our days.

Nevertheless, I think it not amiss to suggest that those travels through the world, which are faid by Sanchoniatho to have been made by Cronus and by Aftarte to fettle plantations, (as I suppose) may perhaps have reach'd even Italy: Especially since I find that out of Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius hath noted in his second book de Prap. Evane. That Cronus did reign in Sicily and Lydia, and Italy, (but he must plant it first) p. 59, Edit. Par. And in page 46 of the same book it is faid, That Ofiris, who was Cronus's son (whom I take to be Mizraim) did so in the nations about Phrygia (which point at Lydia) and that he pass'd by the Hellespont into Europe, where he lest his fon king of Macedonia; and from hence he might easily send planters into Italy. Cronus being (as I think I have prov'd) Ham, and he having escap'd the flood in person, and Roman Antiquities, &c. 323 person, and Osiris his son having escap'd it in the loins of his father, may hence probably be guess'd to be ancestors of these Ombri

I see reason also to judge that Japhet and his posterity were at some agreement with Ham or Cronus in the planting of the European countries; both because it was both their interests to improve as much land as they could for their family's maintenance; and because I find evidence of Japhet's descendents being in Greece especially. But I chuse to say little of this matter, because historical evidence in these eldest times is very little; and my design is only to prove that the best history that we have concerning these times from heathen writers hath a good agreement with the divine records in the Scriptures.

Let us therefore pals from the consideration of the Umbri to enquire after the time when the Tyrrheni came to their country, either to expel them thence or to cohabit with them, and take the sovereignty over them. And here I confess I am to struggle with great difficulties; not only from the want of clear history in such remote and dark times, but also because the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassensiss Y 2 judgment

judgment lies against me, notwithstanding that I have, I think, answer'd already the chief reason whereon his judgment is sounded. Therefore to abate something of his authority in this case, altho' in other matters I highly esteem it, let me alledge that he himself hath confess'd many things which do much more savour my judgment than they do his.

For instance, when he affirms the Tyrrheni to be autoxfores, and explains it to fignify ἀρχᾶιον τὶ πάνυ, he must assert that they were in Italy as foon or fooner than the Umbri. Whereas I think, with Herodotus and Pliny, that they found the Umbri there inhabiting before they came from Lydia or Maonia; and so all those many others whom he fays he knows to agree with Herodotus and the Lydian tradition, which he sets down before Herodotus's words, did affirm. So when he favs that the Pelafgi learnt skill in navigation from their correspondence with the Tyrrheni, and thereby were enabled to conquer the neighbouring people, he must own that the Tyrrheni were in Italy in the eldest and most flourishing times of the Pelasgi, which he affirms to be long before the Trojan war.

He

He confesses that the Tyrrheni in Italy were fo celebrated in Greece, that many writers there thought Rome it self a Tyrrheniun city. He contends that they err that think the Pelasgi and Tyrrheni were of the same stock or kindred, and labours to prove it by the difference of their languages. I agree that they confifted of different nations and languages for fome time; but they might afterwards come to speak one and the same language. Herodotus affures us that the Pelasgi in the northern parts of Greece did not speak Greek, but a barbarous tongue, as he calls it. And I doubt not but that the Pelassi were originally of different countries and languages. and had the common name of Pelasgi only from their coming by sea as seamen and foldiers of fortune, that fought for more convenient fettlements in other countries than they found where they were born. And the proofs that Dionysius Hulicarnas. fensis brings from good authors that the names of Tyrrheni and Pelassi are often join'd and apply'd to the same men, do evince that the Tyrrheni, tho' they came by sea from Lydia, were sometimes call'd also Pelaski, from their sea-adventures, as well as those that came either from Arcadia **Y** 3

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dia or from the islands of the Mediterranean sea, that belong'd either to Europe or

to Asia.

Nevertheless, I take this history of Herodotus concerning the colony from Lydia under Tyrsenus to be true, and a very valuable piece of history; especially because it is the eldest we have in any heathen historian of a colony from Asia that contributed much to the rife of the Roman empire and it agrees with the general account that Mases hath left us, that all the rest of the earth was planted out of Asia, which most of the heathen histories that we have are unwilling to own. And tho? Dion. Halicarnassensis thought it not so honourable either to the Romans or to the Greeks his countrymen, that the Romans should be deriv'd from Afiaticks, whom he calls Barbarians: Yet this was none of his wifest thoughts, but a piece of the Greek vanity. And the Romans generally thought it not dishonourable to themselves to come from the Trojans by Aneas, and his company that escap'd out of Troy.

And agreeably to these wiser thoughts, Virgil makes his Evander, altho, a Greek, to speak honourably of the Lydian colony, that had been long in Italy before his time.

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 327 and to recommend them to Eneas, as more potent confederates than himself, and his Arcadian Pelasgi.

Sed tibi ego ingentes populos, opulentaque regnis Jungere castra paro.

Æneid. 8. 1.475, &c.

Soon after follows

Haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto

Urbis Agyllinæ sedes, ubi Lydia quondam

Gens bello præclara jugis insedit Etruscis.

Eneas took his counsel, and, by the assistance of these Tyrrheni, whose ancestors in Lydia lay close to the dominions of Troy in Phrygia, he obtain'd his settlement in Italy, and laid the soundation of that great empire, which, after many ages, the Ramans erected.

I am not ignorant that the learned Bochart hath adventur'd to overthrow the credit of all the historians that affert Æneas to have come into Italy; and inclines Y 4 also

also to believe the *Tyrrheni* to be from the first days inborn in *Italy*. I have consider'd his arguments contain'd in a posthumous epistle in the last edition of his works; but am so far from being convinc'd by them, that I think it a thing of dangerous consequence, on such reasons, to reject the credit of so much history as he owns to be against him.

'Tis not proper for me here to digress into this enquiry about Æneas's coming into Italy, because the Tyrrheni may be a Lydian colony fent thither, whether Æneas came thither or not. And it's evident, by Virgil's owning it, that he did not think it dishonourable to the Romans either to own that, or that the Tyrrhenians were both willing and able to affift him in his fettlement there, and were originally Lydians; and that, by reason of these Lydians, seated on the banks and near the springs of Tiber, that river is by Virgil call'd Lydius Tibris. Which epithet he would never have given to that celebrated river, if he had not known that it was the receiv'd opinion and firm belief of all Rome and Italy, that antiently there was a famous colony of Lydians inhabiting upon it: And it's as certain that none pretend to come from

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 329 from Lydia thither, but those under the conduct of Tyrsenus.

The like argument I may draw from Horace's celebrating his Macenas's high birth from his descent from some of the noblest Lydians that dwelt in Hetraria, Sat. 6. and from his intimating in the beginning of his Odes that he was sprung from antient kings, which must be so understood, that his ancestors were either the sovereign princes from Lydia there settled in Tuscany, or at least that they were of those twelve Lucumones in Tuscany, or subordinate princes, of which Servius affures us that they were also call'd kings. Certainly Horace did not believe this Lydian colony to be a mere romance; for he could not think it honourable to Macenas to be related to princes that never had any other being than in a fable.

Having dispatch'd these preliminaries, 'tis time we should come to the principal enquiry, which is about what time this colony was sent out of Lydia into Italy. Here Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us there is variety of opinions; two he names which both make the plantation to be after Hercules's time; but he rejects them both: And so far I agree with him, as believing them

them to be there much sooner. But I cannot follow him so high as to think they were there so as never to have come from any other country: For I believe, as Herodotus and the Lydian tradition informs us, that they came from Lydia under Tyrsenus the son of Atys, the son of Cotys, the son of Manes or Meon, the first king of Lydia and Phrygia, as Diodorus Siculus, lib. 3. and Eusebius also informs us, lib. 2. Prap. Evang. And Eustachius, commenting on Dionysius Periegetes, agrees with Herodotus.

From this king the people of that country say they were first call'd Meones, and their country Meonia; which name appears in many antient authors, whom I need not cite. Now we may make a good approach to the time of Tyrsenus, if we can fix the time of Meon, from whom he was in the fourth generation inclusive. And Meon's time will be fix'd by shewing that he is the same man with Menes, the first king of Egypt, as well as of Lydia and Phrygia, who is commonly call'd Osiris by the Egyptians, and Mizraim by the Jews.

Now because the proof of the time will bear upon the sameness of this person, whose name is written differently; although

the learned will not wonder at change of yowels in a name, especially when its made by authors of different countries and times, because they know this is a thing very usual; yet for the service of readers that are not much us'd to such changes, I will give proof thereof.

Wherefore, I have observed, that in Ferremiah xlviii, 23. our translation calls a place in Moak, Beth-Meon, which signifies the house or temple of Mean, agreeably to the Hebrew text and to the Chaldee paraphrase., But the Septuagint calls it the house of Maon; and so doth the vulgar Latin. The Moabites agreed with the Egyptians in their idolatry, who worship'd their first king andplanter as a god, under the name of Osiris. But when they speak of him as a man who first reign'd among them, they call him Meon or Menes, with a Greek termination: Which word, Bechart well observes, signifies habitations or places to dwell in, which he brought them to and fettled them in.

Now, by the same reason that Meon is chang'd into Maon, Menes must become Manes, as he is call'd in Herodotus and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, or Manis, as this god and powerful potentate is call'd by Plutarch de Iside: Where he takes occasion

sion to mention this planter in Phrygia, and tells us that for his fake heroical deeds are call'd by the Phrygians, next neighbours to Lydia, Manica. And the learned Bochart, in his Canaan, eap. xlii. affirms that Teuto and Manus, whom Tacitus affirms the Germans to worship, were derived from the Egyptian Theuto and Menes. That Menes is Mizraim, I have provide leave this debate about the name, and proceed to historical proof of the fact, that Ofiris or Meon planted and first reign'd in Lydia and Phrygia.

Here we have, 1. The testimony of the men of that country, έγχώρω, in Diodorus, lib. 3. who own him their eldest king, and

Cybele to be his daughter.

2. The matter is largely set down by Eufebius, Præp. Evang. l. 2. c. 1. That Osris (who was Menes) travel'd thro' the earth from India, in the most eastern part of Asia, to Phrygia, and the countries near it that lie in the farthest western part of Asia, and thence over into Greece from Macedonia to Athens. That being a great lover of music he had with him, not only Pan and the satyrs, whose notes were more rude, but Apollo, and the nine singing virgins, whome the

the Greeks call'd the Muses, whose voices and instruments were more sweet. These things intimate that his business was not principally to make war, but to settle and improve colonies as the state of mankind requir'd, when the world was but newly and thinly peopled within a few generations after the flood.

In these early times, wherein Lydia had correspondence both with Babylania and Egypt, when (Cronus being suppos'd to be alive in the beginning of the third century after the flood) all were under one government, those Babylanian and Egyptian works which Herodotus in his Clio mentions in Lydia might reasonably be suppos'd to be erected, and this progress of Osiris or Menes perform'd.

But near the middle of that century the war broke out between the Canaanites in Egypt and the Egyptians, and Menes was kill'd, and Egypt was fortify'd against all inroads from Asyria, where another branch of Cronus's or Ham's family reign'd; and thus the universal monarchy which he seems to have projected, vanish'd, and his children sell into wars against each other. But I must not digress from my proofs of the great

great antiquity of this Meon, Menes or Manes, the first king in Lydia, Phrygia, &c.

3. The third proof is taken from the times of his kindred, which agree well with the time of the first Egyptian king of the same name. For Dion. Halicarnassensis tells us from the Lydian tradition, that his father was Jupiter, and his mother the earth; and that his fon Cotys married Halia the daughter of Tullius, who was born of the earth. Now it's known that the heathens never fpeak of men born of their deities, and of the earth, but when they would express that they are of the utmost antiquity, which among the Greeks did reach but up to the first flood: Which agrees well with the time of Menes or Mizraim, who was born of Cronus or Ham, in the first generation after the flood. We may also make some approach to the time of this Meon, by what we find in history concerning his daughter Cybele, who bears the name of the mother of the gods, that is, the mother of such men as the heathens worship'd.

Eusebius, in the second book of his Canon Chronicus, tells us that about nineteen years before the promise was given to Abraham, the Curetes built at Gnossus in Crete a temple and Roman Antiquities, &c. 335 a temple to the mother of the gods. This year is 1941 before the christian Æra, and probably a considerable time after her death, and longer, after the reign of her father. Yet the building of this temple is but 407 years after the flood, according to the He-

brew account.

But I confess that this observation doth not lead us very near to the time of the death of her father *Menes*; nor doth it pretend to do it; yet it brings us nearer to it than any account I have met with relating to this *Lydian* kingdom's antiquity; and being join'd with preceding evidence, that these parts of *Asia* were planted by *Osiris*, it inclines me to believe that the *Manes*, who founded the *Lydian* kingdom, may well be the same man with *Menes* that began the plantation in *Egypt*, from whence *Osiris* came.

And that difference in time which may be found between the death of *Menes* in *Egypt*, and the building of this temple to his daughter at *Gnossus*, may well be allowed to be the time of her life, and to the time after her death before the was so highly honour'd as a goddess in *Crete*.

These considerations make me believe that the same man Meon or Manes, or Me-

nes,

nes, was king both in Egypt and in other parts of the Leffer Asia; as Lydia and Phrygia: yet under his father Cronus or Ham. who was alive at the time of his death, and fent his fon and successor into Egypt, as Sanchaniatho affirms. And hence I conclude, that the best way to find the time of Tyrsenus, which is our present business, is to allow or add about an hundred years to the time of Menes's death, because Tyrsenus was in the third generation descending from Menes. Hence, since Menes's death is stated in the Egyptian line of kings by Eratosthenes sixty two years after his entrance, 100 years added to that time gives the time of the Tyrsenian colony, which is the thing fought for. Menes or Mizraim's beginning to reign is stated by us A. M. 1849. Add fixty two, his death will be A. M. 1911: To which add 100 years, the sum is 2011, the entrance of Tyrsenus.

And by this account it will appear that this colony of the Tyrsenians is almost 500 years elder than those of the Pelassi into Italy out of Greece, which are two distinct ones, both stated by Dionysius Halicarnassensis; yet not much differing in time from each other: For one of them was about

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 137 about the time of Deucalion, who expelled them out of Amonia. (twelve general tions after their first fettlement in Peloponne (us.) whence most of them went to wards the west side of Greece, about Thesprotts and Dodonaa: Whence they were. advis'd by the oracle to remove into Italy, then call'd Saturnia. The other was from Arcadia, under the conduct of Oenotrus. Now the times of Deucation and of Oenotrus are pretty well known (about the year of the world 2476, Tand are not very far from each other. But these being much later than those early dispersions which my design is concern'd in, I will pursue no further, being content to have attempted fome account of the darker time when the Tyrsenian colony was sent out of Lydia into Italy.

Before I conclude this chapter concerning the Tyrsenian plantation, I shall add a few notes.

- 1. Concerning the father of Tyrsenus, whose name was Atys.
- 2: Concerning the father of his mother, who was brother-in-law to Atys: And his name in Dionysius Halicarnassensus was Choraus.

Z 3. Concerne

3. Concerning his brother Lydus. And I conceive that each of these notes will give some degree of light and strength to the antiquity of this colony: Tho' I don't pretend that they will give such a precise determination of its time as I have before

propos'd as probable.

name had pass'd into Phrygia, bordering on Lydia, before the fall of Tray, because he names a Trojan youth that had the honour of being a companion to Ascanius, by the name Atys, and tells us that a family of the greatest antiquity in Rome, called Atyi, was descended from him; and the criticks inform us that the mother of Augustus Casar was of that family. See Eneid 5. 1. 568. With the commentators on it.

2. Cheraus is by Dionysius Halicarnas. Sensis own'd to be the father of the wife of Atys, and therefore most probably must be of the same generation with Cotys, the father of Atys; and consequently this Choraus might come with Cotys under his father Manes (or Menes) at the time of his first settling a colony or kingdom in this country, then calling it Maonia.

For

Horite, who were one branch of the Canaanites that were dispers'd into other countries different from Canaan, as is intimated Gen. x. 18. And I take his name in the Canaanites language to be Hori, as our English translation expresses it; but Chori or Xoppi, as the Septuagint expresses it, Gen. xxxvi. 22. Where we have, in the line of Sehir, the Horite, one Hori mention'd as the son of Lotan, and consequently the grandchild of Seir the Horite, named in remembrance of an elder Hori, from whom Seir himself and his posterity were call'd Horites.

I can't believe that this fon of Lotan is the man whom Dion. Halicarnassensis calls Choræus, because he is too late, and others of the family of Horites might take up that name as well as he: But I think it very credible that many Horites and other families of the Canaanites went into Egypt under their great uncle Mizraim or Menes; to make up the first colony there; and also that one or more of them might go with him when he went out of Egypt, then sufficiently flor'd with planters, to plant cosonies in other countries; and particularly in that which later times call'd Lydia. And Z 2 I like

I like very well what the learned Bochart fuggests in his first chapter of his Canaan, that from these Horites was deriv'd the name of that city in Egypt, which the Septuagint calls Heroon-polis in Gen. xlvi. 28. because I firmly believe that the eastern name Chorim is the true original of the Greek name Heroes, as Bochart intimates.

3. Concerning Lydus, it will be requifite to shew that he is no feign'd king, as Bochart hath ventur'd to call both him and his ancestor Meon or Menes; only to put in their places some eastern etymologies relating to the winding of Maander, from which he would derive both the name of Meonia and Lydia. But it's in vain to contradict the testimony of credible historians concerning the reign of kings, which is matter of fact, unless he could prove his negative by more pregnant evidence than a conjecture that those names might well be deduc'd from eastern words, importing the crooked windings of a river in the country where those kings are affirm'd to have reign'd, by Herodotus, Dion. Halicar-nassensis, and by Xanthus Lydius, born and bred there, and somewhat elder than Herodotus. For we have in Dionysius Halicarnassensis a fragment of Xanthus, that exprefly and Roman Antiquities, &c. 341 presly names king Lydus the son of Airs, and owns the Lydi nam'd from him.

And the being of this Lydus among the issue of Mizraim or Mean is yet the more credible, because Moses himself, Gen. x. 13. mentions Ludim among the issue of Mizraim: and this is done also I Chron. i. 11. and therefore Lud or Lydus may well be the name, not only of a fon immediately begotten by Mizraim, but also of a great. grandchild, in which place this Lydus stands in the line of Meon or Menes, which is a title given in heathen writers to Mizraim, because he was a great founder of habitations or colonies, as I have elsewhere shewn. Neither doth this contradict what the learned Bochart hath labour'd to prove, that there were Ludim in the more southern parts of Africa, Phaleg, lib. 4. c. 26. For Mizraim might place some of his issue under the name of Ludim in Æthiopia; and fome also of the same name in Asia Minor.

Let me add also this caution concerning what I said before about the time of the two colonies of *Pelasgi* into *Italy*, that it was much later than the time of the *Tyr-seni's* coming thither. I would not be understood thereby to affirm that no colonies

Z 3 of

of *Pelasgi* came sooner into *Italy*; althod I know that *Pausanias* doth expressly say, that no colonies, either from *Greece* or from barbarous people were elder than that of *Oenotrus* from *Arcadia* into *Tuscany*, in his *Arcadics*, p. 238.

For I confess I agree not with him in this opinion. I will not oppose to him what we learn from Moses concerning those el-· dest dispersions from Babel, which were long before the time of Oenotrus: because he may well be excus'd, being a heathen, from knowing what is no where exactly recorded but in those sacred records, which it's likely he had never feen. Yet methinks he should have remember'd what he himfelf had faid a little before, that Lycaon, the father of Oenotrus, liv'd in the same time with Cecrops's kingdom in Athens, and he might have known that Cecrops brought thither a colony from Sau in Egypt, which furely must be an elder colony than that which Oenotrus, in the age next after him, carry'd into Italy.

But it is not my business now to confute Pausanias, which I would not have done, but that his words, if believ'd, would overthrow the whole design of this chapter. I will therefore only add a quotation that I

meet with in Strabo's fifth book, page 221, out of Anticlides, an historian, whose time I cannot fix; but only it's certain that he liv'd before Plutarch and Athenaus, and Strabo too, because these quote him as of good authority. He favs there were Pelafgi dwelling in places about Lemnus and Imbrus, and that some of them sail d with Tyr-

rhenus the fan of Atys into Italy.

Here, besides that we have a further testimony of good credit to the reality of this plantation from Lydia; we have a proof that there were Pelasgi about the shores of Asia the Less, and the fore-nam'd adjacent islands: and that some of them were of the same age with Tyrrhenus, the fon of Atys, and join'd with him in the voyage to Italy. Hence it follows also. that if we have found the time of Tyrrheuus, we have a fresh evidence that there were Pelasgi, and some in Italy also, long before the time of Oenotrus. And thus we fee that those eldest fort of men, whom fome heathens would make us believe to have forung out of the earth, are even by heathen historians confess'd to have come from Asia, agreeably to the divine history of Moses.

Having

Having thus finish'd what I have to fav concerning the planting of part of Italy by Tyrrhenus from Lydia, give me leave to mention another colony that came out of the same country, many centuries after the time of Tyrrhenus, to settle themselves in that famous part of Greece the Reninsula, which is best known in the Greek and Roman historians by the name of Peloponnesus: I mean the colony brought out of Lydia by Pelops, from whom that famous name of Peloponne sus is deriv'd. I know that some authors call both Pelops, and his father Tantalus, and his fifter Niobe, Phrygians: And Strabe owns that a great confusion is made in the names of those neighbouring countries, whose bounds were not well fix'd

But to my purpose, which was to prove that this part of Greece was peopled from Asia, it is all one by what name this part of Asia the Less is call'd; whether Phrygia or Lydia: For 'tis agreed that Pelops's father Tantalus was a king in Sipylus; and that Pelops, with his sister Niobe and a great retinue, came from thence into Greece; and that he marry'd Hippadamia, the daughter of Oenomaus, king of Pisa, whom he had slain: That he gain'd also the country about

about Olympus, and celebrated games there in honour of Jupiter Olympius, who gave oracles there at that time, as Strabo intimates: That he marry'd his sister Nioba to Amphion, who, with his brother Zethus, ejected Laius out of Thebes, and enlarg'd and wall'd that town. It is agreed also, that he brought a great many inhabitants into the Peninsula, that's now best known among the learned by his name: So Diodorus expressy affirms.

Pindar, the eldest writer that mentions him, calls Pisa therefore a colony of Lydians. Thucydides affirms that he brought much riches out of Asia, and thereby greatly endear'd himself to the Greeks, who then were very poor. And he might well be rich, because his father Tantalus was noted for abundance of wealth more than he knew how to bear. And he leaving it to his fon Pelops, he might carry his treasure with him into Greece, altho' he withdrew out of Asia for fear of Ilus. Pausanias expresly calls him a Lydian, following Pindar. And I chuse to follow these authors; altho' I know that many call him a Phrygian, and some a Paphlagonian; yet all agree that he was an Asiatic; and the kingdom of Lydia, when

when it flourish'd, might take in much of *Phrygia* and *Paphlagonia* also.

Certain it is, that his colony out of Afia made a great change in the affairs of Greece. Diodorus assures us that he was a man of much prudence and valour. And Plutarch. in his Theleus, fays, that by reason of his great riches, and the multitude of his children, he over-weigh'd the little kings of Peloponnesus, and marry'd his daughters into the greatest families, and got his fons to be princes in their cities. His fon Atreus, after the death of Eurystheus, was king of Mycenæ, besides the dominion he had in Pisa and Olympia; and so he prevail'd over the family of Perseus, which had reign'd there long. His grand-daughter Alcumena was the mother of Hercules: and so all the power that Hercules gain'd devolv'd into his family. His grandson Agamemnon was general of all the forces of Greece against Troy.

There is a strange passage in Pausanias, his first Eliac, p. 160. That the priests or prophets affirm'd to the Greeks when the war against Troy grew long or tedious to them, that Ilium would not be taken until they carry'd thither the arrows of Hercules,

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and Roman Antiquities, &c. 347
and the shoulder-blade of Pelops, which
therefore were accordingly sent thither. I
would not mention this, but that I think it
proves that the Greeks had a great honour
for even the relicks of this man, and were
likely to be encouraged by the fight thereof
to fight keenly against Ilium, to avenge
Pelops's quarrel against that city, which
bore the name of Ilus, who had driven
him out of Asia. Pausanias hath many
other things to the honour of Pelops in
many places, which the reader may confult at his leisure.

I chuse to conclude this discourse with a passage in Herodotus's Polymnia, where he reports some speeches of Xerxes when he was consulting about the invasion he intended against Greece. He reports that Xerxes said: It is honourable for me to avenge my self on those men, whom Pelops, a Phrygian, and a servant of my ancestors, did so subdue, that to this day both the country and the men in it bear the name of him their conqueror, being call'd Peloponnesians.

Here Xerxes, or Herodotus in his name, affures us that Pelops made fo great a conquest in Greece, that it encourag'd Xerxes, who

who was more powerful, to expect that he should make there a greater conquest.

2. He informs us that Pelops, a Lydian or Phrygian king was fervant or subject to This I cannot understand his ancestors. otherwise than that he accounted the Allyrian kings, into whose rights or dominions he fucceeded by descent from Cyrus, who had conquer'd them, to be his ancestors or forefathers. And indeed it is true, there were fome marriages between the royal families of the kings of Allyria and those of the Medes and Persians, from whom he descended. And accordingly, in Ezra vi. 22. The king of the Medes and Persians is call'd the king of Assyria, compare verse 14 of that chapter, and it will appear that Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes have equal right to this title which Xerxes also in Herodotus seems to claim to himself. For it is most certain that Pelops liv'd above 830 years before the time that Xerxes confulted to invade Greece, and that the Assyrian empire did indeed then and before that time claim some dominion over the Lesser Asia, from whence Pelops came. But the dominion of the Medes and Persians, as distinguish'd from Assyrians, was not then known in the Leffer Asia.

Let

Let me add one consequence more from the words of Xerxes, which were spoken, as the most learned Armagh reckons, in the surface of this reign, falling in the year of the Julian period 4229

Pelops's institution of the olympick games is stated by Scaliger, from whom others in this matter differ little, J. P. 3398

The difference of time between these is 831

Deduct the distance between the first of Nahonasar and the first of

The remainder is 568, the years 568 between Pelops's olympick games, and the Era of Nabonassar. This demonstrates that Pelops's native country was under the Asyrian more than 520 years before the Era of Nabonassar, begun at the fall of Sardanapalus.

This I thought fit to note, because it shews that Herodotus doth here sufficiently intimate that the Assyrian dominion in Asia Minor was above 520 years old; althoin his Clio he seems to suggest that it had stood no longer, when the Medes revolted from them, which is an opinion contrary to all the antient historians that I know of.

'Tis

Tis true indeed that he is the eldest historian that now remains in our hands. But it is certain that there were elder records in being when he wrote; and he himself acknowledges, just before those words, that give fo short a time to the Assyrian monarchy, that the history of Cyrus, whose conquest of the Assyrians he was beginning to relate, is told by others three other ways. differing from the narrative he was about to give us, wherein he chuses not to follow those that made Cyrus's conquest most honourable, Σεμνθν τα περί Κύρον are his words, which a greater antiquity and largeness of that empire would do; but rather those which did lessen Cyrus, which seems to me to favour of that malignity of which Putarch hath accus'd him in a whole book.

My present concern is only to desire the reader to observe, that the antiquity of Pelops and his subjection to the Asyrians, which he here seems to own, is not consistent with that diminution of the Asyrian antiquity, which he hath suggested in his Clio. Nevertheless, his confession that others before his time or in his days did relate the history otherwise than he hath done, is of good use to prove that those historians who differ from him, the they wrote since

and Roman Antiquities, &c. 351

his time, may have elder authors than him, whom they might fee good reason to sollow, altho' he rejected them. Yea, and now we must be forc'd to sollow the anthors that allow greater antiquity to the Assiran empire than Herodotus doth, that we may shew there is truth in the words which Herodotus tells us were spoken by Xerxes concerning Pelops and his countrymen.

Agreeably to this subjection of Lydia to the Assyrians, Priamus, king of Troy, is affirm'd to have own'd himself a subject or dependent on the Allyrian king Teutamus. and to have defir'd and obtain'd aids from him of 20000 men, fent under the conduct of Memnon, fon of Tithonm. Who was Primuses's brother. This Diodorus Siculus delivers, lib. 2. eap. 6. But this I mention only to new that the Afgrian dominion did extend even beyond Lydia to Troy, that flood more westward, near the shores of the Ægean sea, acknowledging that the time of Priamus was about 130 years later than the time of Pelops. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that Priamus's ancestors, particularly Ilus, were in as much dependence on the Allyrians as Priamus was.

But

352 Connection of the Greek, &c.

But I must not digress to enquire further into that matter, therefore I shall content my felf with intimating, that Diodorus doth expresly mention Troas and Lydia among the countries subject to Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian monarchy. Wherefore I conclude, that when Xerxes in this freech. which we have here consider'd, calls Pelops the Phrygian or Lydian, his ancestor's fubiect, and mentions his own descent from Cyrus, the conqueror of the Affyrian empire, he did intend to intimate that Phrygia or Lydia were part of their dominion, and consequently descended to him: So that he might well claim and conquer any of their countries, especially Peloponnesus, that was conquer'd by Pelops. And because Pelops's subjection to the Assyrian empire was above 520 years before the Æra of Nabonassar, it is rightly concluded that Herodotus hath not well limited that empire to 520 years before the fall of Sardanapalus.



TRACT



TRACT VIII.

Appendix de Cabiris, addenda disquisitioni de Pelasgis.

Abirorum nomen celebre est etiam inter Græcos, quanquam vox sit aperte Phœnicia seu Hebræa. Sumitur autem hoc nomen ambigue, 1^{mo} pro Diis quibusdam Ethnicorum, quorum nomina, & numerus, ritusque quibus coluntur, religio justit celari. Hinc nec ipse noster Sanchoniatho eorum nomina cultumve declaravit, sed magnum quiddam se præstitisse videtur putasse, quod septem silios eos primum suisse Sydyci dixerit, & deinde subjunxerit octavum eis suisse stratem, quem nominavit Asclepium.

Ex eodem superstitios metu sit quod. Herodotus qui proxime (inter historicos quos habemus) accessit ad Sanchoniathonis antiquitatem, cum mentionem secerit, 1, 2. c. 51. obscoenæ imaginis Mercurii, quæprimo Athenis, & inde alibi in Græcia visitur, & colitur: affirmat sacram quandam A a rationem

rationem illius in mysteriis Samothraciæ tradi, eamque sibi, omnibusque initiatis notam esse innuit; sed summa cum cautela eam celat.

Similiter etiam, sed apertius & verbis plane disertis, Pausanias in Bœoticis, pag. mihi 300, ubi narrat de lucu Cabiriæ, Cereris ac Proserpinæ, quo intrare initiatis tantum fas est, & æde de Cabirorum quæ circiter septem stadia inde distabat. Oirures & eiou oi Kabapon के नम्हार्य हेनाए विषयनार में मूम μητε τα δρώμενας σιωπην άγοντι υπέρ αυτών συγίνωμη παρά ανδρών Φιληχώων ές ω μοι.

"Veniam sibi poscit quod non enarret " quinam essent hi Cabiri, & quæ sacra

" ils, & magnæ matri peragantur.

Interim certum est è plurali numero nominis Cabirorum non unicum verum Deum, creatorem coeli & terræ, seu primam rerum omnium causam sub hoc nomine cultum fuisse. Manisestum etiam est non omnes ethnicos adeo fideli superstitione conticuisse de iis, quin ex illis aliquot, ut Sanchoniatho ejusque interpres Philo Berytius, prodiderint septem fuisse filios Sydyci, & insuper Asclepium ex iis suisse, sub nomine Esmuni, quo verbo octavus fundamental fightficatur.

Quinetiam

Quinetiam scholiastes Apollonii prodidit; duos primo suisse Cabiros, Jovem nempe seniorem, & Dionysum juniorem. Insuper idem tradidit tria nomina Cabirorum è Mnasea: Axieros quæ & Ceres, Axiokersa quæ & Proserpina, & Axiokersos qui & Pluto: Addit etiam ex Dionysidoro quartum, qui est Casmillus, seu Mercurius.

De horum nominum origine Punica videatur Bocharti Canaan, l. 1. c. 12. Ostendit etiam Seldenus in tractatu de Diis Syris, Venerem ab orientalibus dici Cubar; quod nomen ex iisdem constat literis radicalibus cum Cabiris, ideoque idem videtur significare. De his non est mei instituti multum disquirere, obiter autem notanda censeo baucula.

rmo De Mnasea, qui tria nobis horum suggessit nomina, observo Vossium in libro de historicis Græcis, tres ejus nominis descripsisse, quorum unus erat ex urbe Beryto. Suspicor hunc Berytium eum suisse qui tradidit tria illa nomina Cabirorum, quoniam observavi quod Sanchoniatho notavit Cronum dedisse urbem Berytum, Cabiris & Neptuno, unde probabile sit Berytium Mnaseam sua in urbe audivisse hæc nomina Cabirorum, qui illius (ex parte saltem) erant domini. Porro etiam docuit Vossius (in A a 2

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ultima editione lib. de Hist. Græc.) Scaligerum tradidisse quod Mnaseas est nomen Hebræum. Manasses leviter mutatum.

2^{do} Notandum puto quod Sanchoniatho posuit Proserpinam & Plutonem inter fobolem Croni, non autem Sydyci (fed hi duo, eorumque filii iisdem temporibus vixerunt;) unde videtur colligendum alios præter Sydyci filios in Cabirorum numerum relatos esse. Invenimus scilicet octo Cabirorum nomina, sed non tot Sydyci filios, immo unicum tantum, eumque natu minimum Asclepium, quem author noster Sydyco patri expresse attribuit.

Interim fatendum est Cabirorum Deo-

rum, seu Dioscurorum, nomen progressu temporis, sive per adulationem sive per ignorantiam, datum esse plurimis, quibus antiquiora, quæ nunc tractamus, tempora nullum jus concesserant ad titulos tam augustos. Namque alios enumerat Cotta tempore posteriores in tertio libro Ciceronis de natura Deorum, alios Strabo libris 10 & 12, quæ sic breviter indicasse sufficiat; quoniam non agendum hoc loco de omnibus Diis gentium, eorumque titulis, sed inquirendum est in tempora sacerdotum, seu hominum qui primum iis ministrabant, & tamen titulo hoc divino ornabantur.

Tranfe-

Transeamus itaque ad secundam signisicationem harum vocum, Cabiri, Corybantes, Dioscuri, Samothraces, Euseb. p. 36. & notemus quod hæ voces ponuntur ab Eusebio Philonem Byblium transcribente tanquam Synonymæ, & ejusdem plane significationis: nec dicuntur hi Dii, sed tantum filii Sydyci, (quem Semum esse Chami fratrem alibi ostendimus;) qui quoniam pater dicitur Dioscurorum, ideo ipse intelligitur esse Zwis; ejusque filii hi affirmantur tantum invenisse rates, herbarum vires ad curationem morsuum venenatorum, aliaque. Hinc fequitur Cabiros esse fratres Arphaxadi, natosque in prima generatione post diluvium, cui nec LXX nec codex Samaritanus ullam adjecerunt annorum centuriam, qua longius à diluvio summoveantur, utì fecerunt in generationibus, quæ hanc vetustissimam sequuntur; sed in hac generatione omnes codices consentiunt de summa antiquitate.

Porro certum est apud alios authores, exempli gratia apud Strabonem, Corybantes, aut idem significare quod Curetes, Idæi, Dactyli & Cabiri, aut exiguis tantum differentiis distingui, adeoque saltem cognatos eos admodum esse tradunt, "Eadem-" que sacra habere cum Samothracibus, &

A a 3 "Lemniis,

"Lemniis, alliisque compluribus, quod iisdem Diis omnes sint famuli, omnesque enthusiastico furore corripiuntur, in armis saltant, & armorum, cymbalorum, tympanorum strepitu, suoque clamore perterreant homines." Vide Strabonem lib. 10. p. 466, B. C. D. aliisque locis ejusdem libri (præsertim p. 470,) cum notis Casauboni.

Non opus est ut adjiciam quæ à Pausania, & Suida suggeruntur his consimilia; quoniam & major est authoritas Strabonis ipfius, & Strabo ea quæ dixit antiquiorum doctrinæ consona esse comprobavit. Non celabo tamen quod observavi apud Pausaniam in Bœoticis, quod statim postquam dixisset, suisse quondam in ea regione urbem, & homines dictos Cabiros, statim adiicit mentionem Cabiræorum, nominatque Prometheum, & ejus filium Ætnæum, iifque dicit depositum quoddam (arcanum) commissum esse à Cerere. Cabiræos dicit non Cabiros. Si credamus ipsam Cererem (quæ fuit Isis Ægyptiaca) Prometheo tradidisse mysteria, manifestum erit hunc Prometheum fuisse multis sæculis antiquiorem Prometheo Deucalionis patre, cui nusquam assignatur filius Ætnæus, sed fuisse illum antiquissimum Japheti filium, qui inter Titanas r 22 2 2

tanas numeratur; quod notavit Scaliger ad numerum Eusebianum 431.

Quinetiam Diodorus Siculus Prometheum antiquissimum posuit, Osiridi & Isidi coævum; & Juvenalis eum Titanem vocat, Sat. 14.

E Meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan, innuens Prometheum κατ' ἐξοχην Titanem fuisse. Titanes autem Osiridi (quem esse Liberum patrem probavit Plutarchus) fuisse coævos Pausanias ex Onomacrito monstrat in Arcadicis.

Porro etiam Paulanias in Corinthiacis fatis-aperte innuit Cabiræum hunc Prometheum lapheti filium tribus generationibus seniorem suisse illis, qui apud Athenienses aυήχθονες dicuntur; quod non est verum de patre Deucalionis, ejusve avo, sed optime convenit cum iis quæ Diodorus, & ex eo Eusebius, tradidit de migratione Osiridis Isidisque in Græciam; quo tempore etiam antiquissimo Triptolemo tradita est ratio colendorum & ferendorum agrorum. Mihi etiam plane incredibile videtur Græcos agriculturam non novisse ante Erecthei tempora, & Triptolemum (recentiorem) illi coævum, qui centum circiter annos vixerunt post Cadmi adventum in vicinam Bœotiam, qui non potuit eos celare rem in Aa4

in Phœnice, & Ægypto (unde venerit) ultra quingentos ante annos notissimam.

Hæc autem eo tantum fine hic à me proferuntur, ut ostendam Cabirorum sacra in antiquissimis temporibus ab Iside & Osiride in Græciam esse perlata, ipso Prometheo Titane facto facrorum principe: Quod diserte affirmat Pausanias, consentiente Eusebio Præp. Evang. lib. 2. c. 1. è Diodoro Siculo. Pauca tantum eius transcribam verba. De Osiride ibi asserit, "illum non " folum patri suo matrique, sed & Diis aliis " templa construxisse, ut & singulis hono-" res' proprios constituisse, & τες επιμελο-" μένες Ίερᾶς. Sacerdotes qui eos curarent " ex officio." Quæ verba complectuntur Cabiræos, quorum erat celebrare sacra deorum Cabirorum. Eodemque mox capite dicit, " eum post peragratam Phrygiam per " Hellespontum in Europam trajecisse: Et " speciatim res Macedoniæ & Atticæ pro-" curasse per Macedonem & Triptole-" mum," qui cum fuit Osiridi coævus, necessario longe antiquior fuerit illo, quem Græci celebrare solent, sive Celei sive Rhari filio; mire enim inter se dissentiunt mythologi.

Pausanias (in Atticis p. 13,) autem suggessit carmina quædam Musæi, antiquissimi poetæ, poetæ, suo tempore extitisse; quæ eum ex Oceano, & Terra natum esse dicerent, hoc est ex antiquissimis Diis, quos Sanchoniatho noster monstravit homines priscos suisse. Ideoque Musæum credo propius accessisse ad verum tempus primi Triptolemi indicandum, quam posteriores mythologi. Appollodorus porro resert, lib. 1. c. 5. Pherecydem consentire cum Musæo, nempe agnoscere Triptolemum filium suisse Oceani & Terræ, & sic optime conveniet ejus tempus cum tempore Cereris, hoc est Isidis & Osiridis.

Pherecydi autem huic Syrio eo major fides danda est, quoniam antiquissimus est scriptor & philosophus ac theologus, vixitque in tempore Servii Tullii, seu Crœsi Lydorum regis; & præceptor suit Pythagoræ, ac Thaletis, ut probat Vossius in libro de historicis Græcis. Loquitur ille cum vulgo, cum Oceano & Terra ortum dicit Triptolemum; sed intelligi voluit loqui de antiquissimis hominibus (qui illis nominibus velabantur in fabulis) & inde summam illi asserere antiquitatem.

Sed redeamus ad Pausaniam nostrum qui in Atticis pag. 13. affirmat, "Argivos dis-"putare contra Athenienses de deorum "muneribus & memoriæ traditum esse ait, "Cererem " Cererem Argos, seu intra Peloponnesum, " venientem, à Pelasgo hospitio acceptam " fuisse." Hanc Cererem credo (cum Plutarcho, Diodoro, Herodoto, aliifque multis) Isidem fuisse Ægyptiam; nec dubium est quin Argis æque ac Thebis & alibi docuerit illa religionem suam, agriculturam forte & aliquid medicinæ, unde deriventur ab Ægypto hæ artes in Peloponneso pariter ac cæteris Græciæ partibus. Sed quæro, quis fuerit hic Pelasgus Osiridi contemporaneus? Certe non erat ille nepos Phoronei, & filia sua Niobe, & frater Argi (juxta Acusilaum;) vixit enim ille 400 circiter annis post mortem Isidis & Osiridis, posito Osiridem esse Mizraimum, seu Menem primum Ægypti regem, quod veriffimum effe reor.

Colligamus hinc itaque, Pelasgos in ea peninsula suisse diu ante Phoronei, & nepotum illius tempora. Et sane Herodoti dictum quod Ægialensis regni subditi erant Pelasgi, bene convenit cum Pausaniæ dicto quod Ceres, seu Isis, ab aliquo Pelasgo recepta suerit.

Armachanus noster (juxta chronologos antiquissimos) Ægialei initium regnandi posuit A. M. 1915, & probabile est sparsim ibi vixisse Pelasgos aliquammultos priusquam inceperit

inceperit monarchia Ægialei, adeo ut Isis sua mysteria Cabirica Pelasgo tradiderit paulo (circa 40 annos) ante initium Ægialei. Et sane sparsi hujusmodi homines sacilius reciperent externum Osiridis imperium, ejusque sacra, quam uniti sub noto monarcha. Hæc autem bene congruunt cum dictis Herodoti assirmantis, "omnes Græcos, immo ipsos Samothraces à Pesulasgis accepisse orgia, seu mysteria Cabirica, Euterpe c. 51."

Restat jam ut inquiramus, quantum licet in tenebrosissima hac historiæ parte, quomodo ad ipsos Ægyptios pervenerint Cabiri, eorumque initiationes; idque faciemus duce Sanchoniathone nostro, qui videtur id egisse ut Ægyptios monstraret suam doctrinam, artes, & religionem à Phœnicibus suis accepisse, sed priscam religionem Phœnicum corrupisse.

Nos autem ipfius historiam eatenus tantum recipiemus, quatenus cum Mosaica, quæ antiquior est & verior, consistere eam posse judicamus. Artes & religionum varietates ortas esse scimus ab hominibus diversis, à Babylone primo dispersis; atque inde igitur ut hominum, seu gentium variarum initia sumenda sunt, sic etiam ibi prima

prima post diluvium artium, & religionum diversarum fundamenta jacta esse videntur.

Huic sententiæ convenit quod observationes cœlestes in Babylone repertæ sunt, cum ea capta est ab Alexandro Magno annorum 1903, illud tempus antecedentium. Hic numerus annorum subductus ex annomundi, quo capta est illa urbs juxta computum Armachani, deducet nos ad A. M. 1771. adeoque ad annum à dilûvio sinito 114. Nescimus annum quo condita est Babylon, sed hinc certo sciamus eam non suisse vetustam cum primæ ibi sactæ suerunt observationes cœlestes, & eas sieri non potuisse sine instrumentis aliquibus; ea sieri non possunt sine aliquali notitia principiorum arithmeticæ & geometriæ.

De religione Babyloniorum ante dispersionem nihil constat è reliquiis quas habemus historiæ rerum tam antiquarum. Susficiat itaque è dictis colligere artium initia potius quærenda est in Babylonia, quam in Ægypto, vel in Phœnicia; in quibus regionibus nihil tradidere historiæ side dignæ paris antiquitatis cum astronomica Chaldæorum horum peritia.

Nihilominus hoc facile concesserim Sanchoniathoni nostro Cronum & Osiridem, i. e. (utì ipse credo) Chamum & Mizraimum ejusque ejusque filios (postquam è Chaldæa occidentem versus itinera facerent) prius commoratos suisse in Phoenicia, quam pervenerint in Ægyptum. Porro etiam quoniam Ægypti pars inferior, & socundissima, quæ Delta Græcis dicitur, quotannis exundationibus Nili obnoxia est, necesse erat ut per aliquot annos in vicina regione commorarentur, ut aggeres in locis commodissimis Ægypti sierent, in quibus urbes ædissicarentur, quas tuto inhabitare possint qui suturi erant coloni, in tempore quo sluvius maximam terræ partem undis suis obtegeret.

In Phoenicia itaque credo Mizraimi progeniem cum cognatis suis è stirpe Canaanis aliquandiu habitasse. Patet enim è Sanchoniathone quod Thoth Menis, seu Mizraimi silius diutissime, scilicet ad tempus quo missus est à Crono ut regnum Ægypti capessere post mortem patris sui (qui tamen regnasse dicitur tam ab Eratosthene, quam à Manethone per annos 62) commorabatur cum Crono, cui erat à conciliis & à secretis in Phoenicia. Nec dubium est quin communicavit doctrinam cognatis suis Cabiris, unde vel hoc nomine Phoenicia prius sibi vindicare possit literarum laudem quam Ægyptus.

Ex

Ex hac cognatione, & necessitudine, quaintercessit inter Cabiros & Cronum, ejusque nepotem Athothem, nec non è sama doctrine quam ab illo receperint, orta est magna illa celebritas, & authoritas, quam hi primi sacrorum ethnicorum antistites tam sibi acquisiverunt, quam posteris suis per multas gentes sparsis, & per multa secula continuatis, obtinuerunt. Hinc enim habiti sunt ipsis Diis cognati, charissimique, summe insuper periti in religione quam à patribus suis velut hæreditariam acceperint; Hinc demum sulciebantur authoritate, opibus & armis summorum principum, qui tam in Assyria, quam in Ægypto à Crono descendentes, jus summi imperii obtinuerunt.

Patet enim ex authore nostro Cronum ethnicæ superstitionis etiam pessimæ parti, quæ est liberorum mactatio ad placandos malignos dæmonas addictum suisse, eundemque sibi associasse non solum Sydyci posteros, hos Cabiros, sed & Pontum, Posidonem, Nereum, aliosque, quos ego Japheti posteros suisse arbitror, & alibi id probare conatus sum; è quibus præcipue Pelasgos antiquissimos Græciæ incolas sluxisse reor.

Quinetiam verba Moss, (juxta vulg. Lat.) Gen. x. 5. de Japheti posteris dicta, verissime

fime accommodari possunt Pelasgis. "Ab "his divisæ sunt insulæ gentium in regio-" nibus suis," quanquam non ad eos solos restringenda esse hæc verba existimem (miftos iis fuisse Phœnices, & Ægyptios crediderim.) Sed redeamus ad Sanchoniathonis dicta quibus oftendit quam beneficus fuerit Cronus erga Cabiros, eosque quibus illi erant facerdotes Apud Eusebium Præp Evang. pag. 38. linea ultima, legimus illum dedisse integram urbem Berytum Cabiris conjunctis cum Posidone, agricolis & piscatoribus, qui illic consecrarunt Ponti reliquias. Hoc certe non fecissent nisi Pontus & Posidon ejusdem suissent religionis cum Cabiris.

At præ aliis omnibus id plurimum adjuvisse videtur propagationem hujusce superstitionis, quod hi Dioscurorum silii admodum dediti suerint navigationi. Nam cum prius dixerat author noster Cabiros primum invenisse navigium, mox p. 37, D. subjicit eorum silios (circa tempus quo Cronus Atlantem fratrem suum alta terra desossum obruisse) in tumultuariis quas secissent ratibus pelago se commissse, at naufragium passos, & ejectos in littore prope Cassium Montem ibi templum dedicasse."

Notandum censeo hanc primam esse navigationem

tionem quæ occurrit in historia post diluvium. Deinde dubium non est quin Cabiri multos secum habuerunt comites in hac navaliexpeditione, cum author exprimat pluraliter γεδίας κζ πλοία. Nec certe templum extruxissent nisi multorum manibus, & usui plurium. Hinc itaque aliqualem coloniam versus Ægyptum ductam suspicari licet; atque ex hoc templo in sinibus Ægypti condito facile transire possit religio Cabirorum in regionem naturaliter deditam superstitionibus.

Montem distasse à Pelusio circiter 40 milliaria, & tamen 28 milliaribus propius suisse Pelusio quam exitus lacus Sirbonidis. An Ægyptiorum esset Mons Cassius primis hisce temporibus, an potius Horæorum qui à Cananæis erant non multum resert; quandoquidem nondum erupisset bellum intereos, sed amice inter se tam in rebus civilibus, quam religiosis primo vixerint, adeoque facile alter populus cum altero sermones habuerit.

Herodotus docuit Cabiros in Ægypto receptos esse, & templum habuisse Memphi solis sacerdotibus patens, & existimavit Cambysem mentis suæ non suisse compotem, qui priscam hujus populi religionem ludibrio

ludibrio haberet. Addamne quod felicibus admodum auspiciis videatur hoc templum fundatum esse, quod (licet fortasse sæpe renovatum) in honore stetisset ultra annos bis millenos; tantum enim temporis effluxisset, inter ætatem Croni, quo sundatum est, & ætatem Plinii, aliorumque qui ejus mentionem saciunt. Immo vero hujusce templi meminit Achilles Statius, qui pri-mum ethnicus fuit, sed postea factus est christianus & episcopus Alexandrinus, ut testatur Suidas; & in templo Jovis Cassii ipse pingebatur extensa manu tenens Malum Punicum de quo ratio traditur mysti-Ca.

Non inquiram in ethnicum hoc mysterium; fed addam hoc mihi in mentem revocare, quod Syrorum Deus Rimmon dicitur, quo nomine Malum Punicum fignificatur. Quinetiam memini me apud Pausaniam legisse p. 59, in ejus Corinthiacis quod "My-" cenis celebris est statua Junonis, quæ al-" tera manu sceptrum tenet, altera vero " Malum Punicum; eujus significationem " religioso silentio premendam esse dicit." Scilicet hoc est unum è mysteriis Cabiricis quæ nefas est evulgare.

Nihilominus Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico pag. 12, videtur hoc revelasse, ait ait enim mulieres quæ Thesmophoria celebrant a Mali Punici granorum esu abstinere, existimantes ex guttis sanguinis Dionysi (quem Osiridem esse probavit Plutarchus) germinasse Mala Punica: Scilicet rubedo qua vestiuntur semina in malo granato inclusa, sacrum illum resert Osiridis sanguinem quo se polluere nesas putant.

Hæc obiter visum est annotare, ut ostendam Cabiros non solum antiquissimos suisse superstitionis ethnicæ sacerdotes, sed etiam ab iis derivari præcipua plurimarum gentium sacra, ut Syriæ, Ægypti, Phrygiæ, Græciæ, Cypri, aliarum insularum Maris Mediterranei, immo & Hetruscorum, Romanorumque; quæ omnia non vacat perse-

qui.

Sufficiat dixisse sub Crono suisse non Ægyptum solum, sed & totum Assyriorum imperium, atque adeo ipsam Babylonem, quam sanctus Apocalyptes merito dixit nominari "Matrem fornicationum & abominationum terræ," i. e. Fontem idololatriæ. Ex illius imperio sacta est dispersio humani generis in omnes terras, ideoque non est mirum si pleræque coloniæ inde reportaverint aliquid illius religionis, quæ sub ejus tutela & savore storuit.

Interim

Interim fatendum est multum mutatum esse in diversis gentibus: Immo aliquid in unaquaque sere gente innovatur singulis plerumque seculis. Hoc enim est quod Sanchoniatho noster conqueritur, & culpat etiam in generatione hominum, qui proxime fuccesserunt ipsi Crono; dicit enim in Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 39. Filium Thabi-onis primum inter Phoenices Hierophantem in allegorias mutasse historias pridem traditas (de Diis intelligo;) & eas miscuisse cum quibusdam φυσικοίς κ κοσμικοίς πάθεσι quibus verbis indicare videtur eam mysteriorum facrorum interpretationem, quâ om-nia illa referunt ad naturalem ortum, & occasum corporum coelestium, seu generationem & corruptionem corporum in terfa nostra, ut Stoici postea interpretabantur traditiones theologiæ ethnicæ. Tales etiam expositiones leguntur apud Plutarchum de Iside, apud Macrobium de sole; similes apud Phurnutum, Salustium, aliosque. Affirmat etiam hanc doctrine prisce corruptelam pervenisse ad Isiridem fratrem 78 xva; qui primus Phoenix dicitur, quique fuerit ineirantos, i. e. ex alia familia assumptus in Phoenicum societatem, per aliquod tém-PUS.

B b 2

Diligenter

Diligenter fane expendendus est hic Sanchoniathonis locus, quia diserte asserit multa quæ vix uspiam alibi occurrunt apud veteres historicos.

1^{mo}, Affirmat Isiridem esse fratrem $\tau \tilde{s}$ $\varkappa v \tilde{a}$, i e. Canaanis primi Phœnicis; nec possum minus hinc colligere, quam quod hic Isiris idem sit cum eo quem Plutarchus affirmat Hysiridem dici apud Hellanicum, qui vulgo dicitur Osiris. Unde Osiridem colligimus esse Mizraimum, quem Moses asserit fratrem suisse Canaanis. Et hunc quidem è sacris literis novimus esse patrem Canaanæorum, illum autem Ægyptiorum, quæ suere magnæ samiliæ primo, indeque magnæ gentes.

2^{do}, Ex eo quod Isiridem, atque adeo ejus familiam fuisse aliquando inescarro, colligo Osiridem ejusque familiam per aliquod
tempus assumptam fuisse, in societatem tam
habitationis quam religionis cum hisce Canaanæis, qui priscas traditiones corrupissent,
atque hinc initium sumptum esse dissensionum in religione. Nec mirum est si progressu temporis multum creverint hæc dissidia, & tandem in bella eruperint.

3^{tio}, Hic Thabionis filius è Phoenicibus, feu Canaanæis esse dicitur, atque ideo colligitur non esse è Sydyci filiis; unde sequitur quod quanquam Hierophanta suit, non

tamen

tamen fuit unus Cabirorum. Hi enim originis suæ privilegio superiorem sibi vindicarunt locum, & ipsis Diis propinquiores habiti sunt & iis consanguinei.

Hinc Sanchoniatho veras origines religionis priscæ suorum Phænicum è commentariis Cabirorum tradit, easque præfert doctrinis Ægyptiorum, quas corruptas esse ostendit per allegorias, à Thabionis filio Hierophanta, Isiridi traditas: innuit porro. etiam has corruptelas Ægyptios accepisse ab illo Phœnicio Hierophanta, quem ipse deceptorem esle comperit & detexit. Etiam apud Athenienses in Eleusiniis supremus facrorum antisses Baridos dicebatur. & tamen adjungebantur fubordinati adjutores έπιμεληται quatuor, inter quos ex Eumolpidis erat Hierophantes. Memini etiam me apud Clementem Alexandrinum legisse titulum 'Ανακτοτελες ων, quos reges facrorum vocant interpretes; his certe inferiores erant Hierophantæ qui tamen magnæ dignitatis nomine cohonestantur. Verum de his facris, inter ethnicos, ordinibus, non vacat curiosius disquirere. Sufficit enim instituto nostro quod hinc pateat Cabirorum religionem utcunque mistam allegoriis ab Isiride, seu Mizraimo Canaanis fratre, in Ægyptum esse introductam.

B b 3

Nec

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Nec mirum erit si eandem disseminaverit Osiris, seu Dionysus ille Ægyptius, per omnes regiones quas peragravit, novas deducens colonias, & imperium fimul cum religione sua studens ampliare. Illum autem ostendimus ex Eusebio & Diodoro Siculo pervenisse in Græciam, ibique comitem habuisse Mercurium, qui Græcis Hermes, Ægyptiis autem Thoth vel Athothes dictus est, qui Cabiros habuit sibi Amanuenles, (ut Sanchoniatho docuit,) quique Osiridi vel ea de causa charus erat, quod Deorum sacrificia ordinaverit (Euseb. Præp. p. 46. A.) Intelligo autem illum non quidem sacerdotis officio functum esse, sed ut magistratus sub patre suo Osiride, curasse, ut idonei sacerdotes quales erant Cabiri lui, eorumque filii, officio fuo ubicunque venerit fungerentur. Id enim significant verba θυσιας θεών διατάξαδα.

Quoniam autem Osiris non venit in Græciam colonis vacuam, sed jam ante sparsim habitatam, tempore patris sui qui huc colonos traduxerat, & testatur Strabo Pelasgos suisse antiquissimos illius regionis colonos, sequitur eos hic ab Osiride inventos suisse, issque traditas suisse agriculturæ artes ab Iside seu Cerere ejus uxore, una cum religione quam attulit Cabirica, nam sine

fine religione nulla subsistere potest respublica, nec aliam ille habuit quam Cabiricam allegoricis quibusdam fabulis mistam.

allegoricis quibusdam fabulis mistam.

Porro aliud suppeditavit argumentum

Herodotus cum Manethone collatus, quo probetur, & Pelasgos in Græcia suisse ultra ducentos ante Inachum annos, multoque magis ante tempora Pelasgi antiquissimi, qui Inachi suit pronepos, & eosdem Cabiricam religionem Samothracibus attulisse, & eandem postea primum Atheniensibus, deinde reliquis Græciæ populis communicasse. Illud autem sumatur ab historia de duabus fœminis facerdotibus Jovi Hammoni, quas Phœnices à Thebis Ægyptiis rapuerunt, quarum unam Lybybus, alteram Pelasgis in Thesprotide tunc habitantibus vendiderunt. Legatur in Herodoti Euterpe à cap. 51 ad 58 inclusive, quam totam periocham alibi à me citatam lectores rogo ut diligenter perpendant; ea vero verba imprimis, quibus indicat eam Græciæ partem, quæ Herodoti tempore Thesprotis dicebatur, pri-us Pelasgiam dictam esse à Pelasgis ibi ha-bitantibus, eo scilicet tempore quo ibi ven-dita est à Phoenicibus Ægyptia sacerdos Jovis, cui illa in Thebis Ægyptiis antea ministrasset. Certum enim est eum Jovem Hammonem fuisse patrem Osiridis, cui Osi-B b 4 ris

ris templum in Thebis construxerat, ut videre licet apud Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. 2. c. 1. D. Ubi etiam aperte dicitur Osiridem esse Dionysum & Isin esse Demetram, (quæ nomina Græcis erant notiora) eundemque Osiridem constituisse sacerdotes

Jovi patri suo.

Hæc autem facta fuisse intelligo circa priores regni sui annos; peregrinationes autem ipsius ad colonias partim constituendas, partim reformandas, æquum est ut putemus factas post res domi bene stabilitas. non multo ante ultimum vitæ fuæ annum. quem in tabulis annexis juxta Armachani nostri rationes determinatum videat lector. Interim meminerit istum Jovem Hammonem non alium esse quam Ham, quem patrem Mizraimi fuisse tradidit Moses, quem tamen ut primum è Diis Cabiris celebrant ethnici, filiumque ejus Dionysum secundum inter Cabiros fuisse docuit scholiastes in Apollonium; quanquam neuter horum sit è filiis Sydyci fratris Ham, è quo octo tandem Cabiros natos fuisse affirmat Sanchoniatho. Hinc in animum meum incidit suspicio sacerdotes ex ea familia natos ideo prohibuisse Cabirorum Deorum nomina publicari, ut quotcunque libuerit è cognațis sibi familiis prisci illius temporis cooptare

tare possint in honorem tam augusti nominis, ut sic Cabirorum Deorum numerus augeretur, aut minueretur prout ipsis expedire videretur.

Secundo in loco conferamus raptum hunc sacerdotis Ægyptiæ è Thebana provincia à Phoenicibus factum, cum historia Manethonis apud Josephum (is enim folus ex antiquis de Phœnicum rebus in Ægypto scripsit;) ut investigemus quo tempore Phoenices penetrare possint in superiorem hanc Ægypti provinciam, quæ ab ipforum fedibus plurimum distabat. Testatur enim Herodotus in Euterpe Thebas illas à mari distare 6120 stadia. Invenimus autem nullo tempore intra illud bellum Phoenicum contra Ægyptios id probabiliter contingere potuisse, præterquam in tempore Salatis primi regis Phœnicum in Ægypto, qui fecundùm Armachanum regnare cœpit A. M. 1920; & regnavit tantum 19 annos, qui omnes concurrerunt cum tempore Ægialei primi regis Sicyoniorum, & desierunt A. M. 1939. Is autem expresse dicitur tributariam fecisse tam superiorem (qua Thebæ steterunt) quam inferiorem Ægyptum. Quod si in initio hujus regis capta & vendita est hæc facerdos, is annus est tantum quintus ab

ab initio Ægialei, qui cœpit regnare A. M.

Ex his colligamus Pelasgos in illa Græciæ parte habitasse, eique nomen secisse Pelasgiæ, & non solum emisse sacerdotem Ægyptiam (quod vix secissent nisi illorum religio iis placuisset) sed & ei obediisse tanquam serenti θῶω ἐπαγγελλόμενον (ut Herodotus loquitur;) quod certe non secissent nisi populus ibi fuisset, & numerosus & satis locuples, quique sixas ibi sedes & aliquandiu habuisset, & ibi manere constituisset. Hæc est origo Dodonæi templi oraculique, quod totius Græciæ vetussissimum & oraculo in Thebis Ægyptiis admodum simile, judicio Herodoti, qui utrumque vississet.

Hinc autem non folum probatur Pelasgos in Græcia ante Inachi tempora fuisse ultra annos ducentos, is enim regnare cœpit A. M. 2148; verum etiam, quod præcipue suscepimus, ostensum est Pelasgos in priscis illis temporibus religionem Cabiricam recepisse, sed nescio an variatam allegoriis Ægyptiacis. Nescio etiam an è Cabirorum familia suerit hæc sacerdos Ægyptiaca Pelasgis vendita; censeo tamen probabile esse, etiam soeminas illius familiæ in eorum sacris

cris locum habuisse, quoniam memini me legisse in Strabonis lib. 10. pag. 472, de tribus nymphis Cabiridibus, & de Cabira Protei filia.

Porro quoniam Sanchoniatho inter alia nomina Cabirorum Samothraces posuit, & Herodotus affirmat eos à Pelasgis recepisse Cabirorum orgia; probabile est primos homines qui ex Asia in Europæ proximam regionem Græciam colonias deduxerunt, transeuntes per mare juxta Hellespontum, reliquisse partem aliquam suorum comitum in Samothracia. & insulis ei vicinis ab iis habitandis, una cum facerdotibus in Cabirica religione educatis, religuos autem in continentem progressos se dispersisse per Macedoniam, Bœotiam, cæterasque Græciæ regiones; inter quas Thesprotis, de qua nunc agitur, continetur, immo & celebris nunc peninsula, Peloponnesus, cujus pars ab Isthmo non multum remota est Sicyonia.

Certum est primos hos Græciæ colonos & ex Asia venisse, & postquam in Græcia, insulisque ei adjacentibus habitarint, Pelasgos esse primum dictos. Non multum refert unde nomen hoc sortiti sint, nec qua via ab una Græciæ regione in aliam transserint, una cum religione sua, & sacerdotibus,

bus, quos sub Crono, vel Osiride recepisfent, quandoquidem constat hoc modo tam Pelasgos ipsos, quam eorum religionem per totam Græciam & Italiam disseminari potuisse.

Nec dubitari potest quin hæc religio, quoniam nullo scripto canone tradebatur, varias gradatim subire potuit alterationes, in diversis temporibus seu seculis, & in diversis civitatibus, non uni summo imperio subditis. Quinetiam hæc reipsa sic evenisse, abunde constat ex iis quæ nobis restant historiis.

Restat ultimo in loco nomen Corybantum, quod tanquam synonymum Cabiris posuit Sanchoniatho, diligentius quam alibi viderim explicandum; quoniam hoc nomen mihi videtur innuere & officia & jura peculiaria, in quibus fundatur omnis honos horum antiquissimorum sacerdotum apud ethnicos.

Primum privilegium quo honorabantur erat, quod iis solis licebat appropinquare ad Deos illos, magnos scilicet, nemini enim præter eos sas erant ingredi in Cabiria templa. Sic testantur Herodotus lib. 3. c. 57. & Pausanias, aliique. Etiam initiati in eorum mysteriis (quanquam licebat iis ingredi lucum septem stadia a templo distantem, Pausan.

Pausan. Bœotic. pag. 300,) non permissi funt ingredi ipsum templum. Hinc obiter fortasse colligi possit ratio, quare lex Mosaica prohibeat lucum prope suum altare, Deut. xvi. 21. & jussit ethnicorum lucos incendi, Exod. xxxiv. 13. Deut. xii. 3. nempe ut tollerentur initiationum tam privilegia quam turpis usus istorum lucorum.

Secundum eorum privilegium erat, quod hi Corybantes soli possint alios propius ad Deos suos adducere, per ritus omnes initiationis, lustrationes, sacrificia, &c. ab iis rite peracta. Sic Plato innuit in Euthydemo, Corybantes solere initiandos in throno collocare, circa eos saltare, & tandem ad rederno perducere. Suidas in verbo Emontani affirmat eos qui mysteria accipiebant primo anno sieri mystas, secundo demum sieri epoptas seu ephoros. Sic etiam Harpocration.

Utraque hæc Corybantum, seu Cabirorum sacerdotum privilegia mihi videntur
in ipso eorum nomine indicari. Credo
enim hoc nomen Corybantum, ut & rem
ipsam nempe sacerdotium hoc Cabiricum
ab oriente derivatum esse, nempe a verbo
Charab, quod in omnibus linguis orientalibus, mihi notis, significat appropinquare, & sæpe quidem ad Deum præsertim

tim in facrificiis; quæ omnia, ut & alia donaria Deo oblata pro Ara dicta funt קרבנות Chorbanoth, ut docte admodum & perspicue probavit in aureo suo de sacrificiis, clarissimus Outramus, lib. 1. cap. 8. Immo ipse sanctus Evangelista Marcus, cap. vii. n. 11. Corban interpretatur donum, Deo scilicet oblatum ab appropinquante ad ostium seu tabernaculi, seu templi sui. Atque hinc existimo eos qui propius accedebant ad aram, aut ingrediebantur in templa fictitiorum Deorum ad offerenda iis dona Corvbantes dictos fuisse, primo quidem in oriente ubi & verbum קרב frequens est, & ubi primo constitutum est hoc sacerdotium

Ipse textus sacer Num. viii. 9. cum jubetur Moses offerre Deo Levitas, utitur hoc verbo in Hiphil, Hierabta. Immo ipse Deus cum loquitur de sacerdotibus suis jam constitutis, Lev. x. 3. Sanctificator in iis, qui appropiaquant mihi, utitur verbo arp Cherubai, quod ab hac radice formatur. Quinetiam ab eodem verbo in Psal. cxlviii. 14. Populus Ifraeliticus cui licebat propius ad Deum in templo suo accedere quam reliquis gentibus, vocatur ab illo populus sibi propiaquas; verbo ab eadem radice germinante.

Atque

Atque hæc quidem videntur satis generaliter explicare Corybantum nomen & officium, in quibus conveniebant cum sacerdotibus veri Dei; quinetiam hinc parem apud ethnicos consecuti sunt honorem cum eo qui longe justius datus est à Judæis sacerdotibus Aaronicis, ex Dei præscripto constitutis. Hinc Pausanias Heliac. 6, prope finem, Kogusarros emindancis à Sargámas, scilicet quali in honore, & quam propinqui regibus erant satrapæ, tali in honore, & tam propinqui Diis existimabantur Corybantes.

Hinc enim factum est ut omnes eorum facris initiati credebantur & sanctiores fieri. & in quibuscunque periculis præsentissimos habere Deos, præcipue autem à naufragio esse prorsus immunes. Hinc etiam ut notavit doctissimus Bochartus, Jason, Orpheus, Hercules, Castor, Agamemnon, Ulysfes, & heroum plerique, fed & Philippus Alexandri pater, & (addo etiam à Macrobio, lib. 3. cap. 4.) Tarquinius Priscus Samothraciæ facris sunt initiati. Addo etiam & Romanos ætatum multo feriorum quam fuit illa Tarquinii Prisci, sacris hisce similibus imbutos fuisse; quodque innuit Cicero in libro fecundo de legibus, seipsum, & Atticum initiatos fuisse; ubi hoc etiam adjicit. jicit, " Nihil melius Athenas in vita homi-" num attulisse illis mysteriis, quibus, ex " agresti immanique vita exculti ad huma-" nitatem & mitigati fumus," & mox fubiicit quod " in iis initiis non folum cum " lætitia vivendi rationem accepimus, fed " etiam cum spe meliore moriendi," scilicet etiam post mortem se beatiores fore sperabant initiati; quibus opponendum est illud Diogenis dictum quod conservavit nobis Plutarchus in libro de audiendis poetis. " An Patæcioni furi, quod initiatus fuerit, " fors erit melior quam Epaminondæ post " mortem?" Quippe etiam ille ethnicus vidit nihil magni sperandum esse ex Opere Operato sacrarum ceremoniarum, nisi vera insit justitia initiato.

Sufficiat hæc obiter dixisse de initiationibus horum Corybantum seu sacerdotum Cabirorum. Progrediamur nunc ad pauca quædam delibanda de eorum sacrificiis, ex antiquissimis historicis Herodoto nempe & Sanchoniathone.

Herodotus in Euterpe docuit "Pelasgos "Cabirica sacra in Samothraciam intulis"se," unde colligimus eos Cabirorum ritus secutos esse; quod abunde confirmatur, ex iis votis quæ Pelasgos secisse memorat Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lib. primo, ubi nar-

rat. " eos una ætate ante bellum Trojanum " in Italia laborasse sterilitate, aliisque ma-" lis gravissimis afflictos, vovisse Jovi, A-" pollini, & Cabiris rerum fuarum omni-" um decimas; & persolvisse quidem iis " decimam frugum, ac pecorum, non au-" tem hominum, quorum tamen decimam " ab iis solvendam esse declaravit oracu-" lum; idque diu præstiterunt, donec inde "tumultus ac feditiones, tandemque dif-" persiones in plurimas gentes sequeren-Quapropter dubitari non potest quin antiqui Pelasgi sacris Cabiricis suerint addictissimi: Tuto igitur ex antiquissimorum Pelasgorum sacris apud Herodotum descriptis Cabiricam discamus religionem. Ille itaque, lib. 2. c. 52. sic pronuntiat.

1. Θειῖσι προσδοχίμενοι βώνσι τὰ πάντοι. Omnigena offerunt sacrificia, i e. res quassibet sine discrimine, inanimata ac animata, homines ac bestias, eas quas alli existimant immundas (etiam feras) pariter ac mundas a atque sic se profitetur audivisse apud Dodonæos.

2. Die ques venerabantur, nec nomen dederunt, nec cognomen, quippe nomina ne audivissent quidem, donec Deorum quædam nomina en Ægypto (ait Herodotus) afferehantur; de quibus aliquanto post con-C. c. sulebant

fulebant oraculum in Dodona, an liceret iis uti, & responsum est licere iis uti. Non dixit quo tempore ex Ægypto huc pervenerunt Deorum nomina, sed mihi probabile videtur hoc evenisse circa, aut paulo post, expussionem Phoenicum ex ea terra (quà probabile est eos fere omnes matos fuisse, unde Ægyptii esse putantur à Græcis;) quam ipforum parentes Phoenices ingressi funt ante annos circiter trecentos.

Incidit hæc expulsio circa A. M. 2179. & expulsorum aliqui quietiores sedes quærere possint in Græcia, circa Thebas aut Athenas, per naves Phœnicias; atque adeo poterant, ut erant ethnici, inde afferre Ægyptiaca Deorum nomina. Et hoc tempus convenit cum tempore Ogygis, cui annos 32 tribuit Cedrenus ante diluvium Ogygianum; quod ab Armachano ex authoritate veterum chronologorum collocatur ad A. M. 2208. Certe ejus nomen est plane Phœnicium, Og, duplicata ultima litera radicali, quod à Phœnicibus frequentissime fieri folet.

Ignoscatur etiam mihi si suspicor circa idem tempus Ægyptium Herculem, appulisse ad Delphos, propius ad Dodonam; quem aperte distinguit Pausanias in Phocicis, pag. mihi 329, ab Hercule Amphytryoniade,

tryoniade, & priorem eo fuisse assirmat. Hunc Ægyptium se mitius tractasse innuit ibi Xenoclea prophetissa, quam fecit ille Tirynthius qui rapuit sibi Tripodem, atque auferre voluisset nisi prophetissa respondisset ejus quæsitis, quod primo sacere noluit. Nam multa funt quæ mihi suadent Assim ultimum Phoenicum regem significare fortem illum Herculem qui origine Phoenicius erat: sed fortasse natus in Ægypto ubi etiam regnabat 49 annos, unde merito diceretur Ægyptius etiam. Sed his non licet hic immorari.

Revisenda sunt hæc Herodoti dicta de Cabiris Pelafgorum; partim ut ea comparemus cum aliorum dictis de iisdem, aut de aliis ethnicorum facerdotibus, qui eos imitati sunt; partim ut judicemus quantum illi recesserint à veri Dei cultu regulari.

Notandum itaque est primo, quod mos eorum quilibet pro lubitu offerendi Diis suis, contrarius est moribus patriarcharum piorum, qui à vero Deo approbati fuerunt, & eum rite coluerunt antequam lex Mosaica data est, & scriptis consignatata. Certum enim est à scriptis Mosaicis discrimen introductum esse inter animalia munda & immunda, etiam ante diluvium. Vide Gen. vii. 2. quod non videtur aliter recte intelligi posse, nisi quod illa & ad usus come-C c 2 dendi

dendi communes. & ad facrificia adhiberi possint, hæc autem non accepta fuering five in usum communem, five in pium illum usum. Et notum est quod omnia sacrificia quæ patriarchæ post diluvium Deo obtulerunt, ex iis erant animalibus quæ lex Mosaica postea sussit offerri. Unde colligendum esse videtur. Deum lege sua scriptà postea fancivisse quod populus Israeliticus mores sequeretur probatos piorum patriarcharum; atque innui videtur quod ethnici idololatræ recessissent a legibus religiosi cultus quas Deus illis tradidorat, sive per revelationem sive per leges à piis patriarchis ex idonea authoritate fua constitutas, quæ certe subditos suos obligarent.

Mihi certe persuasissimum est, hoc primum priscorum Cabirorum peccatum suisse, quod legibus monitisque piorum patriarcharum Noæ, Semi, ac Melchisedeci
nollent obedire, sed vel ex suo arbitrio,
vel ex authoritate Hami, (quem Cronum
dici arbitror) novos religionis ritus introduxerint, rebellionem schismati consociantes.
Hæc erat Aboda Zarah, sive cultus extraneus
Noachidis interdictus. Quinetiam in Abrahamo, patre sidelium, agnoscente Melchisedecum, (i. e. Semum ut opinor) tanquam
sacerdotem summi Dei, eique ducimas persolvente.

folvente, habemus antiquissimum specimen, & exemplar post diluvium veræ religionis patriarchalis ante institutionem circumcissionis.

Sed redeamus ad Herodoti verba bessors shows the rad redera. Duo sunt in hujusmodi sactis quæ præcipue culpanda sunt. 1^{mo} Quod pluribus Diis, non unico illi vero Deo sacrificabant. Ipsa naturalis ratio dictare possiti iis, unicum esse, & infinite perfectum, quod Deus dici mereatur. 2^{do}, Quod sine delectu quicquid libuerit offerebant.

Ambo hæc crimina simul commissa sunt à Crono apud Sanchoniathonem, in execrando illo scelere, quo filium suum Tipusροῖς Δάιμοσι obtulit. Nec dubito quin hoc Cabirorum confilio & opera perpetratum fuerit; quippe nullos legimus ante illos apud ethnicos sacerdotes, nec credibile est magnum illum regem sine ministerio sacerdotum tale sacrificium obtulisse. Præterea autem exemplum illud quod paulo ante citavimus è Dionysio Halicarnassensi, quo Cabiri decimam omnium liberorum qui eodem anno nascerentur à Pelasgis justerunt offerri, satis ostendit quam avide sitiant sanguinem humanum, tum dæmones ethnicorum mali, tum ipsorum sacerdotes, præsertim in Phœnicia ubi tunc regnavit Cronus.

Cc₃ Hoc

Hoc testantur etiam sacræ literæ, Deut. xii. 31. Psal, cvi. 38, &c.

Quinetiam crudele hoc tanti regis exemplum plurimas totius terræ regiones in ejusdem sceleris imitationem traxit, & primo quidem Ægyptum, ejus imperio subiectam, ubi invaluit talium facrificiorum mos, donec inde expulsi sunt Phoenices per Amosin, uti è Manethone narrat Porphyrius, circa tempus mortis Abrahami, ubi illius regni initium recte collocavit noster Armachanus. At inter Canaanæos, & Poenos ex illis ortos, inter Pelafgos tam in Græcia quam in Italia, & in plurimis præterea gentibus quas hic recensere non esset opportunum, ad fecula multo recentiora hæc ανθρωποθυσία perduravit; μtì multi testantur historici, quos consulat lector qui hac de re plura videre cupiat.

Ego vero unicum adjiciam sanguinolenti hujusce cultus exemplum, quod non vidi observatum esse ab authoribus qui hac de re scripserunt; illud autem mihi occurrit apud Lucianum, qui in secunda post Christi nativitatem centuria scripsit, testis automoras, in libello de Dea Syria, i. e. ut interpretatur Strabo, Atergate, seu ut alii Graci Astarte, ut libri sacri loquuntur Asteroth. Ille autem in initio illius libri ubi templum

templum describit, affirmavit ibi, "ingen"tes poni Phallos, & imagines plane re"spondentes imaginibus Cabirorum ab He"rodoto descriptis," quia & ipsa Astarte
è Croni filiabus fuit, & Diis Cabiris coæva,
multaque sunt alia quæ mihi satis videntur
evincere illud templum Cabirorum religioni dicatum esse. In sine autem issius libelli describit inter alios modos sacriscandi, "parentes quosdam ad templum affe"rentes silios, & inde abeuntes." Fateor
illum non apertis verbis dicere quod sacerdotes eos Diis suis offerebant, sed ex circumstantiis non possum non colligere id
factum esse.

Perpendat lector ea quæ ibi dicta funt, & judicet annon merito colligam quod dixi. Puerulos non eodem inquit modo afferunt, hoc est non tam aperte, ut bestias, sed pera illos includunt; Credo quia non permissum est à publica Romanorum authoritate infantes trucidari. Sed pergit dicens quod pueris suis sacerdotibus traditis conviciantur; (sic scilicet solebant ethnici execrari capita sacrificiorum piacularium) & assirmant eos non esse pueros, sed boves. Quorsum hoc additur mendacium nisi quia vellent pueros suos sub nomine boum sacrificari? Sic scilicet datur primogenitus C c 4

pro scelere parentis, & fructus corporis pro peccato anima, utì loquitur propheta, Micah vi. 7. describens sacrificium quod Deus abominatur. Conjecturam meam hic propolui; suo utatur judicio prudens lector. Satis opinor dixi de cruentis, & inhumanis hisce sacrificiis, quæ legi naturæ aperte repugnant, in quæ tamen prolapsi sunt antiquissimi hi sacerdotes, quos tamen ethnici summis honoribus dignos censebant,

Claudam hanc disquisitionem unico exemplo sacrificandi usitati ab his Cabiris, quod repugnavit ritibus tantum antiquorum patriarcharum, qui in Mosaicis legibus (sed cum nonnullis additamentis) conservari mihi videntur. Certum est, & à doctissimo Bocharto abunde probatum, Canaan lib. 1. c. 12. quod Samothraces, seu Cabiræi sacerdotes offerebant canes Hecate in antro Zervnthio. Canem autem nec patriarchas uspiam legimus obtulisse, nec Judæos. Illud animal est carnivorum, nullum autem animal carnivorum est inter ca quæ permissa sunt offerri pro ara Dei. facrificium canis videtur ab Isaia propheta, cap. lxvi. y 3. poni pro exemplo facrificii quod Deus abominatur jeo usque ut ne pretium quidem canis sibi patiatur offerri, Deut. xxiii. 18.

Transe-

Transeamus ad secundum illud Herodoti dictum de Pelasgis, eorumque sacerdotibus Cabiræis, quod etiam à Dodonæis accepit: Eos scilicet Deos priscis temporibus coluisse since ullo nomine aut cognomine, cuiquam eorum proprio, generaliter autem eos θενες dixisse, quod res omnes θεντες είχου κόσμιο collocarunt, & tenuerunt in ordine decente. Hac de re hæc breviter notare visum est:

- 1. Recte quidem existimasse tam Pelasgos quam Cabiros, ad divinam naturam pertinere varias rerum classes eo ordine disponere, qui maxime conducat ad persectionem & ornatum universi, quanquam non existimem verbum θεως à τίθημι derivari.
- 2. Πρῶτον ψάθδος in religione Cabiræorum, omniumque gentilium esse, quod non contenti essent uno Deo quem solum agnoscit ratio, sufficientem esse causam omnium essectium quæ in universo hoc sentiuntur; sed sinxerunt sine necessitate θεως, i. e. plures Deos cultu religioso honorandos quos ignorabant, quique novi, recentesque venerunt, quos eorum patres non coluerunt, ut loquitur Moses, Deut. xxxii. 17. immo quorum ne nomina quidem ab iis audiverant, nec ullis certis indiciis duci possint in notitiam earum.

earum potestatum, aut provinciarum, quæ cuique essent assignandæ. Hinc Deorum numerus, eorumque nomina, ac potestates, & quid ab eorum singulis aut factum erat. aut sperandum, aut metuendum, quibus denique ritibus colendi essent, aut placandi, tota denique religio horum facerdotum arbitrio permittenda erat, & per fidem implicitam ab iis recipienda, unde poterant illi quoslibet in Deorum numerum referre, fuos præsertim progenitores, & benefactores; immo & genios maleficos, quos etiam colendos esse censebant ne nocerent, juxta exemplum Croni præcipui ipsorum patroni, qui filiam fuam τιμωροῖς δάιμοσιν immolabat.

3. Hinc firmata est apud eos opinio cæcum Deorum ignotorum cultum iis esse gratissimum, refragante licet ratione naturali, quæ eum condemnat ut superstitiosum; atque hinc publice erecta sunt altaria Oeois agraíficos non Athenis tantum, sed & in olympiis tesse Pausania in Eliacis. Immo testatur Herodotus loco jamjam citato, Pelasgos postquam audivissent quædam Deorum nomina ex Ægypto in Græciam allata, non prius iis usos suisse in sacrificando, quam consuluissent oraculum Dodonæum, an iis liceret uti necne; & responsum inde tulissent

tulissent ut uterentur, eumque morem ab ipsis receperunt Hellenes. Hinc autem merito suspicamur secretam quandam confoederationem intercessisse inter sacerdotes Ægyptios & Dodonæos, ad eandem Cabiricam superstitionem, per Græciam totam, indeque per alias Europæ partes, propagandam.

Utcunque certum est Cabirorum religionem per maximam terræ antiquis notæ partem disseminatam esse per authoritatem Croni, ejusque filii Mizraim, qui Osiris est, & Dionysus antiquissimus, nec non per nepotis illius Athothis curam, qui & hos Cabiros scribas habuit, ut testatur Sanchoniatho, & in Ægypto regnavit: Scilicet his omnibus & colonias per orbem dimittere, easque sirmare per religionem suam præcipua suit cura, dum terra universa haud ita pridem diluvio mersa careret populis & urbibus.

Hic finis præcipuus erat peregrinationum per totam terram, quas tribuunt antiqui Crono, Astartæ & Osiridi, seu Baccho. Non vacat omnia persequi, sed ut sinem imponam huic disquisitioni ad pauca digitum intendam.

Apud Strabonem occurrit mentio Cabirorum in Ponto, & in Troade. Apud Paufaniam

saniam in Atticis, p. 4, dicitur " totam Pergamenorum regionem priscis tempori-bus consecratam esse Cabiris." Idem in Achaicis, p. 207, dicit "Ephesi templum " fuisse multo ante tempora quæ assignavit " Pindarus, nempe ibi supplicasse Amazo-" nes qu'am fugerent à Dionyso, qui est "Osiris seu Mizraim." Unde confirmatur historia de Osiride Lydiam peragrante. quam antea tractavimus.

Macrobius, 1. 3. c. 4. è Cassio Hemina dicit, "Deos hos Samothraces eosdem esse " cum Romanorum Penatibus, eosque Æ-" neam in Italiam detulisse." Consentit Dion. Halicarnassensis, tum in libro primo ubi de Ænea agit; tum in secundo ubi de Numa; utrobique autem asserit, " ea esse " facra incognita, è Samothracia; quæ nec " ipfe audet, nec aliis fas est curiosius scru-" tari.

Denique ex perverso hoc occultandi religionem studio ortus est mos ille omnia velandi fabulis, quæ tam varie tradebantur diversis in locis & temporibus, ut quanquam veritatis scintillæ in iis fuerint, ut dicit Plutarchus in libro de Iside, tamen tantus eam fumus falsitatis obscuravit ut difficilimum erat eam conspicere propter admistum quiddam αγυρτικόν & έγγυς γοητείας uti innuit nuit Strabo, libro decimo in fine disquisitionis suæ de Curetibus, quibus affines esse dicit Cabiros. Similiter etiam conqueritur Sanchoniatho noster apud Euseb. lib. 1. Præpar. Evang. p. 39, linea penultima, quod Græci per allegorias suas fabulasque εξενίτησαν την άληθέων fere expugnarunt veritatem historicam de originibus suæ religionis, quam tamen ille restituere in suum locum conatus est, ex antiquioribus monumentis, juxta sidem historiæ descriptis.



TRACT

DEECKENOWNESSEE

TRACT IX.

Appendicula de legibus quibus tenebantur patriarchæ, tam ante quam post diluvium, usque ad tempus quo solenniter sancitum est Fædus Mosaicum: Quod leges continet præcipuas quibus tenebatur Populus Judaicus post Exodum ex Ægypto.

PRÆFATIO.

UONIAM in disquisitione de religione Cabirica, quam antiquissimam esse existimamus omnium idololatricarum, sententiam nostram paucis indicavimus, eam scilicet hoc nomine culpandam esse quod à religione piorum patriarcharum recederet; visum est in hac appendicula, qua tractatum hunc concludemus, paulo uberiorem facere inquisitionem in naturam, & authoritatem legum patriarchalium, tam circa res divinas seu religionem, quam circa res humanas seu ceconomiam & politiam.

Hinc

Hinc enim cognoscemus, quantum patitur tam remota antiquitas, & monumentorum quæ nobis restant paucitas, quænam fuerint illæ leges, & qua fuerint authoritate sancitæ ac promulgatæ, unde elucescet earum transgressionem fuisse illicitam seu peccaminosam: Quippe notum est omne peccatum semper suisse legis idonea authoritate sancitæ transgressionem: Notum etiam est idololatriam gentium Chaldæorum scilicet & Ægyptiorum lege Mosaica esse an-

tiquiorem.

Ex talibus certe legibus judicabat Mofes populum cum eum accedebat Jethro, priusquam data esset lex in Sinai. (Omnino enim censeo doctissimum Eliensem in commentariis in Exodum, cap. xviii. 6. rectifsime judicare adventum Jethronis ad Mosem statim suisse post proelium contra Amalekitas, adeoque antequam lex daretur è monte Sinai, & tam consilium Jethronis, quam responsum Mosis eodem tempore datum esse: Renitentibus licet Judæis recentioribus, aliifque doctis christianis) Vide Gen. xviii. 19. ubi statuta Dei, ejusque leges nominantur; his significatur lex ante Mosem. Huc etiam digitum intendere videtur. Deut. xxxii. 7. Nihilominus credo Mosem non statim juxta hoc consilium constituisse.

stituisse 70 seniores in suum auxilium: Sed id secisse post acceptam à Deo legem, uti innuitur Deut. i. 9. Ipse Jethro monuit Mosem hoc sine Dei mandato non esse faciendum, Exod. xviii. 23. tale mandatum non legimus dari, nisi post datam legem, & scribitur, Num. xi. 16.

Præterea etiam ex investigatione legum patriarchalium manifestum siet patriarcharum tam pietatem, quam humanitatem meritissime proponi posse in exemplar, imitandum tum à Judæis, qui ipsos propius sequebantur, tum à gentibus omnibus, quæ, post Christi præcipue tempora, in eandem cum ipsis ecclesiam catholicam fuerint vocandæ. Certum enim est legem Mosaicam non fuisse patriarchali contrariam, sed eam potius stabilire, & circumstantiis populi Judaici adhuc minorennis, ad tempus accommodari. Nec minus constabit has patriarcharum leges viam tam Judæis, quam gentibus munire, ad recipiendam suo tempore lucem evangelicam, à Christo ejusque apostolis proponendam, quæ cum patriarcharum traditionibus moribusque per omnia convenit.

Amplum sane hinc video mihi aperiri campum, quem totum pro meritis excolere non est meæ tenuitatis, multo minus expectare licet hoc me præstare posse in hac appendicula,

De Legibus Patriarcharum. 401 pendicula, quam disquisitioni nostræ de Cabirorum religione visum est annectere. Sufficiat itaque si prima harum legum rudimenta coner breviter monstrare, & doctioribus juris tam prisci consultis hanc tradam lampada luculentius adornandam. His breviter præsatis proponemus: 1. Definitionem, seu descriptionem aliqualem hujusmodi legum generalem, eamque explicabimus. 2. Distributionem dabimus, seu divisionem exhibentem earum partes integrantes.

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CAP. I.

De definitione legum patriarchalium.

" LEGES patriarchales funt præcepta " liberas patriarcharum actiones di" rigentia ad vitam beatam, seu summum humani generis bonum, ab idonea seu sufficiente authoritate data, præmiis pœ" nisque, seu promissis idoneis & minis fancita & munita, & sufficienter promul" gata." Hæc paucis explicabimus.

Patriarchas intelligo tam ante, quam post diluvium, eorumque leges ad totum huma-D d num

num genus pertinere arbitror, ut Judæi de Noachidarum legibus loqui folent. Nullæ præter eas leges adeo feliciter considerant omnes homines tanquam unius Dei subditos, seu cives; nullæ tam indubitatam exhibent omnium consanguinitatem, omnes unius, 1. Adami; 2. Unius Noachi silios declarando.

1. Liberarum actionum nomine complectimur tam primo actus intellectûs humani veritatem diligenter, præfertim de rebus non visis, investigantis, agnoscentis, perpendentis, & applicantis ad mores regendos, quam secundo voluntatis. & affectuum in bonis hinc notis persequendis & complectendis, necnon in malis sic præceptis aversandis & fugiendis. Horum utrumque satis aperte indicat apostolus ad Hebræos, cap. xi. religionem patriarchalem sidei nomine describens. Fides autem tam firmum assenfum intellectus quam confensum voluntatis efficacem ad bona opera complectitur, utì ostendemus infra cum de generalibus legibus patriarchalibus disseremus: Quip-pe versu tertio asserit ea per diligentem veri investigationem nos perduci in cognitionem, quod primæ causæ, hoc est Dei, viribus mundus est sactus. Nempe causam non visam ex effecto sensibus noto percipimus:

pimus: Ipsumque mundum, ita ab eo comparatum esse observamus, ut qui Deo ejus creatori & conservatori hominum cooperantur, itaque illius savorem quærunt, certam accipient mercedem, quod exprimitur versu præcipue sexto. His consentance ad ipsius Caini conscientiam provocat Deus Gen. iv. 7. Nonne tu acceptus eris si bene seceris? sin male seteris, instat peccati pæna, hoc enim sonant verba, præ soribus est peccatum excubans.

Confer his ea quæ Paulus disserit gentibus Lystræ, Act. xiv. 15 ad 18, & Athenis, c. xvii. 24 ad 30. nam gentes primo ducendæ sunt ad religionem patriarchalem, unde degenerarunt, (quæ primus est gradus ad evangelicam;) inde itur ad legem & prophetas, qui immediate ducunt ad Christum.

Quinetiam discrimen inter actus humano generi beneficos & è contra nocivos notum esse omnibus, satis ibi innuitur: Nempe satis novimus quinam actus nobis ipsis & posteris nostris nocerent, quinam etiam prodessent; & inde similiter colligamus quinam aliis prosint aut noceant, quia nobis alii sunt similes.

2. Sufficientem authoritatem intelligimus, vel Dei summi rectoris notam approbatio-D d 2 nem-

nem, & revelationem, quam crebram fuisse in primorum patriarcharum temporibus testantur sacræ literæ, vel etiam hominum qui summam tenebant in qualibet samilia aut quolibet regno dignitatem. Certum enim est mandata parentum, seu patrumsamilias, è quibus primi ortum ducebant reges & imperatores, dummodo Dei mandatis non essent contraria, legum vigorem obtinuisse.

Nec occurrit mihi quicquam cur dubitem quin in prifcis temporibus variæ politiarum formæ ex pactis & conventis inter patres-familias constitui possint, quemadmodum nunc dierum in variis regnis. & civitatibus factum videmus. Ouoniam autem nihil his de rebus ex historiis quæ restant perspicue constat, præstat silere quam inanes sequi conjecturas. Ad rem nostram sufficiat dixisse patriarchas vixisse non folum secundum leges naturæ, à Deo mentibus omnium hominum impressas, verum etiam sub legibus è revelatione divina constitutis, & fideliter iis traditis, nec non fub legibus humanis idonea authoritate factis, quemadmodum diversæ sunt christianæ politiæ, quæ nunc florent, velut varias legimus in antiquissimis temporibus regnorum ac civitatum formas fuisse in Græcia,

Græcia, Sicilia, & Italia, atque inter ethnicos floruisse. Interim constat eandem esse vim obligatricem legum in omnibus gentibus, quanquam varia suit forma summæ potestatis, in qua legum condendarum authoritas residebat. Talis certe suit authoritas Judicum Jobi tempore, qui puniebant cultum solis & lunæ idololatricum. Vide Job. xxxi. 26, 28.

3tio. Notandum venit leges has, uti alias, muniri ac sanciri, partim pramiis seu beneficiis, quibus fruituri erant obedientes subditi, partim pænis infligendis in earum transgressores. Poenæ autem illæ consi-Hunt partim in amissione, favoris principum, solationum pacis, in incapacitate officiorum & honorum, partim vero in subeundo plagas, aliaque mala corpori infligendas, ipsamque mortem, quod ultimum dicitur supplicium. Illud autem proprium est legum patriarchalium (ut) evangelicarum iis consentientium) quod in his utì Dei authoritàs in siis ferendis præcipue spectatur, ita in earum sanctione minæ, ac promissa Dei præcipuum obtinent locum, quorum utramque non hanc tantum spectant vitam quam nunc degimus, sed illam quæ post mortem incipit, & cujus tam felicita-tes, quam pœnæ in æternum sunt dura-Dd 3 turæ.

Enochus vivus in cœlum transfertur; sed ante translationem prophetavit de judi cio Dei in homines morum corruptissimorum, iis similes, quibus caligo tenebrarum in æternum servata est. Epist. Jud. y. 13. conferendus cum 14.

Notandum autem est translationem Enochi includere non folum animam eius, fed & corpus ei conjunctum; ideoque hinc foveri judicium, & spem, non animas tantum hominum beatam æternitatem assecutas esse in cœlis, verum etiam eorum corpora in statum immortalitatis mutari posse, id Deum facturum esse aliis Enochi pietatem imitantibus, mutando sclicet eorum corpora, in corpora cœlestia seu spiritualia, utì docuit apostolus 1 Cor. xv. à y. 40 ad 53 inclusive. Atque tanti præmii spes potenter suadet vitam Deo placentem, qualem vixit Enochus, & deterret ab omni iniquitate, monendo ei debitam esse pœnam, qua tanta spe prorsus excidamus, & in statum beatæ immortalitati plane contrarium miseri delahamur.

His consentanea sunt quæ Servator noster innuit, Judæos è scripturis (veteris testamenti, & iis quæ continent promissa patriarchis data) non immerito sperasse vitam æternam,

æternam, Joh. v. 39. & Paulus tam Rom.iv. 17. quam Heb. xi. 19. affirmat Abrahamum credidisse Isaacum, si eum mactasset, resuscitatum fore Dei potentia, eundemque cum aliis patriarchis patriam urbemque cœlessem expectasse, Heb. xi. 16. Manifestum autem est quod si hæc tanta præmia eorum pietatem manerent, eorum amissionem, aliaque mala impiis esse reservata eodem jure.

Ex hac definitionis parte differentia constituitur inter leges naturales, & patriarchales, quod hæ præmia pænasque sperent à Deo per revelationem datas, quas lex mere naturalis non novit. Hinc etiam patet convenire leges patriarchales cum Mosaicis, quoniam Mosaicæ iisdem revelatis præmiis pænisque cum patriarchalibus stabiliantur.

4^{to}, Denique promulgatio harum legum innuit eas deduci in patriarcharum, & omnium iis subditorum notitiam, partim per naturalem omnium rationem, quæ leges naturales per se perspicit, ut in libro de Legibus Naturæ ostendimus. Eæ autem maximam legum patriarchalium partem constituunt, partim vero per brevem, certam, facilemque traditionem parentum eas filiis suis tanquam pretiosissimum thesaurum D d 4

transmittentium. Hoc autem manisestum erit si consideremus:

1^{mo}. Tradenda hoc modo esse admodum pauca, & evidentia; hæc scilicet, Primos parentes à prima causa seu Deo suisse: Deum punire folitum fuisse improbos ut plurimum: Piosque præmiis amplissimis exornare, (Vide Gen. xviii. 25;) idque promissis suis, paucis, sed magnis significare: Eundemque & animo nostro colendum esse, (ejusque cultui inservientes, donis è subslantia nostra honorandos) idque ritibus paucis, fed decoris: Hominibus autem aliis ea esse facienda, quæ ab aliis nobis fieri volemus cum ratione exoptare. Hæc tam Philistinis, Ægyptiis ortu, quam Abrahamo, & Isaaco nota esse constat. Gen. xxi. 23. xxvi. 29.

2^{do}, Hæc & iis similia per paucorum sidelissimorumque parentum manus tradi potuisse, & de sacto tradita suisse; tam à creatione ad diluvium, quam à diluvio ad Mosis tempora; ut interim tamen addi potest probabile esse etiam ante diluvium, multoque magis ante Mosis tempora, scribendi peritiam ab hominibus inventam esse, & in scriptis, quanquam ea non compareant, religionis summam hominibus traditam suisse, quod De Legibus Patriarcharum. 409 quod quidem alibi fuggessimus. Vide Josephum de Sethi Columnis: Testimonia de Thothi inventis literis: Job xxxi. 35. xix. 23, 24.

Interim vero notandum est de certa brevique traditionis via, quod ea tradetur per paucissimos homines, & side dignissimos, juxta historiam Mosaicam prout literis Hebraicis traditur: Scilicet sic traditur ab Adamo ad Shemum per unum Methuselah ejusque coævos omnes, juxta calculum Hebræum, non autem juxta calculum Septuaginta (ut vocantur) interpretum: Ibi enim Methuselah moritur diu ante nativitatem Shemi, qui juxta Hebræos cum Shemo vixit per annos prope centum.

Similiter etiam res accidit in traditione à Shemo ad Abrahamum, qui coævi fuerunt aliquandiu, juxta calculum Hebræum, non autem juxta Septuaginta, vel juxta codicem Samaritanum. Quare vel hoc nomine Hebræum codicem cæteris præferendum esse judico, quanquam aliæ multæ occurrunt rationes, quas in hanc rem obtulerunt alii, nec eæ sunt à me repetendæ.

Adjiciam tamen hic unicum quod mihi videtur non contemnendum, quanquam ab aliis hac de re scriptoribus omittatur: Scilicet quod Adamus, ejusque uxor Eva secundum

cundum naturæ ordinem non potuerunt habere umbilicos in medio ventrum suorum, urì habent omnes homines qui nascuntur è mulieribus propter vasa umbilicalia quæ umbilico inseruntur, & è Placenta uterina nutrimentum afferunt insantibus, in utero matrum suarum generatis, indeque prodeuntibus. Nec credibile est Deum creavisse in protoplastis umbilicos qui iis essent prorsus inutiles, & eos redderet obnoxios periculoso morbo, qui omphalocele dicitur à medicis.

Potuerunt itaque protoplastæ, salva verecundia (velatis genitalibus) ostendere posteris suis omnibus, & ante Methuselah natis. & ipsi etiam, idque sæpe, & per multos annos, se non habere umbilicos, ideoque non natos esse è mulieribus, sed creatos esse à Deo, atque hanc traditionem hoc figno naturali confirmare potuerunt. Atque hoc à se visum affirmare potuit Methuselah ejus coævo Noacho, ejusque filiis, Shemo præfertim viro pio, & fideli testi, qui post diluvium per annos vixit quingentos, atque hæc à Methuselah aliisque visa ipsi Abrahamo, ejusque antecessoribus post diluvium omnibus certissimo testimonio stabilire potuit.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De distributione harum legum in partes: Et de Antediluvianis.

CCURATAM hic divisionem non polliceor; sufficiat si usibus humanis utilem afferam, quæ hæc sit : Nempe primo, aliæ leges patriarchales latius patent, & ad multa simul officia viri boni dirigunt. Secundo, aliæ minus late funt, & ad unum vel pauca fimul dirigunt, & mandant. Prioris generis sunt hujusmodi. Gen. xvii. 1. Ego sum Deus omnipotens, ambula coram me, & esto integer, y. 2. Et disponam sædus meum inter me & te, & multiplicabo te plurimum. Similia præcepta suggeruntur in omnibus locis ubi laudatur timor Dei, via Dei, facere justitiam & judicium, sed præcipue ubi exempla proponuntur fidei, & amoris erga verum Deum, per quem fides operatur efficaciter. In his omnibus, & aliis quæ his consimilia sunt, lex fidem & charitatem patriarchis imperans innuitur. E contra autem ubi reprehenditur aut punitur exemplariter impietas, infidelitas, injuriave cujuslibet generis, five Deum respiciat, five homines; leges hæc mala prohibentes, etiam ante

anté legem Mosaicam extitisse suggeruntur.

Videtur enim Moses totam historiam quæ decalogum præcedit ideo scripsisse, ut inde discerent prudentes lectores Deum unicum, hominum creatorem, & conservatorem, humanum genus ab initio ad illud tempus gubernasse per leges bene convenientes, cum iis quas populo suo peculiari esset traditurus: Eundemque per omnia retro sæcula iis obsequentes in tutelam, amicitiam, & honorem apud se recepisse, & promissa dedisse omni spe majora; iis autem qui secus secerint Deum diluvium immissise universale, & super Sodomam & Gomorrham demissise pluviam sulphuris & ignis è cœlis, in exemplum ignis æterni, quem patientur similia facientes, uti monet apostolus, Judæ v. 7.

Hanc ob causam visum est hic annectere quædam exempla pietatis, & justitiæ patriarchalis, è scripturis electa, in quibus legum harum vis maxime elucet, & quæ Deus laudibus, præmiis, aut promissis pretiosissimis cohonestavit. His tamen præmittendam censui observatiunculam de promissio illo, quod πρωταιαγγέλων dici, idque merito, solet, quo spondet Deus se positurum inimicitiam inter semen mulieris, & semen

femen serpentis, hoc conteret caput serpentis, serpens autem illius calcaneum; quod
quidem sigurate dici cum aliis plerisque
christianis intelligo: Deum nempe ecclesiæ
suæ ex humano genere desumptæ, & sub
ejus capite Christo militanti animum viresque daturum esse, quibus constanter se opponant omni potestati satanicæ, idque eo
successu ut tandem eam quanquam angelicam, & naturaliter hominibus majorem, penitus superabunt; etsi in hac lucta tam ecclesia quam ipse Christus incommoda multa,
seu dolores contusi calcanei patiantur.

Hoc enim promissum ideo maniseste è mera Dei gratia proficiscitur, quia nullum plane meritum, immo inexcusabilis provocatio præcesserat. Et hinc patet omnes hominum vires, quibus eluctari possint è peccatis suis & satanæ dominio, Dei missericordiæ deberi. Nostrum tamen est viribus à Deo datis sedulo anniti, ut Christum ducem sequentes caput serpentis conteramus: Quippe in hac lucta contra insidelitatem, & legis divinæ violationem, (quam suasit satanas, suggerens protoplassis quod non morerentur si peccarent) summa totius obsequii legibus divinis præstandi continetur.

Transea-

Transeamus nunc ad melius illud sacrisicium quod Abelem Deo per sidem obtulisse testatur author ad Heb. xi. 4. quod quidem recte collegit è Gen. iv. 4. è respectu Dei ad Abelem & ad munus ejus. Is enim erat judex optimus, tam de animo offerentis quam de muneris oblati pretio seu valore; & Junius πλείονα θυσίαν transtulit, majoris pretii sacrificium, & de donis ejus testimonium perhibuisse dicitur Deus. Certum opinor est iis temporibus nullos fuisse nummos, seu nullam communem mensuram valoris rerum omnium, semper tamen. utì reor, agni, hœdique gregis, & eorum adeps pluris æstimabatur, quam herbæ quibus pascuntur, aut fructus arborum, indeque greges in propriam singulorum possessionem transierunt citissime, cum agri & eorum fructus communes multis relinquebantur per multos ab initio annos. Notum etiam est quod quanto magis res quælibet in proprietatem hominum cesserant, tanto major est sui abnegatio in eo qui eas alteri donat; & quo magis quispiam Deum fibi præfert, eo magis illum amat, & magnus erga Deum amor (quem testatur liberale donum) magnæ fidei de eo, ejusque perfectionibus, signum est certissimum.

Quinetiam



Quinetiam quoniam è mansuetis, & in proprietatem reductis animalibus hic omne sacrificium desumitur, & ea sola ante diluvium munda haberentur animalia què postea sub lege Mosaica declarata sunt talia, eaque constanter in sacrificiis offerebantur, manifestum est ea que sunt feræ naturæ, & venationibus capienda, qualia apud Sanchoniathonem legimus sumpta à Caini posteris, (utì reor) non suisse legitima sacrificia secundum leges patriarchales, quas itaque violabant primi illi sacrificatores apud Sanchoniathonem ante Noachi tempora, utì ego illum expono.

De Setho pauca tantum in scripturis occurrunt, sed ex his duobus quæ observavi non possum non colligere, eum inter pios patriarchas summa cum probabilitate cenfendum esse. 1. Quod ejus mater dixit eum à Deo datum esse in locum filii sui Abelis quem amiserat. Sane non feliciter Abelis viri sanctissimi locum suppleret, nisi ipse etiam fuerit sanctus. 2. Certum est ex illius posteris fuisse Noachum, cum filiis suis, ideoque omnes homines qui vixerunt post diluvium inter quos præcipuus est ille Servator noster, qui supra omnes benedictus est: Omnes autem Cainis posteri in aquis diluvii ad internecionem perfectam deleti funt.

funt. Probabile itaque videtur magnum hoc discrimen inter Adami filios Deum posuisse, in signum peculiaris amoris ipsius tanquam pii viri, cum certum sit totale excidium totius familiæ & seminis Caini, argumentum esse severitatis divinæ in puniendo impio illorum patre.

Præterea vero mihi admodum placet Chaldæus paraphrastes Onkelosi quem sequitur Schindleri expositio textus Num. xxiv. 17. cui etiam savet doctissimus Castellus in verbo קרקר Kirchar, sic sonant eorum verba. Onkelos verba Hebræa quæ vulg. Lat. nimis infeliciter transtulit vastabit omnes silios Sethi, rectissime (utì reor) transtulit recti secon s

Castellus dicto loco suggerit Syrum interpretem, & Arabem Erpenii eandem sequi sententiam. Porro etiam Septuaginta per verbum aporopusso innuere quod pabulabitur, seu tanquam pastor ad pastum ducet omnes silios Seth; quibus verbis puto eos intellexisse totum genus humanum quos Christus pascet, unde luculenta de Messia prophetia emerget è verbis Balaami. Postquam

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hæc fcripferam, vidi doctiffimum nostrum

episcopum Eliensem idem sentire.

Transeamus hinc ad maximum pietatis exemplum Henochum, de quo quia antea obiter notavi Deum in eo cœlestis præmii exemplum dedisse; hic tantum adjiciam eum patrem suisse Methusalæ. Nec dubium esse potest eum docuisse silium suum, quocum vixit per annos 300, omnia quæ in legibus patriarchalibus continentur, (erat enim ipse propheta;) atque hac ratione silium suum idoneum secerit, qui ea omnia Noacho, ejusque siliis circiter annos centum ante ipsius mortem natis narraret, traderetque sideliter.

At ne nimius sim in hisce remotissimis & admodum obscuris temporibus, sessinandum esse censeo ad Noachum, & ejus silios; qui quoniam nati essent ante diluvium, sed post illam cladem per aliquot centurias vixerunt, considerandi sunt tanquam Jani bisrontes prorsum & retrorsum spectantes.

De Noacho monet scriptura quod Oraculum acceperit de rebus non visis, Heb.
xi. 7. sic sonat vox xenpariodeis, aliquandiu
ante diluvium, quod venturum esset; sic testatur Moses, Gen. vi. 13. Hoc antiquissimum oraculum quod uspiam legisse me
memini, quanquam colloquia Dei cum AE e damo

damo & Caino, priora legimus, quæ nufpiam dicta sunt oracula. Observavit etiam ad Hebræos apostolus xi. 7. Noachum, & sidem adhibuisse huic oraculo, & inde ortum esse timorem Dei, & obedientiam ejus mandatis, de præparandis omnibus ad salutem suam, familiæ suæ, & omnium animalium à diluvio, necessariis. Unde patet nec vanam nec mortuam suisse ejus sidem, indeque colligit apostolus, eum hæredem suisse justitiæ ex side.

Notandum autem hoc est, quoniam hoc est exemplum sidei, & præmii, seu hæreditatis inde reportatæ ipso Abrahamo longe antiquius, immo prius ipso diluvio, hoc est in religione patriarcharum antediluvianorum. Immo observavi hunc Noachum primum esse omnium hominum qui justus dictus est Gen. vi. 9. vii. 1. & hoc videtur sundamentum dicti apostolici quod erat bæres justitiæ ex side; adeoque hæc justitia ex side prima est justitia quæ exprimitur in sacris literis. Non tamen negaverim Abelem, Enochum aliosque sua side ante Noachi tempora justos suisse, quamvis hoc de iis non expresse dicatur in scriptura. Certe sides aliorum eadem suit, & pariter esticax tam ad bona opera, quam ad salutem.

Immo

Immo mihi verum videtur, quod alicubi memini à Cl. Pearsono nuper Cestrienti episcopo notatum esse, Noachum à sancto Petro in epistola secunda ii. 5. Octavum prædicatorem justitiæ dici, quanquam Moses nusquam dixerit quinam fuerint septem justitiæ præcones qui illo fuerint priores. Credendum est tamen. & Deum in terris femper habuisse ecclesiam, & in ecclesia semper extitisse justitiæ præcones, & septem quidem Noacho quadantenus fimiles. Ad eum itaque redeamus, notemusque quod ipsius ministerio præstitum suggessit sanctus Petrus, 1 epist. iii. 20, 21. aliquid salutifero baptismati christianorum simile, quod quidem explicatu non est admodum difficile, ideoque ne nimium digrediar à re præ manibus, relinquo fludiosis lectoribus confiderandum.

De legibus specialibus Noachi tempore latis illud solum visum est observare, quod Deus in scripturis sacris illam solam de homicidio morte homicidæ puniendo commemoravit. Severa hac vindicta dignum esse hoc crimen agnovit conscientia Caini; idemque agnovit ex eo prognatus Lamethus; sed non liquet è textu sacro an gravior exilio poena ante diluvium inslicta suita

erit, (actu ut loquuntur scholæ) nihil amplius hic à me definiendum esse censeo.

De aliis Noachidarum legibus, docte admodum è Judæorum placitis scripsit nostras Seldenus, ne alios commemorem. quoniam nihil est in Rabbinorum scriptis, quod non sit circiter bis mille annis recentius lege Mosaica, nihil inde certi de legibus patriarcharum colligi posse judico; ideoque in hac disquisitione solis sacris scripturis adhærendum esse statui. De mundis & immundis animalibus Noachum alloquitur Deus, tanquam eorum discrimen diu ante notum esset, & munda quidem dici quæ in sacrificia assumi possent, reliqua autem immunda vocari; de his aliquanto distinctius tractant leges Mosaicæ, sed nihil ibi dici observare potui, quo cognosceremus alia animalia munda aut immunda constitui, quam quæ sic pridem habita sunt. Immo porrò notavi omnia animalia quæ ante legem Mosaicam sacrificari legimus, ejusdem esse generis cum iis quæ munda esse in lege distinctius traduntur; ideoque colligo hac in re legem Mosaicam constanter adhæsisse moribus & traditionibus patriarcharum, eademque facrificia Noacho pro mundis asservata fuisse in arca, & mox post

post diluvium oblata fuisse, & à Deo accepta. ut scribitur, Gen. viii. 20, 21. Verbaque illa in historia Mosis de omnibus mundis animalibus ibi scripta, non posse intelli-. gi, nisi eadem intelligantur quæ idem Moses postea in lege esse munda distinctius explicavit. Sic autem ipfe fuus erit interpres, & populus Israeliticus à Mose intelliget non novam ipsis præscribi rationem, sed eam quæ ab initio mundi Deo ejus creatori quem colebant fuerat gratislimus. Sic certe ipse Christus propheta Mosi similis legem suam de individua conjunctione inter virum & uxorem fuam commendat. & Mosaicæ divortiorum permissioni præfert, quoniam sic suit ab initio, Mat. xix. 8. comp. v. 4, 5, 6. Idemque id honori circumcifionis tribuit quod antiquior fuerit Mose, & à patriarchis, Abrahamo, &c. derivetur.

CAP. III.

De postdiluvianis patriarchis & speciatim de Shemo.

Ranseamus nunc ad dilectissimum Noachi filium Shemum, qui cum Noa-E e 3 cho,

cho, & cum Methusalah fere centum vixit annos ante diluvium, & hoc tempore à Methusalah ejusque coævis, qui ultra ducentos cum Adamo vixerant annos, ediscere potuit totam historiam creationis & lapsus, ac promissum de satanæ capite conterendo, legesque patriarchales in hac historia sundatas, in ordine ad Dei honorem, & humani generis felicitatem promovendam.

Idem etjam Shemus quoniam ultra quingentos post diluvium annos, decimamque adeo à seipso vidit generationem, quippe Isaacus erat 50 annos natus, cum Shemus obiit, facillime potuit totam historiam de creatione & providentia Dei, unà cum legibus patriarchalibus, singulis his generationibus tradere, multasque potuit peragrare terras à sua, fratrumque suorum sobole habitatas, issque diligenter inculcare hæc omnia, tanquam ad religionem, & ad vitam civilem summe necessaria; nec ulla estratio cur dubitemus quin hæc & voluerit facere, & reipsa præstitit: Præsertim quia probabile est, eum vixisse post mortem Chami, & Japheti fratrum fuorum: Certe nihil est in scriptura quo illos 500 annos post dilu-vium vixisse suadeat. Probabile est tantam longævitatem datam esse à Deo in præmi-um eximiæ pietatis illius, præsertim quia honoravit

honoravit patrem suum, illius divinis præceptis obtemperando. Morale & æternum est tam præceptum quintum, quam promissum ei annexum. Certe neminem legimus ad parem cum Shemo longævitatem post diluvium vixisse, conser Eph. vi. 2.

Quanquam enim sit cur credamus fratrem eius Chamum, & forte Japhetum, circa fecundam aut tertiam à diluvio centuriam degenerasse in idololatriam, & non multo post, multos è Shemi posteris eodem crimine depravatos fuisse; nihilominus quoniam nemo repente fit turpissimus passi sunt hi idololatræ alios in eadem terra vivere. qui verum Deum colerent, quique alios ad veram fidem revertere hortarentur. legimus ipfum Abrahamum in quinta à diluvio centuria vixisse sine persecutione in Canaanitide, & in Ægypto. Sic etiam scriptum est Melchisedecum, quisquis ille erat, sacerdotem Dei Altissimi inter Canaanæos in Salem vixisse & regnasse, ut multi tunc fuerunt reges in eadem terra, unde necesse est ut eorum regna non essent magna.

Scilicet nondum erat plena Amorrhæorum iniquitas, & par, opinor, cæterarum erat gentium ratio: Immo forte pejores erant Canaanæi cæteris gentibus, nam Canaanem eorum patrem Noachus diris de-Ee4 vovit,

vovit, utì scriptum est. Gen. ix. 25. Non obstante tamen Canaanis pravitate, certum est inter ejus posteros quiete vixisse non Abrahamum solum, sed & Isaacum, qui ibi sepulti sunt, Jacobo etiam tunc inter eos vivente, usque ad ejus descensum in Ægyptum, unde post mortem illuc translatus à Josepho, cum patribus suis sepeliendus.

Propter has rationes satis credibile mihi videtur Shemum in hac terra potuisse quiete aliquando vivere, & sacerdotio veri Dei fungi, immo & regnare in urbecula Salem, quoniam ejus silius in nona generatione Abrahamus inter eos quiete vixit, & magnus princeps inter eos ab Hittæis ibi agnoscitur, Gen. xxiii. 6. Immo vero non solum sieri potuit ut Shemus in Canaanitide unam urbem cum adjacente territorio quiete regeret, colonos secum huc ducens ut duxit Abrahamus; sed erat ratio sufficiens quæ eum suaderet hoc libentissime sacere voluisse & elegisse.

Quippe vix credibile est tantum virum non novisse Abrahamum è nepotibus suis cum colonia, è qua trecenti idonei milites seligi possent (sufficientibus custodibus armentorum ejus relictis) ex Ure Chaldæorum in Haranem primo profectum esse, & inde in terram Canaanæorum. Non potuit eum latere

latere Abrahamum ejusdem Dei summi esse cultorem eximium, reclamantibus licet tam Chaldæis quam Canaanæis. Ecquis credere potest Shemum hominem Deo charissimum (quapropter ipse Deus, Deus Shemi κατ' ἐξοχην dicitur ab ipso Noacho, Gen ix 26. Benedictus sit Jehovah Deus Shemi, eritque Canaan servus illis vel illi) cohibere se potuisse, quin quæreret opportunitatem eum conveniendi & corroborandi, adeoque ipsi benedicendi?

Certe ego arbitror Shemum hunc esse illum, cui titulus datur, honoris plenissimus, Melchisedeci, hoc est regis justissimi, & fumme pacifici; sic enim intelligo apostolum ad Hebræos, cap. vii. 2. Nam fic apud Hebræos significant verba rex justitiæ & rex pacis. Quippe nullus eo tempore extitit rex, tam justitiæ quam pacis adeo studiosus. Chamus enim Shemi frater, eiusque posteri ut Cush & Nimrod in Chaldæa & Assyria, necnon in Canaanitide & Ægypto, viam justitiæ tam erga Deum, in religione, quam erga homines in justitia civili deferuissent, & loco pacis imperium seu dominium in totum genus humanum sectabantur, idque armatis viribus, & ut strenui venatores non feras solum, sed etiam homines persequebantur. Nonnulla in Sancho-

Sanchoniathone observavimus quæ probabile esse suadent Japhetum Chamo confœderatum fuisse. Certe nihil extat in historia quod contrarium suadeat, certumque est omnes Japheti Chamique posteros in idololatriam delapsos esse. Solus Shemus, & pauci quidem ex illius prognatis vero Deo adhæserunt, in veræ pietatis & pacis studio. Tales existimo suisse inter Arabes Jobum, ejusque amicos, in Canaanitide autem Abrahamum, ejusque posteros.

Probabile enim videtur, non solum Ausitidem Jobi patriam in Arabia esse, ut plerique consentiant, verum etiam illum Jobab qui inter Jostanis silios numeratur, Gen. x. 29. vel esse celebrem illum patentia Jobum, vel eum esse illius avum aliquem, à quo nomen illud transiit in prognatum. Et non est nihili quod Moses notandum censuit Shemum esse patrem omnium filiorum Heberi, inter quos tam Jostan censetur, à quo Jobum derivamus, quam Pheleg, è cujus posteris erat Abrahamus; ad quem redire oportet velut indubitatum hæredem Shemi tam in pietatis quam in pacis studio.

Certissimum enim est eundem esse illum Deum qui Shemi Deus dicitur, Gen. ix. 26. qui toties pariter nominatur Deus Abrahami, ejusque posterorum; quo etiam titulo & memoriali se celebrari voluisse affirmavit ipse.

ipse, cum Mosem in Ægyptum mittit, Exod. iii. 15. Porro autem Deus hoc titulo non solum significat se Shemo aut Abrahamo amicissimum esse, verum etiam indicat se ab his recte cultum suisse, non autem ita coli ab aliis, sive hominibus sive gentibus, quæ à Shemi aut Abrahami religione discessissent.

Tempus quo contigit congressus inter Melchisedecum & Abrahamum, juxta numeros Hebræos, & calculum reverendissimi Armachani, erat A. M. 2092, i. e. 436 anni post diluvium; quo tempore Chaldæi, Canaanitæ, Ægyptii, aliæque omnes gentes in idololatriam lapsi fuerant. Immo ante Noachi mortem Assyrii & Babylonii erant idololatræ.

Quapropter censeo Noachum, cum Shemo benediceret non autem ejus fratribus, Deum Shemi innuere, non esse pariter Deum Chami, utpote nec pariter illi amicum, nec pariter ab eo cultum; similiter nec Deum pariter Japheto amicum esse, nec pariter ab eo cultum esse. Hoc tamen discriminis ponit Noachus inter Japhetum & Chamum quod prædicat venturum esse tempus quo Deus alliciet Japhetum ut habitet in tentoriis Shemi; id autem recte interpretamur Japhetum se veræ ecclesiæ, seu familiæ Shemi, è qua Messiah, adjunctu-

adjuncturum esse, quamvis nunc in Shemi tentoriis non habitet, sed animo ab eo sit alieno. Non idem prædicit de Chamo, nec tamen ejus posteros dicit nunquam in Shemi tentoriis habitaturos esse, sed silentio suo videtur innuere minorem esse spem de eorum reconciliatione cum Deo. Certe Æthiopica ecclesia in Africa nunc habitans ex Arabia migravit, & è Chami posteris.

Proculdubio cum Deus dicitur Deus Abrahami, sic distinguitur à diis Ægyptiorum ad quos mittendus erat Moses, & à diis Canaanæorum & Chaldæorum inter quos pridem habitavit Abrahamus. Vide Josh. xxiv. 2. Pari ratione cum Melchisedecus sacerdos dicitur Dei Altissimi, & primus est qui apud Mosem dicitur sacerdos, opponitur illud nomen Dei Altissimi, diis gentium qui ab iis quoque dicuntur Medioxumi; nec ab ipsis habebantur creatores cœli & terræ seu totius mundi, sed ipsi à summo creabantur, & eorum plerique erant principes mortui, & in cœlum, utì opinabantur, translati, ut hominibus inde benefacerent, velut ministri summi regis. Tales scilicet Deos colebant gentes pleræque omnes per suos sacerdotes, quibus opponitur Melchisedecus uni summo Deo facra faciens.

Nec

Nec ullus uspiam hominum in historia facra aut profana memoratur in hoc tempore Abrahami vixisse, qui Abrahamo maior esset, & dignior qui ei benediceret quam eius Atavus in nona generatione Shemus. Frustra talem quæremus inter Canaanis maledicti posteros; vixerunt fateor eo tempore è progenitoribus Abrahami Arphaxad. Salah & Heber: fed hi minores erant Shemo utpote ejus posteri: nec quicquam reperitur in historia quo innotescat eos non degenerasse in idololatriam, cum reliquis è gentibus Chaldaicis & Ægyptiis, quæ florentissima tunc constituerunt regna. Neutrius horum Deus dictus est Deus uti Shemi. Nulla in eorum tentoriis innuitur ecclesia veri Deix sicut in tentoriis Shemi. Hunc itaque virum justiflimum, (utpote pium tam erga Deum, quam erga Noachum parentem etiam lapsum in ebrietatem) & pacis amantissimum, quod ostendit generosa ejus hospitalitas, qua Abrahamum ejusque comites pane & vino excepit: Qui in parva urbe Salem vixit, regis & facerdotis fimul officio fungi contentus, illum esse judico quem Melchisedeci titulo cohonestare voluit Mofes.

Non me latet viros admodum reverendos aliter fentire, nec tamen libet authoritatem virorum

virorum pariter reverendorum illis opponere. Non enim sola ducor authoritate, sed eam sententiam potius amplector (salva erga dissentientes reverentia, & honore) quæ rationi meæ magis se probat. Dissicultates aliquas agnosco ex epistola ad Hebræos contra meam sententiam afferri posse; sed eædem mihi videntur sortius premere aliter sentientes; eas itaque consideremus, & solvere conemur ad duo capita reductas.

1. Prior difficultas oritur è verbis epistolæ ad Hebræos vii. 3. ubi dicitur 'Απάτως; ἀμήτως, ἀβωεαλόγητος, μήτε ἀςχην ήμεςῶν, μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, ἀφωμωωμένος δὲ τῷ ὑῷ τᾶ θεᾶ μένα ἰερῶς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές. Hæc omnia videntur mihi commodissime referri posse ad eximium illum locum in textu Mosaico, ubi ortum Abrahami patris sidelium deducit à Shemo, adeoque eum ecclesiæ veræ post diluvium patrem primum esse ostendit: Postquam ortum omnium gentium quoad civilem eorum statum in capite decimo geneseos absolvisset, & earum dispersionem à Babylone in initio undecimi capitis indicasfet.

Hic autem locus diligenter notandus est, Gen. xi. 10. & sit initium Parashæ in textu Hebraico, dignusque est qui novi capitis; feit

Feu lectionis principium fieret in omnibus Bibliis. Ibi ecclesiasticam, si sic loqui liceat, historiam incipit Moses à Shemo, nullo illius patre, nulla etiam matre nominatis. Atque hinc etiam fine genealogia ponitur, quoniam hic non derivat jus, aut titulum suum ad munus sacerdotale per descensum à quolibet patre, matreve, ut derivare debebant sacerdotes Levitici; ideo Heb. vii. 6. idem dicitur μη γενεαλογέμενος εξ ἀυτῶν. Quæ verba videntur apertissime explicare prius positum verbum ἀγενεαλόγητος atque id ipsum satis declarat quid intelligendum sit cum dicitur sine patre & matre.

Eodem similiter modo videtur mihi dici eum neque initium, neque finem vitæ habere, scilicet neutrum horum in illo capite exprimitur: solenne illud verbum, & mortuus est, quod de antediluvianis singulis, præter Enochum, post longissimas eorum vitas toties repetitur capite geneseos quinto, hic non additur de Shemo. Dicitur sane quod vixit per quingentos annos postquam genuisset Arphaxadum, sed non dicitur quod mortuus est, uti nec initium ejus vitæ, seu nativitas in hoc capite undecimo uspiam exprimitur.

Similiter in cap. xiv. ubi Melchisedec occurrit Abrahamo, eique benedicit, exprimitur

mitur quidem quod fuerit sacerdos, sed nec initii, nec finis ejus vitæ ulla omnino sit mentio, utì nec patris aut matris illius.

Et nullus filius Noæ à Mose resumitur iterum post caput decimum tractandus, præter unum hunc Shemum; cui hoc singulare privilegium tribuit Moses, ut illius & posterorum ejus res gestas ab eo loco ad finem librorum suorum pertractet.

2. Secunda difficultas hæc est; quomodo epistola ad Hebræos evincat æternitatem sacerdotii Christi, quandoquidem è Mosis silentio de morte Melchisedeci ea non potest probari? Huic sic respondeo: Non id molitur apostolus, ut è Mosis aut verbis aut silentio probet æternitatem sacerdotii Christi, sed eam deducit è verbis prophetæ Davidis, & Dei juramento è Psalmo cx. 4. citatis Heb. vii. 17, 21. Hunc autem Psalmum ipse porro Christus de Messiah intelligendum esse ostendit, Mat xxii. 42, 44. ibique æternitas ejus sacerdotii solenni juramento apertissime consirmatur.

At si quæratur porro quomodo tunc simile est sacerdotium Christi sacerdotio Melchisedeci? Respondeo, in omnibus persectionibus laudibusque sacerdotio Melchiseci simile est, at non in ejus impersectionibus oportuit esse simile. Liceat archetypotypum

typum suum excellere. Possim tamen hie addere quod cum Shemo Deus suerit Jehovah, certum est, ex Heb. xi. 16. illum ei præparasse civitatem in cœlis, ubi cum presbyteris cœlestibus rex erit, & sacerdos in æternum, Rev. v. 10. xx. 6.

At non licet hoc in loco digredi, ut omnia ostendam in quibus conveniunt inter se sacerdotium Christi, & Melchisedeci; sed redeundum est ad leges & promissa patriarchalia, quibus eæ velut præmiis sanciebantur: Quippe quod ipsos patriarchas, & inter eos Shemum, ideo tantum considerandos suscepimus, quia ex actionibus eorum à Deo summo Judice approbatis, & in exempla propositis, ipsas leges videamus olim Deo hominibusque observatas suisse, antequam à Mose scripta suerit lex.

Concludam itaque hoc caput, hæc tantum notando, quod Moses in verbis Shemi, seu Melchisedeci ostendit ejus religionem consistere in invocatione Unici Dei, & ejus laudibus, quibus agnoscitur dominus cœli & terræ, id est, totius universi: Idemque ab eo, tanquam sonte bonorum omnium, omnia selicia saustaque Abrahamo precatur. Eidemque gratias agit ob victoriam in hosses partam; & ut Dei sacerdos decimas accipit, tanquam ei debitas, qui victoriæ author

author seu causa suit præcipua. Quantus autem honor ex his tribuitur Melchisedeco late disserit apostolus ad Hebræos, cap. vii. quod lectori perpendendum relinquo: Contentus hoc solum adjicere, mihi incredibile videri quenquam è stirpe Canaanis maledicti tanto honore cumulari, & Christi summi sacerdotis typum à Mose constitui.

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CAP. IV.

De Abrahamo.

Ongressus inter Melchisedecum & A. brahamum facilem nobis transitum præbet à priore ad posteriorem. In hoc autem exemplo observatio legis fidei patriarchalis eo usque celebris est, ut pater fidelium dici soleat, & primus actus fidei illius eam talem fuisse ostendit, quæ obedientiam statim peperit mandato sane admodum difficili, ut relinqueret patriam & cognatos, & in terram proficifceretur ipsi plane incognitam, quam Deus oftenderet, cum illuc perveniret: Sed misa uniqueou per fidem obedientiam præstitit inquit apostolus, Heb. zi. 8. Postquam tanquam peregrinus aliquandiu

quandiu in hac terra commoratus fuisset, & tamen nullum adhuc haberet silium, & plusquam octogenarius esset, uxorque ejus sterilis; tandem Deus in visione quadam ei prædixit, quod illius posteri post annos plusquam quadringentos ex alia terra, ubi dira passuri essent, in hanc educerentur, eamque tandem possiderent. Etiam huic prædictioni credidit, & in obedientia mandatis Dei præstanda perseveravit.

Tandem illi centenario nascitur filius promissus, ex quo gentes multæ prædicuntur aliquando orituræ; fed postquam adoleverat, in florente jam ætate, ab ipso Deo poscitur in sacrificium, idque ab ipsius patris manu offerendum, quod quidem vix credibile videtur: credidit tamen Abrahamus, & vel ex ipsis sacrificii cineribus Deum Isaacum hunc resuscitaturum existimavit. ut se in promissis suis veracem & sidelem comprobaret. En fidem viri plane stupendam! En amorem erga Deum ardentissimum! Qui vehementissimum parentis affectum naturalem erga filium obsequentissimum plane superaret. Nullum est mandatum cui tanta fides non obtemperaret, quia nihil difficilius imperari potuit.

Notandum autem est sidem Abrahami, aliorumque pariter patriarcharum, semper F 1 2 fuisse

fuisse assentiate as Deo traditæ, quocunque modo, quem Deo placuerit eligere, ad eam mentibus eorum imprimendam. Certum autem est quod Deus veritatem patribus hisce declaravit πολυτεοπως, utì tessatur apostolus, Hèb. i. r. Quandoque Deus veritatem de rebus non visis manifestavit ipsis gentibus, per rationem in creatione & ordinaria providentia sundatam; ut testatur Paulus ad Rom. i. 19, 20. & ad Lycaonios, Act. xv. 15, 17. necnon ad Athenienses, Acts xvii. à \$\frac{1}{2}\$ 24 ad 29. Eadem autem hoc modo patriarchis ostensa suisse nemini licet dubitare.

Quandoque, priscis præsertim, de quibus loquimur temporibus, rationis dictaminibus superaddidit Deus revelationes veritatis per visiones & somnia. Sic visus est Deus ab Abrahamo, cum esset in Mesopotamia, Acts vii. 2. & postea plura Deus sic indicavit in Canaahitide, Gen xv. 12. & inde ad sinem capitis. Erat enim Abrahamus propheta, & sic Deus prophetas alloqui solitus est, Num. xii. 6. similia de se dicit Eliphaz, Job. iv. 12. ad sinem capitis. Quandoque etiam veritas à Deo aliis indicatur per ora & scripta prophetarum, qui se tales esse miraculis aut prædictorum impletione probavissent, & nisil docuerunt quod quicquam

De Legibus Patriarcharum: 437 quicquam à veri Dei honore derogaret, uti patet è Moss dictis, Deut. cap. xiii. & xviii. inter se collatis.

Firmissime autem sundatur sides, cum dictamina rationis, & prophetarum testimonia, inter se conveniunt, & eundem sinem, Dei scilicet honorem, & generis humani commune bonum, junciis viribus promovent. Hoc autem suis successive temporibus secerunt, qui vixerunt in vera side patriarcharum, Judæorum & Christianorum. Hi enim singuli & dictatis rationis crediderunt, & quæ præterea addidit revelatio divina, amplexi sunt.

Verum disquissio, quæ nunc præ mani-

bus est, regulas fidei & morum patriarchalium tantummodo spectat; sed ea cum summa cautela instituenda est, ut ostendatur eas non contradicere aut legi Mosaicæ. aut evangelio Christi; sed utrique suo tempore recipiendæ viam munire. Certum enim est ipsius Dei testimonio de Abrahamo, Gen. xviii. 19. Quod non ipse solum in via Domini ambulaverit; sed ita ut facerent, filies suis totique familie sue precepturus erat, exercendo justitiam & jus. Utpote qui noverit ab hac conditione suspensa esse Dei promissa, utì innuunt verba, ut prastet Jehova Abrahamo id quod ei promisit: $\mathbf{F} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{a}$ Certe

Certe in his Abrahami gestis continentur omnia illa, quæ Christus dixit esse graviora legis (Mosaicæ) præcepta, ut facerent judicium, misericordiam & sidem, Mat. xxiii. 23.

Obiter etiam observandum est Abrahamo hoc testimonium datum esse, antequam esset circumcisus. Hinc per sidem etiam tunc justus est pronuntiatus, Gen. xv. 6. idque inculcat apostolus, Rom. iv. 10, 11. eo fine à Deo dictum esse, ut Abrahamus pater esset omnium qui sine circumcisione fideles erant. Hinc etiam patet legem patriarchalem non tolli, nec ejus honorem minui, si novum aliquod præceptum iis detur, üt plura hujusmodi dabantur postea in occonomia Mosaica; quoniam hoc novum præceptum tam diu ante Mosis tempora additum est, salvo honore pristino legum patriarchalium, quas observavit Abrahamus adhuc incircumcifus. Ideoque hoc præceptum non omnibus gentibus uspiam datum est; sed solum natis ex Abrahamo, ejusque samiliæ, quæ partem in terra illi promissa expectaret; cæteris nationibus suæ libertati pristinæ juxta antiquiores leges patriarcharum relictis. Sie enim in libro, qui dicitur Job, qui totus spirat pietatem patri-archalem, nulla est mentio circumcissonis, aut liberationis ex Ægypto, in qua fundantur

tur pleraque quæ ad religionem Judaicam

pertinent peculiariter.

Ouoniam autem obiter hic incidit mentio Jobi, quem regem, seu Judicem summum fuisse inter Arabes. Job xxix. præcipue y. 25. diu ante tempora, quibus Moses erat rex in Jesurun: Et quoniam non adeo conspicua sunt indicia potestatis regalis in Abrahamı familia, ante Mosis tempora, vifum est observare, è Job. xxxi. 26, 28, quod cultus folis, & lunæ, quæ antiquissima fuit idololatria, crimen erat à judice puniendum, ntì abnegatio veri Dei summi: Hinc enim patet publicà tunc authoritate adeo stabilitum esse veri Dei cultum, ut discessus ab eo in idololatriam, & ejus abnegationem. incurrerit in pœnam quæ lege certe aliqua decernenda fuit. Judices enim non posfunt punire nisi ita ut leges præscribant ordinarie, licet in casibus extraordinariis aliquid ab ipsis legibus arbitrio Judicum relinquatur. Plurima pietatis priscæ specimina in apologia illa antiquissima observanda lectori relinquo. Mihi satis est hinc colligere quod si in Arabia, Canaanitidi vicina, rex puniret idololatriam, certe in ipsa Canaanitide religiosus princeps Abrahamus eam non permitteret impune committi à suis subditis, subditi autem erant Abrahamo

mo omnes quos illic armavit, immo omnes quos deduxit tanquam colonos.

Redeo autem ad Abrahamum, eiusque posteros ante descensum Jacobi in Ægyptum: Hos omnes in terra Canaanitide fuiffe αυτονόμες nemo quod sciam negaverit: ideoque nullum superiorem agnoverunt. Nicolaus Damascenus à Josepho citatus Abrahamum in Damasco regnasse, & cum exercitu illuc venisse è Chaldæa: non autem din ibi commoratum fuisse: sed in Canaanitidem abiisse, aperte testatur. Ex his manifestum est eum ut coloniæ ducem in Terram promissam venisse, ibique cum suis polteris, & armentis habitasse, incolarum permissu. Et sane post annos sere ducentos ab Abrahami ingressu testatur Hamor Hivitarum princeps, quod satis ampla esset terra quæ Jacobum, cum numerosa sua familia. & armentis, fine incolarum incommodo excipere possit, & inde ditior fieri. Unde patet nec hominum, nec armentorum numerum in illo intervallo à diluvio satis crevisse, ut terræ depascendæ sufficeret, ideoque advenas terram depascere æ. que permitterent, ac aquam præterfluentem sumere. Quanquam in tempore intermedio certum sit plurimos è Phœnicibus ex Ægypto pulsis in hanc regionem se contulisse.

Hoc autem meam sententiam plurimum confirmat de veritate numerorum Hebræorum inter diluvium & Abrahamum, quod Canaan non erat circa ejus adventum valde populosa. Certe si additi suissent computo Hebraico 1050 ut Samaritani, aut 700 ut Josephus, aut 880 ut Septuaginta, & tot plures suissent anni à diluvio, non sine pugna excepissent Canaanæi Abrahamum cum suo exercitu & armentis huc coloniam ducentem. Hoc autem obiter notandum duxi quoniam savere videtur Hebraicæ scripturæ, quam stabilire ex historicis præcipuus est scopus libri, cui annectitur hæc appendicula.

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De principalibus legibus patriarcharum.

ERGAM nunc ostendere leges patriarchales, in quibus servandis Abrahami & posterorum, Isaaci & Jacobi justitia & integritas elucebat, simillimas suisse iis, quas Moses ex eo prognatus justu divino præscripsit Israelitis, post 430 annos ab Abrahami ingressu in Terram promissam.

Hoc

Hoc autem dictum intelligi velim de præcipuis capitibus legis Mosaicæ, non de minutioribus: nam nihil erat in patriarcharum circumstantiis quod illis responderet. Agnosco illos nullum habuisse tabernaculum, in quo Deus habitaret, in medio castrametationis eorum, quam nullam habebant, quippe pauci erant numero, si cum multis millibus in singulis Israelitarum tribubus conferentur. Hinc nullam habuere tribum quæ seligeretur ut tabernaculo inserviret. Immo nullam habuerunt terram, vel urbem. ad quam ter quotannis congregarentur. Hæc & multa iis similia, ideo tantum patriarchis defuerunt, quia nondum crevissent in magnam hominum multitudinem, nondum terram habuerunt quam suam dicere possent; sed in terra aliena erant peregrini. Nihil tamen iis defuit quod essentiale est, seu fundamentale, vel in œconomicis præceptis vel politicis, parvæ adhuc coloniæ, vel in ethicis, si sic vocare liceat regulas morum erga omnes gentes, inter quas vixerunt ut boni Cosmopolitæ, qui gentium jura tam in pace, quam in bello observant. Sic ex una familia recte, seu secundum

Sic ex una familia recte, seu secundum leges patriarchales instituta & administrata per Abrahamum, Isaacum & Jacobum, orta est gens numerosa, quæ sub Mose & Aaro-

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ne ex Ægypto ducta, in deserto à Deo legem patriarchalibus institutis congruant dictante, formata est, seu reducta in corpus simul politicum, & ecclesiasticum pulcherrimum, & plane theocraticum, quod cum cæteris mundi gentibus juxta jura gentium vivere posset, salva sua religione, cujus luce cæteræ etiam gentes in veri Dei, & Messiæ patriarchis promissi, cognitionem, adeoque meliorem politicum statum paulatim deduci possent. His breviter præmissis particulatim jam ossendam hæc duo.

1. Patriarchas præcipua præcepta, tam quæ Deum spectant, quam quæ homines, diligentissime observasse diu antequam lex per Mosem è monte Sinai tradita est.

2. Eos motos esse iisdem magnis promissis, aut metu ejusdem Judicii divini, seu terrore pænarum earundem, quas lex Mo-

faica postea minitabatur.

water : of

Ex his enim apertissime evincetur Mossem in avita religione Israelitas instituisse, & quæ à Mose noviter instituta videri possent, ea omnia ad antiquam religionem in hovis circumstantiis exercendam dirigere, aut eos munire adversus corruptelas gentium idololatricarum nuper introductas, Sic enim innuit Moses, Deut. xxxii. 17. ubi

ubi conqueritur de Israelitis in mores gentium degenerantibus. Sacrificaverunt, inquit, Demonibus non Deo, Diis, quos non noverant, novis è propinguo advenientibus, quos non timuerunt majures egrum. Revocat illos ad patriarcharum mores in religione; ex his discendæ erant antiquæ leges, quemadmodum & nos hodieque è moribus approbatis antiquis, & casibus judicatis, legem communem majorum nostrorum recte colligimus. Quinetiam cum justitia omnis actuum humanorum confistat in conformitate cum legibus, quibus subjiciuntur; è justis actionibus bonæ leges satis evidenter colliguntur, præsertim cum actiones illæ ab optimo judice approbentur.

Spectemus itaque in Abrahami, Isaaci & Jacobi œconomia, quam fuerit illis, 1. Conjugium fidele, castum, tranquillum, concors. Observatu dignum est ante diluvium nullum è Sethi linea plures uxores duxisse; unicum ibi exemplum est Lamechi illius, qui è Caini samilia ortus est, & probabiliter in diluvio periit. Abrahamus unicam habuit Saram, Hagar tantum concubina ejecta est; Isaacus è promissione natus unam Rebeccam: Jacobus fraude Labanis inductus est in polygamiam. Christus autem è

Leah prima uxore prognatus est.

2. Ųt

2. Ut fuerint parentes admodum indulgentes, curaruntque liberorum suorum, non tantum corpora, sed & animas, diligenter eos instituendo in pietate, seu via Domini, utì dicitur, Gen xviii. 19 Hujusmodi erat Josephi pietas, & gratitudo erga patrem, & charitas erga fratres male meritos.

3. Ut fuerint erga fervos domini clementes, fervosque habuerunt in familia sua à nativitate probe instructos in artibus belli & pacis, ut innuitur, Gen. xiv. 14. necnon

in religione, ut Gen. xviii. 19.

4. Erga hospites erant valde benigni, & generosi, ut exemplo sint tam Abrahamus, quam Lotus ejus consanguineus; unde in ipsa dispensatione evangelica proponuntur imitandi, Heb. xiii. 2. Ex hac lege, & his exemplis hospitalitatis, colligitur ratio omnium mandatorum Mosaicorum, de benignitate erga extraneos inter ipsos habitantes; è quibus etiam deducatur ratio cur pii Judæi expeterent conversionem gentium, in tempore saltem Messiæ desideratissimi, Deut. xxxii. 43. Rom. xv. 10 ad 13.

In politicis spectandi sunt hi patriarchæ tanquam ἀντόνομοι, nullis Canaanæorum, aut Philistæorum regulis subditi, nec enim ipsi aliter de illis sentiebant, utì patet è dictis Chittæorum Gen. xxiii. 5, 6. & sœderibus inter Abrahamum.

Abrahamum Isaacumque, cum Philistæis, qui origine erant Ægyptii, Gen. xxi. 32, xxvi. 28 ad 31. Nec hoc mirum videri debet in priscis illis temporibus, in quibus tam multi erant reges in Canaanitide; nam quæliber fere majuscula familia patrem-familias habuit regem, & Abrahamus legitur habuisse 318 in domo sua natos servos, idoneos bello; præter eos qui armentis illius custodiendis relinquebantur, & præter eos qui pecunia sua emebantur, utì colligitur è Gen. xvii. 13. collato cum Gen. xiv. 14. & præter ancillas seu servas.

Præterea vero idem Abrahamus, utì & ejus posteri, non solum supremam habuit potestatem in rebus civilibus samiliæ vel coloniæ suæ, verum etiam in rebus spiritualibus, quæ religionem spectant; & ideo Gen. xviii. 19. dicitur quod Abrahamus præceperit siliis & samiliæ suæ, ut observent viam Jehovæ. Certum enim est quod si ab eo daretur appellatio in rebus spiritualibus ad reges gentium vicinarum, qui ethnici erant, & idololatræ, frustranea prorsus esset Abrahami institutio in religione vera, quippe quæ à vicinis regibus condemnaretur.

Denique quod ad jura gentium attinet, tam in bello, quam in pace, manisestum est Abrahamum

Abrahamum ejusmodi jura religiosissime observasse, utì decuit civem mundi bonum. Exemplum habemus in Gen. xiv. 13. ubi dicitur Mamram Amorrhæum, ejusque fratres Anerem & Eshcolem ei consæderatos suisse; cum his vixit pacifice ante bellum quod intulit Chedolaomer in multas Canaanæorum partes. Sed cum in illo bello Abrahamus, sæderatorum suorum ope, islum vicisset, & cognatum suum Lothum reduxerat è captivitate, facultates Sodomæorum generose admodum eorum regi restituit, partem scilicet prædæ, quæ sua (Abrahami sc.) esset belli jure. Sed illam prædæ partem quam sæderati ipsius Amorrhæi ex jure belli sibi vindicare possent, eam reliquit illis, ut suo in illam jure uti illis liceret Gen. xiv. 24.

At vereor ne nimius sim si singula percurram, quæ in omnibus Moss aut Jobi libris occurrunt, aut ea curiose excutiam. Festimabo itaque ad conclusionem hujus appendiculæ, quæ ultra spem crevit in mole sua. Consideremus itaque breviter quam accurate conveniant horum patriarcharum vitæ, primo cum plerisque præceptis Decalogi, quæ post eorum tempora à Deo tradita sunt, tanquam primaria capita legis patriarchis olim minore cum terrore traditæ. 1. Certe

1. Certe primum Decalogi præceptum obfervavit Abrahamus, cum reliquit, Deo sic mandante, Deos alienos; quos Terachus ejus pater, aliique ejus majores coluissent in regione Transeuphratensi, ut testatur Joshua, cap. ult. 1/2.

2. Secundum Decalogi præceptum contra idola implevit Jacobus, Gen. xxxv. 2, 4. cum idola tradiderunt ejus domestici, Deo sic imperante, & postulante Jacobo, eaque sepelivit sub quercu prope Shecemum.

3. Tertium præceptum contra perjurium ab omnibus impletum est, qui sancte sidem suam servaverunt, quam sirmassent juramento; quod Abrahamum secisse aliquoties antea ostendimus: quinetiam Jacobus ab Esavo fratre juramentum postulavit, ad sirmandum pactum, quo primogenituræ suæ jura ipsi vendiderat, Gen xxv. 33. Credidit certe abjuratione primogenituræ sirmum sieri illud pactum, nec recusavit hoc sacere Esavus.

4. De quarto præcepto fateor multum disputari, omnes tamen fatentur scriptum esse Gen. ii. 3. benedixisse Deum diei septimo, & sanctificasse eum. Patet etiam septimum quemque diem à laboribus hominum vacuum, & religioni veræ impensum, natura sua commodum esse ad revocandam

candam in memoriam historiam divinam, quod sex diebus absoluta est mundi creatio, ipsumque Deum à stupendo hoc opere septimo quievisse. Fatetur etiam aperte traditum suisse hoc præceptum paulo post egressum ex Ægypto, antequam pervenissent Israelitæ ad desertum Sinai; adeoque antequam lex, & præsertim Decalogus, traderetur in Sinai, aut sædus solenniter initum esset à Deo cum populo Israelitico; itaque hoc saltem nomine patriarchalis est hæc lex, & ante sædus legale observata est.

Tempori sacro affinis est locus sacer; in his circumstantiis obscurior est praxis, & inde deducta lex patriarchalis. Nihilominus aliquid etiam hic occurrit, quod non videtur prorsus negligendum: Nam quamvis de bonarum actionum substantia & fonte, præcipua fuerit divini nostri Historici cura, non tamen omisit aliquas earum circumstantias tradere, quæ populo primum fuo, hoc est Judaico, utiles essent suturæ: fed & aliis postea gentibus non inutiles. Hinc est quod monuit, cum Deus primo Mosi apparuit in rubo; Deum illi appropinquanti dixisse, Ex. ili. 5. Ne appropinques, sed extrahe calceamenta tua, à pedibus tuis; nam locus in quo stas est terra san-Eta: Manifestum esse reor ritum hunc des trahendi G g

trahendi calceos in locis Deo facris non esse legis Mosaicæ ritum, sed antiquiorem; ideoque patriarchalem.

Hinc etiam patet Deum sibi in antiquisfimis temporibus loca aliqua refervari voluisse, tanquam ipsi separata & peculiaria, quæ hac ratione sancta nominantur; etsi tota terra, immo totus mundus Domini sit, fed latiore fenfu. Parilis locus occurrit post legem datam, Josh. v. 15. non tamen ex legis præscripto; sed è more antiquiore. Nihil tamen memoriæ meæ nunc occurrit quod his ullatenus simile sit in historia patriarcharum, præterquam in infomnio quo visus est Deus in satellitio Angelorum à Jacobo proficifcente in Syriam, versus avunculum fuum Labanem. Tunc enim expergefactus Jacobus, Gen. xxviii. 16. dixit, certe Deus est in hoc loco, nihil est hic locus nisi domus Dei, indeque locus ille postea ab eo dictus est Bethel, ibique è lapidibus quibus incubuerat stelam erexit, quæ altaris vicem videtur supplevisse, quoniam ibi effudit oleum, quod libaminis instar erat, ibique decimas Deo vovit. Convenit sane hic locus cum alils Deo sacris, quanquam nihil hic dicatur de calceis extrahendis, & suspicor eum nudo pede hoc itèr suscepisse; quia, Gen. xxxii. 10. dicit se cum baculo

De Legibus Patriarcharum. 45 t baculo suo transivisse Jordanem; quæ verba favent suspicioni nostræ, licet illam non certo evincant esse veram.

Sed antequam dimittam hanc observatiunculam obiter notandum esse censui, etiam ethnicos facerdotes in facrificando idolisa feu novis diis ab ipsis additis, hunc ritum retinuisse, quem existimo eos à patriarchis antiquisimis Noachi posteris derivasse, quoniam certum est multos ritus, & traditiones ethnicorum longe antiquiores esse ecclesia Judaica, ideoque à Judæis eos hæc non desumpsisse; sed potius à communi fonte, nempe à patriarchis, quorum multi ut Terachus Abrahami pater in idololatriam degenerarunt. Nihilominus multas retinuerunt traditiones laudabiles, ut de uno Deo, cæteris omnibus superiore, de immortalitate animarum, & de judicio post mortem secuturo, ac de virtute heroica. Has traditiones multo probabilius esse videtur eos ab antiquissimis patriarchis Japheti, Chami, immo & Shemi posteris idololatricis accepisse, quam à Judæis. Antiquissima Ægyptiorum & Romanorum templa fine imaginibus fuere: Decimas Cabiris datas fuisse constat ex Dion. Halicarnassensi. Sed condonetur hæc digressio.

Gg2

Redeo

Redeo ad Decalogum, cujus primam tabulam jam percurrimus; fecunda nunc tractanda. Quoniam autem omnia quæ hominibus debentur officia, quæ in fecunda tabula continentur, profluunt ex amore erga totum genus humanum, & felicius præstabuntur ab iis qui juxta primam tabulam animitus diligunt verum Deum omnium parentem, dubitari non potest quin patriarchæ illius cultores, omnes homines ut Dei sobolem sincero amore complexuri sunt.

præceptum multa pietatis suæ erga parentes nobis exempla reliquerunt; hinc Shemus nuditatem patris sui retrorsum accedens pallio texit, & benedictionem inde reportavit. Hinc Isaacus patri, qui ipsum in sacrificium esset oblaturus, se dedidit vinciendum, & imponendum in altari; obsequium usque ad mortem præstiturus, nisi Deus prohibuisset silii cædem, & arietem ei succedaneum providisset. Hinc Josephus cum sames esset in Canaane, patrem suum, immo sratres qui ipsum vendiderunt aluit in Ægypto, ubi in populum creverunt numerosum. Hinc colligatur Josephum patri suo debuisse Θρεπτήρια, & multam charitatem toti samiliæ, cujus erat pars jure patriarchali.

6. Præcep-

6. Præceptum prohibens homicidium in jure patriarchali expressis verbis continetur, Gen. ix. 6. & mortis pæna sancitur: hinc Jacobus filiorum suorum crudelitatem in occidendis Sichemitis execratur, Gen. xlix. 7.

7. Nec dubium est quin in jure patriarchali vetitum erat adulterium: Quippe non solum veteres patriarchæ, verum etiam castiores è gentibus, utì Pharaoh in Ægypto, & pius Abimelec è Philistæis in Gerari regnans, nesas esse credebant uxorem Abrahami polluere, circa 400 annos ante legem in Sinai datam; quin & Jobus hoc crimen detessatur. Job. xxxi. 9 ad 12.

8. Constat etiam ex historia de Josephi scypho argenteo in os sacci Benjaminis immisso, Gen. xliv. tam filios Israelis, quam Ægyptios furtum illicitum esse credidisse, immo puniendum esse vel morte, ut Gen. xliv. 9. vel saltem servitute, prout statuisse videtur Josephus, ¾. 17. & Judah se offert in servitutem pro Benjamine, ¾. 33. Colligatur etiam Ægyptios debuisse mercedem ampliorem quam dederunt Israelitis pro laboribus suis: Immo Dei concessio data Israelitis ut spoliarent Ægyptios abituri, arguit jus eis suisse sumendi sibi reprisalia de gente Ægyptiaca.

Gg3

Nec

9. Nec fas est dubitare quin patriarchæ censuerint omne mendacium voluntarium, præcipue vero falsum testimonium in judiciis publicis semper illicitum fuisse, adeoque antequam datum suerit præceptum nonum in Decalogo. Ideoque in historia Mosaica peccatum protoplassarum, indeque omnes humani generis calamitates introduci narrantur, vi mendacii contra Deum à satana dicti, & à protoplassis admissi, Gen. iii. 4. Non moriemini si de fructu vetito comedatis; atque hinc diabolus pater mendacii, id est, primus inventor dicitur, Joh. viii. 44. quod videtur Christus dixisse ex respectu ad primum illud mendacium.

Proximus diabolo mendax occurrit Cainus fratricida, qui dixit se non novisse ubi esset intersectus illius frater, ut videamus, Gen. iv. 9. Cumque mendacium sit character pessimorum, sequitur veracitatem, &, quæ eam præcedit, diligentem veri indagationem ad characterem optimorum pertinere. Omnes ratione præditi veritatem cupiunt cognoscere, adeoque mendacium utpote contradicens veritati sugiendum. Protoplastæ quia nunquam videntur infantes suisse; sed in statu quasi adulto creati selicius veritatem investigare potuerunt quam nos, qui quoniam infantes nascimur multa

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multa imbibimus præjudicia, priusquam res penitius examinare possumus: Cæteri etiam patriarchæ, quia valde erant longævi, facilius in tanto tempore progressus maximos potuerunt facere, tam in scientiis, quam in prudente rerum administratione.

Hæc autem hic annotare visum est, ut inde pateat patriarchas Noachum, Shemum & Abrahamum, à quibus omnes leges patriarchales derivantur, tales fuisse viros qui nec facile in rebus maximi momenti falli potuerint, nec liberos suos in iisdem rebus fallere voluerint, tradendo falsas opiniones in rebus ad religionem & vitam civilem pertinentibus.

10. Pari denique ratione credamus patriarchas nec ignorasse, nec neglexisse id quod omnibus notum est, oportere nos principiis malarum actionum obstare, & resistere primis animorum motibus versus illicitas: Id autem est quod postea præcepit Moses in ultimo Decalogi mandato.

Denique has leges non folum patriarchas obligare, verum etiam totum genus humanum patet, quia propter earum violationem Antediluviani omnes submersi sunt, Sodomæi igne consumpti sunt, & Canaanæi è sua terra expulsi.

 Gg_4 CAP.

CAP. VI.

De minus principalibus legibus patriarcharum.

IIS tandem de præcipuis morum regulis breviter transactis pergamus:

- 1. Ad alia præcepta; primò de ceremoniis & externis religionis actibus, quæ à patriarchis usurpatæ leguntur; & secundò de civilibus rebus, de paucis quæ civilem, aut œconomicam vitam spectant, quæque ab iis translata sunt in codicem legum Mosaicarum.
- 2. Denique præcipuas promissiones & minas, quibus leges patriarchales sanciebantur, consideremus; & videbimus etiam illas in legis Mosaicæ sanctionem assumptas suisse, atque illinc etiam in œconomiam evangelicam transiisse.

De ritibus religionis patriarcharum.

Horum prima erat quodammodo privata in singulis samiliis circumcisso. De hoc ritu observavit Salvator noster, Joh. vii. 22. eum non à Mose constitutum esse; sed à patrum more descendisse. Inceptus autem est tempore Abrahami ex mandato Dei, Gen. xvii. 10. cum Abrahamus annum agetet 99^{um}. Manisestum autem est hoc mandatum

De Legibus Patriarcharum. 457 datum renovatum esse sub lege Mosaica. Pergo igitur ad ritus magis publicos.

Ad religionem patriarcharum publicam,

feu solennem pertinent:

1. Sacerdotes.

- 2. Altaria quæ munus sanctificant, i. e. Deo separant, Mat. xxiii. 19.
 - 3. Sacrificia.
 - 4. Decimæ Deo sacræ.
- 5. Musicæ vocalis & instrumentalis usus, in Dei laudibus celebrandis. Miriam ob peritiam in hac arte celebratur, Ex. xv. 20.

De fingulis pauca fuggeram & fagaciori

judicio submittam.

1. Sacerdotium ad patrem-familias, ejusque hæredem, seu primogenitum ordinarie pertinuisse videtur, in priscis hisce temporibus. Fateor interim mihi non constare per quorum manus seu ministerium Cain & Abel sua munera obtulerunt Deo, nec quo signo notum erat Deum respexisse ad Abelem, ejusque munus, magis quam ad Cainum, ejusque munus. Certum interim est Cainum suisse primogenitum, Deum agnoscere ei aliqualem superioritatem debitam esse, sidem etiam commendasse Abelem non item ejus fratrem natu majorem.

Primus, quem Moses sacerdotem suisse dixit, est Melchisedecus; quem quia Shemum suisse reor, maximæ samiliæ-patrem suisse

fuisse necessario agnosco, eundemque regem in Shalem. Existimo etiam huic in sacerdotio summi Dei successisse ejus prognatos Abrahamum, Isaacum & Jacobum, qui successive erant patres familiæ piæ ab Abrahamo derivatæ, quos sacrificia obtulisse constat, etsi nunquam nominentur sacerdotes, tales tamen suisse, & quidem hæreditarie existimo.

Post descensum in Ægyptum non legimus eorum successores ibi sacrificia obtulisse; vix id permiserint Ægyptii, ut colligere licet è dictis, Exod. viii. 26. Nonne lapidaturi essent nos? Sed imminente tandem Exodo jubentur sacrificare Agnum paschalem, quod tuto facere tunc poterant, quia vespere in cujusque domo factum est, eademque nocte omnes Ægyptiorum primo. geniti fubita morte correpti funt, & ingenti terrore perculsi sunt, qui superstites manserunt de sua vita solliciti. At post adventum populi ad montem Sinai, antequam daretur ulla lex de constituendis sacerdotibus, occurrit facerdotum mentio, Exod. xix. 22, 24. Hi autem iidem sunt qui postea juvenes filiorum Ifraelis, Exod. xxiv. 5. dicuntur, qui facrificia obtulerunt, quorum sanguine sancitum est solenniter fredus inter Deum & Israeliticum populum, qui primogeniti à plerisque existimantur. Quære,

an Esavus profanus dicatur, quia vendidit facerdotium in primogenitura contentum: An æquipolleant, Heb. v. 5, 6. quia filius & sacerdos, ut Melchisedecus.

Notandum autem hinc est solenne hoc fædus. Exod. xxiv. fanciri per ministerium priscorum, seu patriarchalium sacerdotum, non per Leviticum facerdotium, quod nondum erat constitutum. Solus hic erat Aaron cum filiis Nadab & Abihu, qui tamen nondum consecrati fuerant virtute ullius novi mandati à Deo recepti; nec sane Aaron hæc obtulit facrificia; fed juvenes quidam ex vetere more. Nam omnes leges tam de fummo facerdotio Aaronis, ejusque filiorum, quam de inferioribus ministeriis Levitarum aliorum, post hoc fœdus initum sancitumque, datæ funt. Quinetiam tunc videtur Aaron, ejusque hæredes, in sacerdotium illud fummum assumpti & constituti, cum respectu ad ejus primogenituram, & ad morem patriarchalem primogenitos fic honorandi: erat enim ille tribus annis major natu quam Moses. Cæterique postea Levitæ ad ministeria sua sub sacerdoribus Aaronicis confecrati funt, propter zelum fuum contra vituli aurei cultores, ut colligi potest è verbis, Exod. xxxii 26 ad 28.

2. De altaribus patriarchalibus pauca tantum occurrunt notanda; videntur autem

esse primæ structuræ quæ Deo consecratæ, seu donatæ fuerint, antequam ullum esset tabernaculum, aut templum, eorumque erant quasi initia & prima rudimenta. Hinc Abrahamus, Gen. xii. 7, 8. altaria construxit Deo, qui ibi apparuit ipsi, ibique nomen ejus invocavit, tanquam specialis quæ ibi esset præsentia Dei; similiterque Gen. xiii. 4 Sed nullum in his locis facrificium, præter preces, memoratur. Similiter etiam in Beersheba ubi Deus illi apparuit altare construxit, Gen. xxvi. 24, 25. Nec aliter de Jacobo legimus, cum Deus illi apparuit, Gen. xxviii. 16 usque ad 19, & locum vocavit Bethel domum Dei, ut altare videatur esse testimonium quoddam præsentiæ Dei. seu habitationis illius, etiamsi ad sacrificii oblationem non erigatur. Tale etiam altare erexisse videtur Moses post victos Amalekitas, Exod. xvii. 15. quod dictum est Jehovah Nissi, Jehovæ vexilli mei, in memoriam victoriæ: fed nullum ibi memoratur facrificium. Hujus generis videtur fuisse altare Reubenitarum & Gaditarum, Josh. xxii. 34. Dictum est Ed. i. e. Testis, testatum Jehovam esse nostrum Deum. Constructum hoc videtur post legem Mosaicam, ad imitationem patriarchalium altarium, & approbatum est tandem ut legi nullatenus contrarium.

Constat

Constat equidem altaria patriarcharum non uni cuivis loco limitari, utì postea sub lege Mosis ad locum tabernaculi aut templi; quod tamen factum, ut magis certo caverent sacerdotes in iis ministrantes, ne quid fieret in facrificiis contrarium præscriptis Dei, non quia displicuissent Deo antiqua piorum facrificia aliis in locis celebrata, cum nullum esset tabernaculum aut templum. Nam hoc honoris patriarcharum moribus datum est, etiam postquam Mosaica illa lim?tatio facta est, ut ipse Deus dispensaverit de illa, & grata habuit facrificia Samuelis in Ramah, I Sam. vii. 17. & Eliæ in monte Carmel; ne quid adjiciam de facrificiis Solomonis in Gibeon, 1 Reg. iii 4. Similiterque de Asæ & Jehosophati sacrificiis, in locis excelsis, quia recto corde, & summo Deo, juxta ritus priscorum patrum offerebantur.

Altaribus affines sunt uncti lapides, utpote unctione Deo consecrati, secundum usum patriarcharum, Gen. xxviii. 18, 19. Hinc etiam homines Deo sacri, illius uncti appellantur ante legem Mosaicam, Psal. cv. 15. Sic Abraham, Isaac, Jacob: Hinc Cyrus unctus Dei dicitur, ritu patriarchali ad gentes etiam transeunte, Jesa. xlv. 1. Lex autem Mosaica hoc ritu à patribus derivato usa est frequentissime ad consecrationem vestium, altarium, tabernaculi, sacerdotum, regum, prophetarum.

Transeamus itaque tertio ad ipsa sacrificia patriarchalia. & ostendamus eadem illa fuisse cum præscriptis lege Mosaica. Ipsius Noachi tempore nota fuit ante diluvium distinctio animalium mundorum ab immundis. & priora, tantum ad facrificia post diluvium adhibebantur, Gen. viii. 20. nempe è bovino, caprino, & ovino genere nec non è columbis & turturibus. His iisdem usus Abrahamus in facrificio illo memorabili. Gen. xv. 9, 10. quod Deo gratissimum fuisse ostendit visio, & prophetia, una cum sœdere quod Deus ipsi immediate concessit. His ipsis usi sunt ejus posteri, quæ eadem lege Mosaica præscribuntur. De ritu sæderali dissecandi vitulum, & transeundi inter partes separatas; confer patriarchalem morem, Gen. xv. 10, 17. cum Mofaico, Ter. xxxi. 18.

Immo ritus ille specialis sanguinem sacrificii spargendo, ope sasciculi ex hyssopo colligati, præscribitur usurpandus in Ægypto antequam lex Mosi data est Exod. xii. 22. Eodemque ritu usus est Moses cum sædus sancivit inter Deum, & populum Israelis, antequam leges darentur speciales de ritibus bujusmodi; immo antequam sacerdotium Aaronicum & ministeria Levitica præscriberentur, teste apostolo Heb. ix. 19. id-

que

que factum scivit apostolus è conservatis ritibus patriarchalibus; nam nulla est mentio hystopi in historia Mosaica de modo soedus illud faciendi, Exod. xxiv. 8. Immo mihi videtur ipse David in Psal. li. 7. Expinto me byssopo ut mundus sim, alludere ad morem hunc patriarchalem, potius quam legalem: Quoniam nullum invenio in lege Mosaica facrificium, quo expietur homicidium, & adulterium voluntarium, & præsumptuose Lex accommodatur aperte peccatis ex ignorantia commissis, nil tamen vetuit quin Deus etiam præsumptuosa peccata ex infinita misericordia sua remittene possit, & sacrificiis patriarchalibus asperso sanguine expiare. Atque hoc videtur senfisse patriarcha ille, (sic loqui liceat) Jobus i. 5. facrificiis expians filios, si forte Deo maledixissent apud animum suum. Same nullum tale sacrificium exprimitur, quod sciam, in lege Mosis: Sed illud crimen videtur esse vetitum in lege Noachidarum, seu patriarchali, ideoque ex iistem legibus quæsita est ejus expiatio.

Observavi étiam in antiquissimo illo libro de Job inter dicta Elihu, quæ ipse Deus approbavit, cap. xxxiii. 7.24. ipsum Deum in teconomia patriarchali, poenitenti dicere, Liberetur ille à descensu in pateum,

ipse

ipse inveni propitiationem, seu idoneum sacrissicium expiatorium. Hoc autem innuere videtur, etiam tunc patriarchas sensisse, Deo notam esse sufficientem pro omnibus peccatis expiationem, quæ suo tempore revelanda esset, uti sactum est in tempore Messiæ.

Denique eadem Mincha, seu mola salsa quæ igne cum sacrificio consumenda erat, & a peregrino danda, eadem etiam à Judæo afferenda fuit ex legis præscripto, Num. xv. 14, 15, 16. Sumo autem pro concesso, seu manifesta veritate, quod omnia sacrificia quæ peregrini è gentibus aliis permittebantur offerre Deo, in lege Mosaica, ea omnia licita fuerunt virtute legum patriarchalium, & naturalium, nullaque à Mosaicis legibus data esse iis privilegia, præter ea quæ ante legem ex jure gentium ad omnes homines pertinebant. Deus semper erat Deus omnium gentium, & ab iis colendus, ut innuit apostolus, Rom. iii. 29. Nec aliæ extitere leges, quibus gentium cultus dirigeretur, præter leges naturales, & mores approbatos patriarcharum. Hinc observavi quod Darius Persarum rex sacrificia, & preces pro se, & filiis suis offerri voluit, eadem cum fuis appendicibus quæ in lege Mosaica præscribuntur tam Judæis quam peregrinis, ut paret

patet ex Ezra vi. 9, 10. Similia Alexander

obtulit teste Josepho.

4. Decimæ à patriarchis offeruntur Deo, & ejus sacerdoti traduntur ab Abrahamo, Gen. xiv. & universalius voventur ab ejus nepote Jacobo, Gen. xxviii. 22. Hinc eædem decimæ ex legis Mosaicæ præscripto solvi jubentur, ut inde Dei sacerdotes, aliique sacris ministrantes liberaliter alerentur, Deo Jacobi pium prudensque votum approbante.

De civilibus constitutionibus.

A facris, quæ Deum respiciunt supremum regem, transeamus ad res civiles patriarcharum, quæ fundantur in religione, eademque stabiliuntur. Hic, præter Melchifedecum justitiæ regem & pacis, quem jam jam tractavimus, occurrunt Judices; quorum præcipuus, qui memoratur antequam lex daretur, erat Moses, quem sedentem vidit Jethro ejus socer ad judicandum populum à mane ad vesperam; & è patriarchalis prudentiæ principiis eum recte monuit, ut provideret è toto populo subordinatos sibi præfectos, qui constanter judica-rent populi partes millenas, centenas, &c. in rebus facilioribus, minoris momenti; sed graviora & difficiliora, ad eum referrent; & his Hh

& his monitis Moses eadem prudentia ductus auscultavit, Ex. xviii.

Hinc certo colligamus quod patriarchis noti fuerint varii illi hominum ordines, qui à fupremo in civilibus capite, velut membra corporis politici, reguntur.

Ad civilis status considerationem etiam pertinet constitutio mensurarum, ponderum & nummorum. Atque hinc à patriarchis transiit ad Israelitas notitia cubitus, quæ est origo mensurarum longitudinis, cujus mentio occurrit ante diluvium, Gen. vi. 15, 16. In Abrahami tempore reperimus Sicli, seu Shekelis mentionem, Gen. xxiii. 15, 16. & ex hoc sonte derivari possunt omnia pondera, ut alibi ostendimus; & in hunc diem semuncia Zygostatica, quam dicimus de Averdupois, eadem est cum pondere antiqui sicli, ut alibi probavimus.

Porro etiam è pondere conjuncto cum natura metalli, & consensu populorum, oritur omnis valor, seu æstimatio, & species nummorum. Hinc etiam in patriarcharum temporibus observavimus Jacobi silios exprimere se reperisse in ore saccorum suorum pecuniam suam secundum pondus suum, Gen. xliii. 21. Quod per omnia tempora regni Israelitici duravit in siclis.

Genera-

Generalibus hisce signis civilis status addamus unum, vel alterum exemplum.

- 1. Lex de ducenda fratria, quando ejus maritus mortuus esset sine liberis, reperitur ante legem, Gen. xxxviii. Moses hanc legem suis inseruit, Deut xxv. 5. & magnæ ignominiæ pænam sancivit in transgressores hujus legis.
- 2. Aliud observavi exemplum, quod divisionem hæreditatis respicit, ideoque ad jura civilia pertinet, atque hoc in libro de Jobo occurrit; quem inter patriarchas numero, quia fere omnes consentiunt eum ante legem Mosaicam vixisse. In eo autem laudatur, Job xlii. 15. quod filiabus suis partem dederit, etiamsi filios quoque habuerit. Eandem æquitatem erga filias observavit Deus in casu filiarum Zelophehadi, qui mortuus est sine liberis masculis, quæ recte sibi vindicarunt hæreditatem paternam, i.e. fecundum jus patriarchale, quanquam earum jus non patebat omnibus ante Dei responsum. Jussit enim inter silias ejus dividere hæreditatem, cum hac solum cautela ut nuberent cognatis suis, ne in aliam tribum transiret hæreditas, Num. xxvii. 7. &c. probatur, i. e. > Keen, ex jure, & æquo naturali & patriarchali, quia fuerunt filiæ Josephi, adeoque Abrahami titulum H h 2 habent

habent lege priorem. Nec sane opus est ut plura quæram exempla, quoniam manisestum est quod si in rebus ad pietatem & probitatem necessariis mutarentur leges & mores patriarcharum in novas, id necessario cederet in dedecus tam piorum virorum, quorum honori Deum semper consuluisse æquum est ut credamus, quia ipse illos in optima exemplaria probitatis & pietatis omnibus proposuit.

His recte consideratis facile erit judicare an consultius suerit Mosi & Israelitis, postquam ex Ægypto educti essent, legibus adhærere paternis, sub quibus ab infantia educati sunt & in libertatem asserti, quam peregrinis Ægyptiorum, sub quibus in servitutem redacti sunt, & innumeris ærumnis oppressi: Præsertim cum leges patriarchales naturalibus rationis dictatis exacte conveniunt, Ægyptiacæ autem præsertim in religione rationi plurimum repugnent; atque ideo ab omnibus fere gentibus deridentur.

——Quis nescit qualia demens Ægyptus portenta colat——

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De legum patriarchalium sanctionibus,

PErvenimus tandem ad id quod ultimo loco considerandum proposuimus, nempe sanctionem harum legum per promissa, pœnasque, quæ iis annectuntur, quæque ex exemplis veluti è casibus à Deo judicatis investiganda sunt, quemadmodum ipsas leges è praxi sub œconomia patriarchali investigavimus. Nec tamen, uti reor, opus erit multa adjicere iis, quæ in explicanda definitione breviter suggessimus. Pauca nihilominus notare visum est: Et

1. Quidem de promissis ante legem Mofaicam datis

2. De pœnis eodem tempore inflictis.

Præcipua promissa sub oeconomia patriarchali data, sunt quæ benesicia spectant per Messiam venturum obtinenda. Ea autem omnia vivæ fructiseræque sidei ab hominibus præstandæ dantur, qualem suisse sidem Abelis, Enochi, Noæ, Abrahami, &c. demonstrat apostolus ad Heb. xi. Certe conteretur juxta primum promissum caput serpentis, vel ut rem clarius edocet apostolus I Joh. iii. 8. per Christum dissolventur ope-

Hh3

ra diaboli, & evertetur ejus regnum: Sed oportet etiam nos omnem cum eo amicitiam dissolvere, strenueque militare sub Christi vexillo, contra omnes legiones vitiorum & tentationum; sin aliter secerimus nulla nobis orietur lætitia è prædicta illa Christi victoria.

Maxima quæque Abrahamo promissa funt Gen. xv. 1. Ego sum clypeus tibi, & merces tua ampla valde. Amplissima illa merces non limitatur intra hujus brevis vitæ fines; sed ad futuram præcipue collimat, quam Abrahamum expectasse, Deumque promissse docet apostolus, Heb. xi. 10, 16. Hanc meliorem expectationem probat Christus, Joh. v. 39. & Sadducæos condemnat ut ignaros Scripturæ V. T. & potestatis divinæ, Mat. xxii. 29. Sed simul hoc est Abrahamo imperatum ut ambularet coram Deo, essetque integer, Gen. xvii. r. Deusque se, eum ita facturum esse, nosse testatur, idque eo fine ut præstet Jehovæ id quod illi promisit, Gen. xviii. 19.

De pœnis quibus Deus hasce leges sancivit multa occurrunt exempla. Exilio punitur Cain ob fratricidium. Fortasse morte non plectebatur, quia tunc temporis pauci extitere homines, & consulendum erat incremento humani generis admodum desiderato. Postea vero in tempore Noachi

cum

cum videret Deus augescere hominum malitiam in terra, delere statuit homines de superficie terræ, una tantum Noachi samilia in arca conservata; quod summæ justitiæ vindicatricis in omnigena scelera tremendum est exemplum. Paulo post, mortem homicidæ pænam esse homicidii expressa lege statuit, Gen. ix. 6. Qui essumit hominis sanguinem, per hominem sanguis illius essumdatur.

Mox puniuntur Sodomitæ & vicinæ civitates, igne de cœlo delapso, Gen. xix. 24, 25. idque in exemplum exitii æterni ut monet apostolus, 2 Pet. ii. 6. Jud. y. 7. Postea pronuntiat Judah, Thamarem propter scortationem urendam esse, Gen. xxxviii. 24. eandem autem perspecta melius causa absolvit à crimine: Unde constat potestatem vitæ & necis in patriarchis sitam suisse; idemque colligi potest ex eo quod in Abrahamo erat jus bellum gerendi, quod sine potestate vitæ & necis, tam in milites suos quam in hostes, geri non potest.

Addi posset exemplum Jobi, qui se judicem suisse æquissimum prositetur, Job xxix. 12, 13, 16, 17. Judicis autem officium sine potestate coerciva per poenas nemo potest

exequi.

Idem colligi potest è praxi Mosis visa à Jethrone antequam lex scripta daretur è H h 4 Sinai,

Sinai, Exod. xviii. 16. Judicavit inter litigantes & notas fecit statuta & leges Dei, ut ipse satetur ibidem. Hoc autem plane frustra suisse nisi potestatem haberet coercendi eum litigantem, qui iniqua aut secisse aut postulavisse. Præterea vero hinc certum est, eum longe plures leges patriarchales & novisse, & specialius casibus accommodasse, quam quas è brevi historia à Mose nobis relicta potuimus colligere; notasque has le-

ges ignotis prætulisse.

Sufficiat hæc dixisse de pœnis, quas juxta leges patriarchales inflixit vel ipse Deus, vel ab eo constituti, eique subordinati judices. Notandum tamen est ex hac disquisitione tota, de legibus earumque sanctionibus, hoc fequi, tam promissiones quam minas per totam historiam patriarcharum sparsas, eo præcipue collimare, ut ad solidam juslitiam, pietatem & charitatem, per has leges homines perducantur, & à vitiis contrariis deterreantur; ideoque fere semper intelligendæ funt sub conditione, quanquam aliquando nulla conditio exprimatur ab hominibus præstanda. Similiter etiam ubicunque aliquid a lege mandatur, etsi nulla annectatur expressa promissio, aut pœna, certo colligamus transgressionem sibi poenam attrahere, obedientiam autem non sine remuneratione sufficiente abituram esse, adeo insepa-

inseparabiliter connexæ sunt leges, earumque sanctiones, partim è primæva mundi constitutione, partim etiam à sapiente & benigna providentia, quæ mundo per leges conservando semper invigilat.

Restat ut pauca tandem adjiciamus de patriarchalium legum duratione, ut innotescat ad quæ tempora, & ad quos homines pertingeret earum vigor seu vis obligandi. Hoc autem ut perspicue tradamus eæ distinguendæ sunt in duas partes integrantes (ut loquuntur scholæ)

Prima earum pars & principalis, est quæ constat è legibus naturæ quæ morales dici folent; atque hæ sunt præcipuæ, quæque & omnes pariter homines obligant, idque per omnia sæcula, adeoque perpetuæ sunt, & immutabiles.

Secunda earum pars minus principalis accommodatur ad personarum, temporum & locorum, occasiones, adeoque justis de causis ab idonea authoritate mutari possint. Idonea autem est authoritas quæ par est ei à qua priores leges suerint stabilitæ, aut etiam major.

Ad hoc legum genus pertinent eæ, quæ præcipiunt sacrificiorum delectum, & varios ritus, qui in diversis sacrificiorum generibus observandi suerint. Vidimus autem quod multæ hujusmodi leges patriarchales insertæ

insertæ fuerint in corpus legum Judaicarum: Quippe quod gens illa tota orta est ex illustri samilia patriarchæ Abrahami, ejusque nepotis Jacobi; & rationi consentaneum est ut existimemus eam gentem facilius induci posse, ut se submittat legibus quibus paruissent eorum avi, quorum pietati data sunt promissa de terra Canaanitide ab eorum posteris hæreditario jure possidenda, potius quam legibus prorsus novis, à quibus nullos benignos essectus experti suissent eorum majores.

Hinc fit quod omnium populorum legiflatores non facile mutent antiquas gentium fuarum confuetudines; fed omnium mutationum, quæ proponantur, rationes diligenter prius expendunt, nec iis faciendis confentiunt, nifi gravibus de causis, & plerunque paulatim, ac in longo temporum successu experimenta capiunt, an inde publica utilitas oriatur.

Immo vero etiam victores cum genti debellatæ novæ dandæ sunt leges, plurimas victis concedere solent antiquas consuetudines (salvis semper juribus quæ ad summum pertinent imperium) ut victorum jugum eo libentius serant. Ideoque multo magis credendum est, Deum optimum maximum populo suo dilectissimo concessisse antiquas consuetudines piissimorum suorum majorum.

rum, quas vel ipse introduxerat, vel saltem piorum patriarcharum authoritate introductas per aliquot sæcula approbaverat. Saltem ad tempus ab ipso præsinitum in quo veniret Messiah prædictus.

Hinc videmus in fœdere cum Deo inito a populo Judaico, Ex. xxiv. adhibita esse sacrificia tam holocausta, quam pacificatoria (utì vocantur,) eaque oblata fuisse per juvenes Israelitas, & à Deo accepta; quanquam nec illa sacrificia suerint imperata, nec juvenes qui ea obtulerint, ullam auctoritatem à lege Mosaica accepissent. Nihil erat quod totam rem sœdus ineundi per talia sacrificia à talibus oblata dirigeret, præter mores aut leges patriarchales. Deum tamen hunc sacrificandi morem approbasse satis constat è dictis Psal. 1. 5. & Heb. ix. 19. Quæ loca maniseste respiciunt, probantque sacta. Exod. xxiv.

Notandum tamen est hujusmodi sacrisicia ne in ipsis quidem patriarchis pariter grata suisse Deo, cum obedientia legibus moralibus præstita, ideoque Deum ea nunquam numerasse inter εαρύτερα νόμε, ideoque in solenni illo sœdere quod conscribebatur à Mose, & sanciebatur his ritibus, & continetur in xx. xxi. xxii. xxiii. capitibus Exodi, nulla expresse præcipiuntur sacrisicia, uti multa diserte traduntur de cultu solius Dei, &

& de justitia, ac charitate inter homines; Supponitur sane eos ex patrio more sacrificaturos esse, præsertim in paschate celebrando; & cautiones paucæ interseruntur iis in casibus; sed sacrificiorum diversa genera, delectus mundorum animalium, ritus varii, ne nominantur quidem.

Hoc sane indigitare videtur propheta Jer. vii. 22, 23. Non egi cum majoribus vestris, neque præcepta ipsis dedi de holicaustis & victimis, quo die eos eduxi ex Ægypto, &c. Videtur inquam hoc solenne sædus respicere quod primo post exodum ex Ægypto Deus cum Israelitis suis pepigit. Certum est post hæc multa à Deo mandari è tabernaculo satis expresse de ritibus omnigenis; sed nullum de iis tam solenniter initur sædus. Hoc honoris reservatum esse videtur præceptis his primo datis, quæ majoris erant momenti, inter quæ nec ipsa circumcisio nominatur, quod videtur dignum notatu.

Hinc enim manisesto videtur colligi posse Deum adeo non præcipue gratos habuisse hosce ritus, ut etiam sine ulla horum mentione sœdus hoc suum cum Israelitis obsignari voluerit, cap. xxiv. Quinetiam in cap. xxxiv. Exodi, ubi (post reconciliationem Dei à Mose impetratam post provocationem per cultum vituli aurei) repetitur hoc sœdus divinum summatim, & renova-

tur, non obstante illa insigni ejus violatione per turpem eorum idololatriam, nulla sit mentio legum de sacrificiis & circumcisione, quod innuat Deum de his ritibus non adeo solicitum suisse, ut suerant Judæi, quanquam certum sit has leges & patriarchis datas suisse, & inter eos eminuisse supra omnes quæ non suerint naturales seu morales, ideoque immutabiles & obligatoriæ per omnes gentes, omniaque tempora sutura.

Quandoquidem autem ipse Deus per Mosem has leges scribi noluerit in codice legum Israelitis suis tradendarum inter primas sœderali ritu sanciendas; sed eas postposuit mandatis de construendo tabernaculo in usum unius gentis Judaicæ; hoc
merito videatur indicium nobis dare rituales hujusmodi leges non esse æqualis apud
Deum momenti cum moralibus, nec earum
obligationem per omnes gentes, omniaque
sæcula esse duraturam.

Quanquam autem existimem non contemnendum esse hoc indicium, quod leges rituales essent posse evanituræ, ex eo quod Moses eas omissset scribere in sædere, quod adeo solenniter sancivit, nihilominus tamen sateor luculentiores hujusce rei probationes nobis suggeri, tam ab ipso Mose, quam à prophetis & apostolis, quas non est instituti nostri pertractare. Alii id fecere

fecere satis diligenter quos consulat lector hac de re studiosus.

Mihi non aliæ leges hic considerandæ veniunt, præter paucas illas quas è patriarcharum moribus desumpsit Moses, & in codicem legum fuarum translulit ad ecclesiam & republicam Judaicam bene constituendam, etsi leges eæ non fuerint plane naturales; fed prudenter accommodatæ ad perfonarum, locorum & temporum occasiones, adeoque justis de causis mutabiles ab idonea auctoritate. Talem autem, præsertim in ritibus, mutationem merito expectare potuerunt & debuerunt, tam ipsi patriarchæ, quam Moses, qui venturum esse novum majoremque legislatorem, nempe Messiam, è prædictionibus divinis norunt, & animitus expetebant. Perfectior & felicior expectanda erat œconomia filii in sua domo quam fuerat servi, utcunque fidelis, in domo Domini sui. Non potuit deesse filio Dei unigenito auctoritas sufficiens ad ea emendanda, quæ imperfecta erant in œconomia Mosaica.

Hanc ob causam ipse, jam jam moriturus, in libro Deuteronomii, (qui conscriptus est in ultimo mense vitæ illius, cum Deus illum monuerat Num. xxvii. 12, 13, ipsi mox moriendum esse in monte Nebo) postquam summatim Israelitis repetisset leges, quas ils

lis à Deo tradiderat cum paucis additamentis, eis prædicit, Deut. xviii. 18. Deum alium prophetam ipsi similem suscitaturum esse, &c. La autem verba, ipsi similem, non intelligenda funt de imperfectionibus Mosis; sed de iis omnibus in quibus Moses aliis omnibus prophetis prælatus est dignitate & auctoritate. Confer Num. xii. 6, 7, 8. Nec similitudo ad æqualitatem limitatur: fed major minori similis sit, ut pater filiolo Moses aliis prophetis propius ad Deum accessit; sed Christus in sinu Patris propior ei erat Mose, immo æterna erat Dei sapientia, per quam ut totus mundus creatus est, ita & omnes creaturæ necessario regendæ funt.

Hinc etsi Mosi sideli servo commissa suerit potestas leges ferendi, unico populo, & fundandi subordinate ecclesiam Judaicam: Nihilominus cum fundanda esset melior ecclesia, quæ omnes gentes complecteretur, legislator ei aliquatenus similis, sed multo major, constituendus erat, qui dilucidius traderet quæ à Mose sub umbris obscure tradita suissent, adeoque novas quasdam leges ecclesiæ novæ & universali conscriberet. Non conveniunt eædem leges ecclesiæ in sua pueritia & eidem jam adultæ. Patris consilia & præcepta, immo præmia obedientiæ majora dari solent silis ad maturam

ætatem provectis.

Alia ætas alios mores postulat.

Evanef-

Evanescunt itaque hujusmodi ritus, quamprimum aliquid melius & esticacius in eorum locum à sufficiente auctoritate substituitur; utì cum oblatio Christi surrogatur loco sanguinis agnorum, taurorum & hircorum; & baptismus, & mortificatio carnis ponitur pro circumcisione: Cum viri probe docti piique per legitimam ordinationem succedant in locum sacerdotum antiquorum; & Scripturæ divinitus inspiratæ, & ab ecclesia Christi per omnia sæcula conservatæ, locum obtinent traditionum patriarchalium.

Hæc paucis, exempli gratia, indigitasse sufficiat, ne nimis onerosa sit hæc appendix. Unico illam concludam monito quod è præmissis naturaliter sequitur: Curandum est ut quemadmodum œconomia Mosaica non desecit à patriarchali religione, sed eam conservavit, & munivit suis ritibus; sic etiam Christiana nostra institutio nequaquam degeneret à solidis virtutibus priscorum patriarcharum & Judæorum; immo enitendum est ut quanto plus lucis essussitiones ex evangelio Christi, tanto uberiores & maturiores fructus veræ pietatis, justitiæ, & charitatis indies proferamus.

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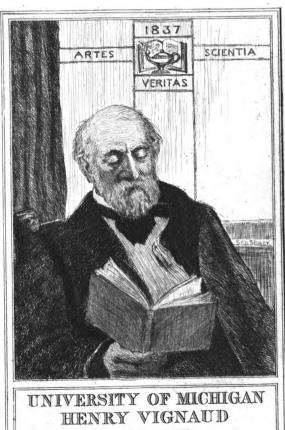
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