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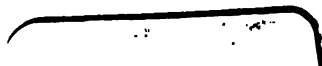
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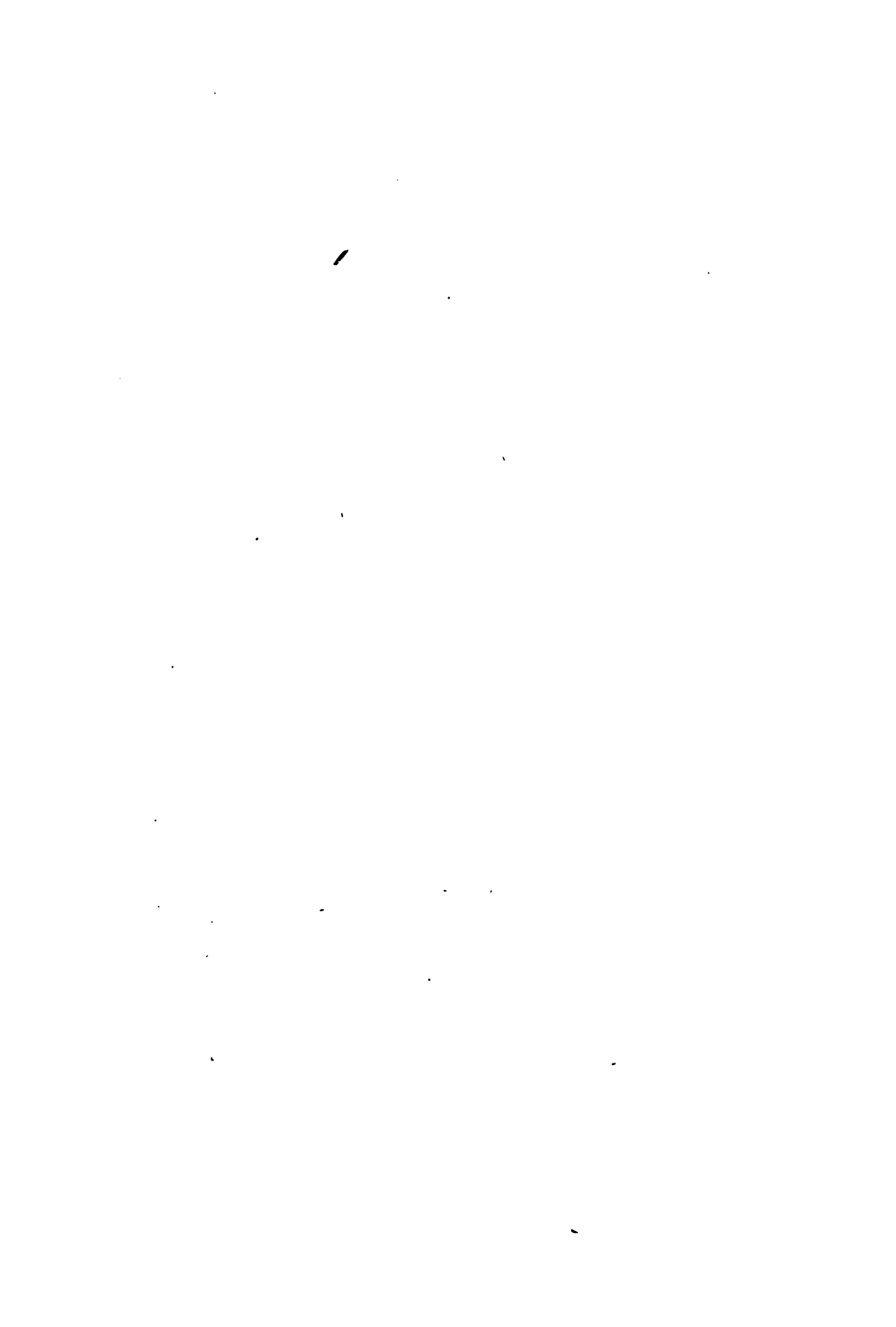
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S.H. 1027

J.H. 1027

THE
EXPECTATIONS

FORMED BY THE

ASSYRIANS.

THAT A

G R E A T D E L I V E R E R

WOULD APPEAR,

ABOUT THE TIME OF OUR LORD'S ADVENT,

DEMONSTRATED.

—o—

Φησὶ ὁ Ἰακώβ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔτισθαι, τῶν ἰδιῶν προσδοκίαν· ποίαν ταύτης
προσδοκίαν, ἢ τὴν παλαιὰν τῆς Ἀβραάμ, ἐν τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν προφῆταις
πνευματικῶν. Euseb. Demonst. Évangél. VIII. i.



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TO THE MOST REVEREND

C H A R L E S ,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN,

&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED :

UNDER A GRATEFUL SENSE

OF THE ASSISTANCE AND COUNTENANCE

WITH WHICH

HE HAS GRACIOUSLY ENCOURAGED

THE RESEARCHES

OF HIS GRACE'S

MOST OBLIGED,

OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

—o—

Though the volume, which is now submitted to the public contains a subject, independent and perfect in itself; the ultimate object of the author requires it to be stated, that in it the foundation is laid of a work, of considerable extent. Should the final purpose be accomplished, which the present volume contributes but partially to establish, and the plan of the author receive a perfect development; he is sanguine enough to hope, that his work will not be found undeserving of the title under which he purposes the detached parts of it should be combined:—“*THE DIVINE VOCATION OF ABRAHAM demonstrated, from the Expectation formed by all nations, that a GREAT DELIVERER would appear about the time of OUR LORD’S advent.*”

As an explanation of the views and objects of the author, the sources of his information, and the modes of his investigation, cannot be effected without entering fully into details; he is obliged to defer the undertaking to the appearance of a Preliminary Dissertation, by which he purposes his work shall be preceded. Of the feasibility of his plan a perfect estimate may be formed, from the experiment which is made in the volume, now submitted to the public; the remote antiquity of the period to which his researches were confined, and the paucity of the materials, which are supplied by history or tradition, having thrown obstacles in the way of inquiry, which must proportionably disappear,

as the subject is deduced from times, more recent and more perfectly known.

It is necessary to add, that the subject of **THE DIVINE VOCATION OF ABRAHAM**, has been treated in a general and succinct form, in a **Course of LECTURES**, delivered by the author on the foundation of the **Honble. Rob. Boyle**. In one of those discourses, the argument, deduced from prophecy, in the volume now submitted to the public, was originally produced. Since that time, the author having noted down, in the course of his reading, which has been various and extensive, whatever appeared to bear upon his subject; the leisure and retirement which he has long enjoyed, have enabled him to work it up in its present form, in which the formality of the discourse is abandoned for a more free mode of discussion.

PRITTLEWELL,
March 20th. 1826.

FRED. NOLAN.

THE
ASSYRIAN EXPECTATIONS
OF A
GREAT DELIVERER.



THE
EXPECTATIONS
OF A
GREAT DELIVERER,
FORMED BY THE
ASSYRIANS.

In so imperfect a state have the records of the four Great Empires, which successively attained the dominion of the civilized world, descended to our times; that it can be no matter of surprise, the history of the Assyrians should be irrecoverably involved in such obscurity, as to render it difficult to ascertain even the extent of their empire. If indeed the magnitude of their dominions may be estimated, by the wide diffusion of their name; their territory must have been nearly commensurate with the whole of civilized Asia. The inhabitants of that vast tract of country, which extends from the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean sea to the remotest boundaries of Persia, were known, atleast to the Europeans, under the name of Assyrians.¹ Nor does it consist with reason or inquiry, however supported by great authority,² to suppose, that the name taken in the utmost latitude

¹ The learned Selden admits, that "whatever of the Asiatic regions exists, from the Sidonian sea to the seat of empire, was called, by the Europeans, ASSYRIA, and the inhabitants, ASSYRIANS." *De Dis Syr. Prolegom. cap. i. p. 4.*

² Seld. *ibid.* p. 4.

of its application, was vaguely and indefinitely applied; in that ignorance of the eastern regions and their inhabitants, which is generally imputed to the western nations. However it may be doubted, that the proper Assyrians had spread themselves through a tract so extended and populous; authority, which is second only to direct historical testimony, as founded on records once open to research, may be cited to prove, that the Assyrian Empire ought not to be contracted within much narrower limits.³ The extent of the dominions of this antient monarchy being once admitted, every objection to the latitude ascribed to their name directly vanishes. The nations which once submitted to the arms, or acknowledged the authority of the Assyrians, as forming a part of their dominions, were legitimately included, under one common appellation, with the dominant power.

In undertaking to inquire into the opinions of the native Assyrians, on a point of religious belief, I would be understood to take the name in the utmost latitude of its meaning. It is not requisite to the purposes of this inquiry, to prove this people derived from a common original. Though no reasonable doubt can be entertained of their

³ In the wreck of Asiatic and Assyrian history, compiled by the Greeks, from the indifferent materials with which they were supplied by the Orientalists, it is not easy to furnish positive testimony, as to the extent of the Assyrian Empire. A writer, who had access to sources which can be no longer explored, while he expressly refers to the Barbarian histories, ascribes their dominion an extent, reaching eastward, from the Ionian and Ægean seas, and southward, from the Propontis and Caspian seas, to the Indian Ocean; assigning them an empire which reached from Tyre to the Tigris; from the mountains of Judea, to those of Media and Persia. S. Hieron, in *Abd. cap. i. et in Mich. cap. vii. Tom. V. p. 130. d. 168. b.*

descent from the same progenitor;⁴ it is only necessary to my purpose to shew, that they possessed a common language and religion : and as far as the establishment of this point involves a proof of their lineage, it very fully attests their descent from the same ancestors. The dialects which are still partially spoken through the vast tract of country that constituted the Assyrian empire, and of the antiquity of which monuments still exist in works of unimpeachable authenticity, differ from each other but in those accidental peculiarities which distinguish the derivatives of every parent language. The uniformity which is acknowledged to have existed in their language,⁵ is admitted to have pre-

⁴ By the learned writer, quoted in the last note, who was equally versed in European and Asiatic, in sacred and profane literature, the descent of those nations who inhabited the tract between the Mediterranean Sea, and the remote borders of Persia, is traced from the patriarch Shem: Vid. infr. p. 9. n. 17. On this subject, may be consulted, after Josephus and Epiphanius, who were not unskilled in the language and learning of both continents, the learned Bochart, in his "Geographia Sacra." Even from those writers who profess to draw their inferences, not from historical records, but from physical and philological principles, the deductions derived from the sacred annals receive the fullest confirmation. The reader will see their arguments succinctly stated by Fessler, Introd. in Ling. Orient. Sect. viii.

⁵ Selden admits, that "the inhabitants of the entire tract, to which the name of Assyria, or Syria, in its greatest latitude, was applied, namely, the *Babylonians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Arameans*, or those who had settlements in *Mesopotamia*, as well as the *Phœnicians, Palestinians, Canaanites*, and even, in the conterminous countries, the *Arabians and Persians*, spoke one language," which he rather gratuitously asserts to have been the Hebrew: De Dis Syr. ibid. cap. ii. p. 10. The genealogy of the different dialects spoken in those countries is accurately given in Fessler, ubi supr. p. 16. and deduced from the *Assyrian*. With respect to the Persian, it must be observed, that the preceding observations are properly applicable to the Pehlvi, or Pahlavi, which bears the most striking affinity to the

vailed in their religion.⁶ After the Assyrian dominions had attained their fullest extent, and the monarchy had arrived at maturity, the natives acknowledged one object of religious worship, whom they termed Bel or Baal:⁷ under which title it is not to be supposed, they meant the Supreme Being,⁸ but one of their deified ancestors.⁹

As a subject intimately connected with the object of our inquiry, and which conveys some proof of the fidelity with which this people retained their paternal traditions, the accounts which they have transmitted of the Deluge particularly commend themselves to our notice. In the few fragments of the history of the nations bearing the Assyrian name, which have descended to our times,¹⁰ none

Chaldee, and other dialects of the Semitic; as the reader may be convinced, who inspects the vocabulary published by M. Anquetil du Perron, in his translation of the Zendavesta Tom. II.

⁶ Stanley, noticing the vicinity and direct communication between the nations bordering on Arabia, observes that "this vicinity created so close an intercourse between the neighbouring nations, that the Chaldee discipline, thus propagated *through Mesopotamia, Assyria and Syria*, thence passed to the *Persians*, and so reached the *Arabians*." Hist. Philos. Orient. Lib. III. Procem. p. 301. ed. Cleric. He remarks, in continuation, that the vicinity not merely of situation, but *affinity in religion and opinions* was so close, that it imposed upon Pliny, who confounds those different nations with one another.

⁷ Vid. Seld. ubi supr. Syntag. II. cap. i. Voss. de Idolatr. Lib. I. cap. xxiv.

⁸ Seld. ubi supr. p. 229.

⁹ Voss. ubi supr. p. 93.

¹⁰ Abydenus, Berosus, Nicholas Damascenus, Hieronymus Ægyptius, Alexander Polyhistor, &c. have given particular accounts of the deluge, which have been preserved by Josephus, Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, and may be seen collected in Bochart, Geogr. Sacr. Lib. I. cap. iii. The testimony of these writers is rendered additionally important, from the consideration of their having been born or naturalized in the countries of which they compiled particular histories. The history of As-

equal, in importance and interest, the accounts which have been transmitted of that great convulsion of nature, the survivors of which settled on the borders of the country, which became the seat of the Assyrian dominion. The records of the Hebrews, who, as Chaldees by descent, were a branch of the Assyrian stock, contain the most consistent and circumstantial description of that great catastrophe. Differences are indeed observed to exist between their accounts and the details of the native Assyrians;¹¹ but as they are of a trivial nature, they detract nothing from the weight of their conspiring testimony, while they tend to prove, that it has not been copied from a common original. Thus, while the Assyrians differ from the Hebrews, in the name of the personage who escaped the fury of the element in which the world perished; they perfectly coincide with them, in detailing the mode and circumstances of his preservation. They mutually represent him as having been enclosed in an Ark, which settled on a mountain near the confines of the Assyrian Empire. The coincidence in

syria was written by Abydenus, whose country is not known; that of *Chaldea* by Berosus, a Babylonian, and priest of Bel or Baal. Nicholas Damascenus treated of the affairs of *Syria*, and was a native of its capital, Damascus; and Hieronymus *Ægyptius* compiled the history of *Phanicia*, of which province and *Syria* he was governor, under Antiochus Soter. Besides the accounts of the deluge preserved by these historians, by Mnaseas and Alexander Polyhistor, who in his general history treated particularly of *Syria*; Lucian of Samosata has given a circumstantial account of that great catastrophe, in his tract "on the Syrian Goddess," at the commencement of which he styles himself *an Assyrian*. In a word, Josephus has summarily observed, that "of the deluge and ark, *all who have written Barbaric histories* have made mention;" Antiq. Jud. Lib. I. cap. iv.

¹¹ Vid. Joseph. ubi supr. et Beros et Abyden. fragment. apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. Lib. IX. cap. xi, xii.

their respective narratives extends even to minute circumstances; as they respectively relate, that birds were liberated from the drifted vessel, for the purpose of ascertaining how far the flood had abated.

In one respect the ethnic accounts are possessed of an interest, of which the sacred narrative is destitute. They enable us to ascertain the place where the Ark rested, when the deluge had decreased; and assure us, that some remains of it were preserved, to a late period, on one of the mountains of Armenia, where, they agree in stating, it finally settled. The Chaldee historian, Berossus, to whose authority implicit credit seems due, on a subject relating to Chaldee traditions, specifies the Cordyæan mountains; which range to the north east of Mesopotamia, and consequently agree in situation with the Ararat of Scripture, which is placed to the east of Shinar. And in this statement he is fully borne out by the Chaldee paraphrast of the Hebrew accounts, who renders Ararat by the term Cardu, which approaches as nearly as the idiom of the Chaldee will admit to the term used in the Greek text, by Berossus. As, in his account, the historian descends to particulars which prove, that in his times all curiosity, respecting the place where the remains of the Ark existed, was not wholly extinct: when we consider the opportunities which he possessed, of obtaining the best information on the subject, it seems to render his testimony definitive, in deciding the question. He mentions it, as the current belief, that¹² "a part of the Ark still remained on the Cordyæan mountains, from which the bitumen was brought away, and worn as an amulet."

¹² Beros. apud Joseph. et Euseb. ubi supr. n. 11 Λίγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ πλοῖον, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ πρὸς τῷ ἄρει τῶν Κορδυαίων ἔτι μέρος τι εἴται, καὶ κομίζουσι τινὰς τῆς ἀσφάλου ἀφαιρῶντας καὶ.

When the source from which this testimony is derived is duly estimated, little attention will be due to the conjectures of some modern inquirers into the subject, who, misled by vague etymological similarities, follow a comparatively late writer,¹³

¹³ This opinion, which was first advanced by St. Jerome, seems to have obtained credit from the equivocal meaning of the term Armenia; where it is universally agreed the ark rested after the deluge. It is conceived likewise to derive support from a silly etymological affinity between the term Armenia and *Har Minni* which we are told means *mount Minni*, an opinion which is grafted on the account of Nicholas Damascenus, ap. Joseph. et Euseb. ubi supr. Ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μινιάδα, μέγα ἄρος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν, Βάρις λεγόμενον, εἰς ᾧ πολλὰς συμφυγίας ἐπὶ τῷ κατακλυσμῷ, λόγος ἔχει περὶ Ὠθῆνας. In these words, some learned inquirers have discovered "the *high mountain Baris*, in the province of Minyas, in Armenia." See Ant. Univ. History. B. I. ch. i. Vol. I. p. 322. But as the word Βάρις is interpreted by the ancients—an ark, and as, according to the representation of the Syriac historian, "accounts have represented some as having been saved in the deluge, by entering into it," and not by flying to a mountain; it seems to have been the author's intention to express a very different meaning from that ascribed to him, in this passage; which was extracted by persons, who were most probably unacquainted with the meaning of the oriental term, and accordingly mistook it for the name of a mountain. In a sentence which is proved, by its false or imperfect sense, to be garbled and disjointed, I am inclined to believe, that κλιῶν, which Berosus applies to the ark, has slipped out of the text, or that it has been supplanted by κλλῆς, which manifestly introduces a wrong sense into the passage. It is at least obvious, that, in the preceding attempt to supersede the Chaldee traditions, by etymology and conjecture, the term Armenia is taken in a merely modern sense; that it was to *Syria and Mesopotamia*, which is overlooked by the Gordyæan mountains, the Orientalists gave the name of *Aram*; and that the Greeks, through whose corrupted orthography we receive the term *Armenia*, have acknowledged the word to be synonymous with *Syria*. Vid. Seld. ubi supr. Prolegom. p. 2. In support of the latter assertion, we may quote the authority of Strabo, who observes in his first book, τὰς γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν Σύρας καλεμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Σύρων Ἀρμενίους καὶ Ἀραμαίους καλεῖσθαι. When the word is taken in this sense, it at once identifies the

in identifying the Ararat of Scripture with a mountain of modern Armenia, nearly three hundred miles to the north of the site ascribed to it in the Chaldee traditions. As a counterpoise to the authority of this writer, I shall set off the testimony of one of his contemporaries, whose means of information were perhaps equal, if not superior, as he was born of Jewish parents, and possessed some knowledge of at least one of the oriental dialects, and as he visited the East, through motives of pious curiosity. "After the deluge," he declares, "Noah's Ark, having settled in the mountains of Ararat, between the Armenians and Cordyæans, rested on a mountain called Lubar."¹⁴ . . . "Even to our own times," he elsewhere observes, "the remains of the Ark are shown, in the country of the Cordyæans"¹⁵

In these mountains, which were generally known to the Greeks under the name of the Gordyæans, and which range through Curdistan, on the north-eastern side of the Tigris, the nursery must be sought of that race, from which the Asiatic continent received its population. The elevated site of this region, which appears from the course of the great rivers that flow from it, must have facilitated the recovery of the soil from the effects of the Deluge; the waters of which freely discharged themselves through the channels of those great rivers, leaving the adjacent plains of Mesopotamia in a fitter state to receive the new settlers. One branch of this race, inheriting the name of Assyrians, from their progenitor Assur, passed from those plains,

Armenia of Nicholas Damascenus and the Oriental historians, who have mentioned the deluge; and proves it to have lain nearer to *Mesopotamia*, than the modern province termed Armenia.

¹⁴ Epiphan. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. i. p. 5.

¹⁵ Id. *ibid.* Hær. xviii. p. 39. c.

to the banks of the Tigris, within a short period after the deluge:¹⁶ and, as appears, from the joint testimony of Jewish and Ethnic historians, there laid the foundation of Ninus or Nineveh, which became the metropolis of an empire,¹⁷ that ultimately extended itself from the mountains of Kurdistan, to the shores of the Mediterranean.

¹⁶ The accounts of Justin, following Trogus Pompeius, of Diodorus Siculus, following Ctesias, of Callisthenes, professedly copying the Babylonian archives, of Velleius Paterculus &c. when comparatively viewed, ascribe the Assyrian Empire a *foundation*, about sixty years subsequent to the deluge. Vid. Helvic. Theat. Hist. et Chron. p. 5. This statement, as its author observes, *ibid.* "perfectly agrees with Scripture, and the Babylonian era:" for, as appears from a computation founded on the age of the Patriarchs, "at the same time happened the birth of Peleg, the dispersion of mankind, the confusion of tongues, and the building of the tower of Babel." Nor is this statement at all at variance with the testimony of Herodotus, (Lib. I. cap. xcv. xcvi.) by which Abp. Usher and his followers seem to have been misled, (Annal. p. 43.) in placing the beginning of the Assyrian Empire, nearly one thousand years later. If we distinguish between the foundation of this empire, and the establishment of its rulers in the government of Upper Asia, of which alone the Greek historian speaks, in ascribing 520 years to their dominion, the apparent contradiction, by which the chronologists have been misled, directly vanishes.

¹⁷ The substance of the Hebrew accounts of the foundation of the Assyrian empire, and of the first inhabitants of the countries which constituted the Assyrian dominions, is given by St. Jerome: Quæst. in Gen. Tom. III. p. 455. b. "From this land," he declares, speaking of Shinar, "commenced the empire of the Assyrians, who after the name of Ninus, the son of Belus, founded the great city of Ninus, which the Hebrews call Nineveh. . . . The sons of Shem were Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud and Aram. These occupy that part of Asia, which extends from the river Euphrates to the Indian Ocean. From Elam descended the Elamites, the first inhabitants of Persia. Of Asshur it has been already said, that he founded the city of Ninus. From Arphaxad descended the Chaldeans; from Lud the Lydians, and from Aram the Syrians, whose capital was Damascus."

To the inhabitants of this tract the tradition of the deluge was a subject not merely interesting on account of its nature and magnitude, or the many local associations with which it was connected. It was regarded by them not merely as a consummation from which their ancestors had been preserved, but as the earnest of a judgment which was reserved for their posterity. A tradition was preserved among them, which prevailed universally through the East, and was thence as widely disseminated in the West, that the earth, which had been given up to the violence of one element, would be resigned to the fury of another; and as it had been overwhelmed by a Deluge, it would be wasted by a Conflagration.¹⁸ It was, however, believed, that the force of neither element would effect the total destruction of the universe, but would operate, as a purification, upon the race of men, and the frame of nature.¹⁹ On this tradi-

¹⁸ The learned author of "the Sacred Theory of the Earth," Book III. ch. ii. having shown, that the belief of a general Deluge and Conflagration prevailed among the Greeks, Egyptians, Persians, Phœnicians, Arabians and Indians, observes in continuation: "And not only *the Eastern Barbarians, but the Northern and Western* also had the doctrine of a Conflagration amongst them. *The Scythians*, in their dispute with the *Egyptians* about antiquity, argue upon both suppositions of *fire and water destroying the last world and beginning this*. And in the West, *the Celts, the most antient people there*, had the same tradition; for the *Druids*, who were their priests and philosophers, derived it not from the Greeks, but of the old race of wise men, that had their learning *traditionally*, and as it were, *hereditary from the first ages*. These, as Strabo tells us, gave the world a kind of immortality by repeated renovations; and the principle that destroyed it was always *fire and water*."

¹⁹ Id. *ibid.* ch. iii. p. 19. "The philosophers have always spoken of fire and water, those two unruly elements as the only causes that can destroy the world, and work our ruin. . . . But as they make those two the destroying elements, so *they also make them the purifying elements*. And accordingly in their

tionary belief, the universal prevalence of which, among the most ancient nations, has been conceived to prove it coëval with the Deluge,²⁰ was founded the expectation of a Great Deliverer, at whose appearance the earth would be restored to that paradisaical beauty and happiness, in which it had first proceeded from the hand of its Creator.

How this belief has originated, of which it has been observed, as far as it involves the tenet of a Deluge and Conflagration,²¹ "that having run through all ages and nations, it is by the joint consent of the prophets and apostles adopted into the Christian faith," will be matter of separate consideration. Our present concern is with the traditions of the expected Deliverer, which, as impressed by no such powerful associations as attended the remembrance of the Deluge, were more liable to be weakened by time, or superseded by fiction. In order to separate this tenet, from amid the mass of error with which it is blended, it will be expedient to prosecute our views, a little further, into the Oriental superstitions; directing our attention, in the first place, to that part of the Assyrian realms, which was the nursery of the Assyrian nation.

In those mountains, which have been mentioned as offering the first landing-place to the small remnant of mankind, which escaped from the deluge,

illustrations, or their rites and ceremonies for purging sin, fire and water were chiefly made use of both amongst the Romans, Greeks, and Barbarians. And when these elements over-run the world, it is not, they say, for a final destruction of it, but to *purge mankind and nature from their impurities.*"

²⁰ Burnet, loc. cit. p. 29. "We have pursued the doctrine high enough, without the help of antediluvain antiquities, namely to the earliest people, and the first appearances of wisdom after the flood. So that I think we may justly look upon it as *the doctrine of Noah, and of his immediate posterity.*"

²¹ Id. *ibid.* p. 35.

a sect has existed to a very late period, generally known under the name of Sabaists, to the orientalis-
 tists,²² who account their religion the most ancient
 in the world.²³ Of this sect, the writer who has
 investigated their history with most care observes,
²⁴“that most Sabaists trace their religion to the
 antediluvian patriarch Seth, whom they call Sheit
 magnifying ‘the book of Seth’ the prophet of God.”
²⁵“These” he elsewhere remarks, “are some of the
 inhabitants of Mount Libanus and Curdistan, which
 seek a high original for their vile religion; some
 tracing it to Noah, some to Enoch, and some to the
 patriarch Seth. This wretched religion,” he pro-
 ceeds “which, as contained in ‘the Book of Seth,’
 we therefore call the Sethite, is cultivated at the
 present day in Libanus and Curdistan, by various
 tribes of Curds, as the Druses, the Assassins, the
 Kalbians, or Canicularians, (for a dog is called

²² The Sabaists are described, after Maimonides Mor. Ne-
 voch. P. III. cap. xxix. xxx. by Hyde, Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.
 cap. iii. et Append. p. 491. al. 515. Spenc. de Leg. Hebræ. Lib.
 II. cap i. seq. Stanl. Philosoph. Orien. Lib. III. Pocock, not.
 in Spec. Hist. Arab. Hotting. Hist. Orient. Lib. I. cap. viii.

²³ Ibn Hazm, apud Hyde, Hist. p. 128.

²⁴ Hyd. Hist. loc cit. p. 127. “Plurimi antem Sabaitæ
 Religionem suam aliquanto altius petunt a Patriarcha antedilu-
 viano Seth, quem vocant شَيْت Sheit, magnificentes رَبُّ
 اللَّهِ صُفْ شَيْت نَبِي اللَّهِ *Sohuph Sheit Nebiúllah*, (sic enim
 sonant) ‘Librum Sheit Prophetæ Dei.’”

²⁵ Id. Append. loc. cit. “Isti sunt ex hodiernis Montis Libani
 et Curdistanæ incolis, qui pessimæ suæ religionis originem,
 alte petunt; aliqui a Noach, alii ab antediluviano Patriarcha
 Enoch, et quoque a Seth. Miseram istam religionem contentam
 in libro dicto صُفْ شَيْت *Sohuph Sheit* (quam ergo Se-
 thicam vocamus) hodie colunt in Libano et Curdistan variæ
 Curdorum Gentes, uti dicti Dürzii, et حَمِيدِي Homicidii, et
 كَلْبِي Kalbii seu Calbii, i. e. Canicularii (nam Kalb seu Calb
 est Canis) ab aliis sic dicti, quia Nigrum Canem colunt quod
 idem in Curdistan seu Gordyæ Montibus faciunt illi Curdi
 qui vocantur يَزِيدِي Yezidi seu Yezidæi.”

Kalb or Calb): so named by others, because they worship the Black Dog: as those Curds do, in Curdistan or the Gordyæan Mountains, who are termed Yezids, or Yezideans."

Of these names, which have been chiefly applied, in derision, by the Mohammedans, it is of little importance to ascertain the original.²⁶ To the name of Sheit, or Sethite, they seem to be exclusively attached; as derived from the prophet whom they hold to be the founder of their religion. But they do not wholly reject the title of Yezid; under which name, they acknowledge the divine author of Christianity,²⁷ for whom they retain a veneration, since the efforts of the Capuchins to convert them.²⁸ The name of Sabian they profess to derive from Sabi the son of Idris;²⁹ the latter being the name under which Enoch is known in the East; a person whom the Sabians are ambitious of including among the

²⁶ On this subject, it may be however observed, that the name Druses, the use of which seems confined to the Europeans, is applied to certain tribes of this sect settled in Mount Libanus. Dr. Hyde observes of them, "these Durûses were formerly in Mount Libanus, before the times of Herodotus, by whom they are called *Δρυσαῖοι*, and were enrolled by the antient Persian Kings in their armies." After bearing testimony to their bravery, he declares that they are still prized as soldiers, and preferred by the Turks to be Janisaries. It appears from what he subsequently states, that the Franks under Godfrey of Bouillon maintained a friendly intercourse with them, and employed their services against the Saracens. And from thence originated an opinion that they were originally Christians, who came to Palestine under a leader named De Dreux, from whom they acquired the name of Druses. The name Kalbii, I am inclined to believe, for reasons which will appear in the sequel, has originated from the veneration paid by them to the star Sirius, which was called by the Egyptians Seth, or Sothis, but is termed by the Arabs *كلب اكبر* *Kalb acber*: Canis Major, the Great Dog. vid. Hyd. Comment. in Ulug Beigh. p. 50.

²⁷ Hyd. loc. cit. p. 520.

²⁸ Id. ibid. p. 522.

²⁹ Ibn Shahna ap. Hyde Hist. p. 128.

early professors, or original founders, of their religion.

In the peculiar creed of this extraordinary sect, one tenet is remarkable, as exacting a veneration for their founder, whom they do not merely regard with the reverence due to a prophet.³⁰ The volume which they religiously follow as their sacred code, they not only ascribe to him, as its author,³¹ but, in some inner recess of their houses, they retain his image, for the purposes of religious worship; which none of their domestics can reveal to a stranger, without endangering his life, as the betrayer of a mystery not to be divulged.³² This dread of a disclosure may be partly resolved into an apprehension of Mohammedan persecution; the professors of Islamism being bound by their faith to extirpate idolatry: but as it is equally expressed towards strangers, from whose intolerance nothing is to be feared, it rather resolves itself into a superstitious dread of profaning a mystery, by making it public. Another tenet of this sect, which is equally remarkable, respects the light in which they view the Supreme Being, who is not regarded in their religion as an object of adoration: they indeed

³⁰ Hyde, *ibid.* p. 127. "Et quidam Sabaitæ, seu Sabii, in Monte Libano et alibi, dictum *Prophetam suum ita venerantur*, etiam hodie, ut *per eum* jurare plus sit quam *per Deum* jurasse: nam (quod ab incolis didici,) si aliquis ex istis juraverit tibi *Walláh*, per Deum, vix potes ei credere, at si *Washeit*, per Seth, tum tuto potes ei credere." Vide *infra*, n. ³².

³¹ Vide *supra* p. 12. n. ²⁴

³² Hyde, *Append.* uti *supra*. "Isti populi in intimo domus, sive penu, tanquam in Larario, *habent quisque suum Penatem, Laremve*, (*quem colunt*,) qui videtur *Patriarchæ Seth* imago seu *statua*; quia is fuit primus eorum in religione antistes, cujus nomine possident *supra* memoratum librum: quem una cum Lare adeo clam habent inter solos suos, ut quicumque eorum peregrino monstravit mox a suis trucidetur," &c.

recognize him as the Most High, but acknowledge his supremacy by no act of religious worship.³³ But of the tenets of this extraordinary sect, perhaps the most remarkable are those which regulate their belief towards the Author of evil; and which have obtained them the appellation of Satanites, both among Mohammedans and Christians. They term him master and teacher, and regard him with more than superstitious dread; with a religious awe, approaching to veneration.³⁴ They feel a repugnance at pronouncing his name; and by no threat or violence can they be prevailed upon, to utter a curse against him. The practise of venting imprecations against any of the creatures of God is indeed regarded by them with peculiar abhorrence.³⁵ As another peculiarity of their creed it may be observed, that they do not reject the doctrine of transmigration; as a necessary consequence of which, they disbelieve in a resurrection;³⁶ the soul which has deserted one body being conceived by

³³ Id. *ibid.* "Putant Deum esse *Je*, non quidem *Ali*, sed *Ali*, seu *Excelsum*, cujus existentiam agnoscunt, sed eum non adorant" &c.

³⁴ Id. *ibid.* "Quidvis nigrum multum æstimantur, propter colorem (ut creditur) *Diaboli*, quem venerantur, et qui ab istis vocatur *استاد Ustâd*, i. e. *Magister*.... At omnes hujus gentis homines a Mohamedanis et Christianis vocantur *شیطانی Sheitani* i. e. *Satanici*, *Diabolici*, quia profitentur *Satânam esse suum* *پیر Pyr*, seu *شیخ Sheich*, i. e. *Doctorem suum*" &c.

³⁵ Id. *ibid.* Nolunt quidem libenter nominare *Diabolum*; qui ergo potius per periphrasin vocatur 'Pavo Angelus': vel 'Is quem nôstis'; vel, 'Nôstis quis sit;'; vel, 'Ille cui stulti et ignorantés maledicant.'" Id. *ibid.* "Nulla vi adacti maledicant *Diabolo*: adeo ut aliqui ex iis excoriationem passi sunt potius quam tale quid facerent. Nam (inquiunt) non possumus, salvâ conscientiâ, maledicere alicui creaturæ, quæ est Dei Creatoris" &c.

³⁶ Vid. eund. *ibid.* p. 521. *Ibid.* p. 511. Hi negant resurrectionem &c.

them to seek a habitation in another, and not to await the resuscitation of that which it has deserted. To these tenets they add some nocturnal mysteries, which are celebrated at the opening of the new year. But these orgies are of a nature so shamelessly abandoned, that I shall be excused, for abstaining from drawing aside the veil by which they are concealed, from one part of my readers; while they remain committed to a language, which it less revolts against feeling, to transcribe than to interpret.³⁷

In every lineament of this description we at once recognise the features of a sect, which is known throughout the East, under the title of Sabians, and is minutely described by the Persian and Arabic writers, who antedate its antiquity to the times of Abraham.³⁸ Equally distinguished by their veneration of the patriarch Seth, they profess to take a book, which they assert to be his composition, as

³⁷ Id. *ibid.* p. 517. "Istæ omnes Libani et *Gordycæ Gentes* habent annuatim Bacchanalium suorum festum nocturnum in Calendis Januarii, de quo ritu me certiore fecit amicus noster, cui nomen Andréas Pharah, natione Syrus Ladikiensis, cujus socius aliquis ei narravit, se aliquando dictis Bacchanalibus clam interfuisse, (quod lepidum) quando post vespertinam commessionem et comotationem virorum et feminarum, luminibus omnibus extinctis, in illicitam venerem promiscue ruebant omnes. Dicitus socius antea conspecta virgine, quæ juxta vetulam considebat, animum ei intendebat. Quando itaque extinguerentur lucernæ, ille in tenebris nescius in utram harum inciderat, palpitando, malo fato, incidit in vetulam: et ut certior fieret, digito explorabat illius os, an esset edentula. Quo facto, vetula illa statim exclamabat, *Garib, Garib*, i. e. Peregrinus, Peregrinus, Peregrinus! Ille autem mox evasis pro vita sua. Hæc itaque illorum solemnia sacra sunt prophana tenebrarum opera."

³⁸ See the testimony of those writers, collected in the valuable work of Dr. Hyde, cap. v. particularly the extracts from the "*Pharāngh Gihanghīri*," *ib.* p. 124. and Ibn Shahna, *ib.* p. 128. compare also Abulfeda, cited by Pococke, *loc. cit.* p. 145.

the sacred code of their religion. In one respect only do the ancient Sabaists appear to have been distinguished from the modern Sheits; they possessed a knowledge of astrology, professedly adopted from the Chaldeans,³⁹ though derived by some of them from their prophet; which the ignorance attendant on extreme poverty has wholly extinguished in the mountains of Curdistan, if it ever found its way among the wretched inhabitants. The strong cast which the ancient Sabaism took from astrology constituted its most prominent character. From hence it derived most of its rites and festivals, and many magical practices, which have become wholly extinct; if they ever reached the modern Sethites. It was obviously from hence also, that they assigned the stars that influence over sublunary affairs, which first superseded the providence of the Deity, and was then believed inconsistent with his nature, as too exalted to descend to the concerns of this lower world. And a direct consequence of this tenet was, that they ceased to offer him religious worship; transferring their adoration to those luminous bodies, by which they believed the course of earthly affairs to be governed, and whom they constituted mediators between themselves and the Creator.⁴⁰

These accounts, by native Persian and Arabian writers, are not the only sources from whence information may be obtained, respecting this ancient superstition. In carrying up our researches higher, it appears, that they were not unknown to the primitive ages of Christianity. The learned writer who has been quoted, as fixing the resting place of

³⁹ Pharangh Gihan. *ibid.* Abul-Pharaj. *Hist. Dynast. D.* ix. p. 281.

⁴⁰ Pharangh Gihan. *ibid.* Sharastani ap. Pococke, *loc. cit.* p. 144.

the Ark, in the mountains of Curdistan, in his elaborate work on the ancient heresies, includes under that title, not merely the apostates from revelation, but the votarists of superstition. In his account of some sects, that were not wholly extinct in his own age, he describes three in connexion,⁴¹ who differed from the Sheits or Sabaists, in little more than that they incorporated in their hereditary superstitions some of the peculiar tenets of the Christians. To one of these sects he gives the title of Sethians,⁴² by which name, it has been already observed, the ancient Sabaists were ambitious of being distinguished. With them he couples a sect, which assumed to themselves the name of Cainites;⁴³ by which title it will be soon rendered apparent, every branch of these superstitions, which proceeded from the same root, was properly designated. To the account of both sects, he prefixes a description of a third, termed Ophites,⁴⁴ or Serpentarians, from the veneration in which they held the serpent; in whose form, the tempter had seduced the first pair, under a promise that they should become enlightened and immortal.

Though the accounts transmitted to us, by the writer who has described these sects, are succinct and cursory, and have been drawn up with no view to the similarity subsisting between them and the Sabaists; they exhibit a coincidence between the ancient and modern sects, not merely in accidental points, but in fundamental principles, which evinces some relationship, or descent from a common original. In the color of their opinions about Satan and Seth, (not to speak of the Supreme God, on this occasion,) scarcely a shade of difference is

⁴¹ Epiphan. ubi supr. Tom. I. p. 267. d. seq.

⁴² Id. *ibid.* Hær. xxxix. p. 284.

⁴³ Id. *ibid.* xxxviii. p. 276. ⁴⁴ Id. *ibid.* xxxvii. p. 267.

discernible between them. And unless it be granted that the ancient Sethites were more solicitous about appearances, than their companions in error,⁴⁵ there is but too much cause to impute to them, in common with the Sheits, an indulgence in those abominable mysteries,⁴⁶ which have fixed on this sect the brand of infamy.

The accounts of those ancient sects, however curious in themselves, are principally valuable, for the light which they reflect on the opinions and practices of the modern heretics. By what gradations of error the Supreme Being came to be superseded, in the religious system of these apostates from his worship, even by the most degraded and depraved of his creatures, has been already stated; and is indeed sufficiently obvious, in every shape in which they braved appearance, or eluded detection. But of the paradox, how Seth and Satan became elevated to the rank, which they acquired in their theology, we might have in vain sought the solution, had it not presented itself, in the disclosure of their private opinions. In the delusive hopes, under which the original pair had been seduced, a promise had been conveyed, that "they should be as Gods, knowing good and evil." This promise these heretics appear to have regarded, as in some measure fulfilled in their descendants.⁴⁷ The Sethites, still paying an outward homage to righteousness, imputed every virtue in its plenitude to Seth,⁴⁸ whom they chose as their patron. But the Cainites discovering a fuller measure of the virtues of the seducer, in Cain,⁴⁹ deemed him

⁴⁵ Conf. *ibid.* xxxix. p. 284. c. xxxvii. p. 276. b.

⁴⁶ Conf. *ib.* xxxvii. p. 268. a. xxxviii. p. 277. b. xxv. p. 77. c. xxvi. p. 86. a. b.

⁴⁷ *Id.* loc. cit. p. 268. b.

⁴⁸ *Id.* *ibid.* p. 284. b.

⁴⁹ *Id.* *ibid.* p. 276. b.

worthy of greater honor, in proportion to his higher endowments. While the Ophites, carrying these principles to their necessary extent, considered the author of the endowment, as entitled to the largest share of their veneration.⁵⁰ They accordingly revered the tempter, as having imparted knowledge to mankind;⁵¹ and particularly as having revealed to the man and woman, the whole knowledge of the higher Mysteries.⁵²

When the preceding accounts are considered in connexion with the facts recorded in the only early history of mankind which carries with it the air of veracity; the conviction seems irresistible, that the converts of these opinions, having debased religion into practical impurity, sought some palliative or justification, in the example of their first progenitors. Their common parent had yielded to the allurements of the woman, who had fallen by the seduction of the serpent. Inheriting the frailty of their nature, if not influenced by their example, the sons of Seth were captivated by the beauty, and corrupted by the allurements, of the daughters of Cain.⁵³ In claiming an alliance to their ancestors

⁵⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 270. b.

⁵¹ Id. *ibid.* p. 274. d.

⁵² Id. *ibid.* p. 272. a. Ἐπεισε δὲ ὁ ὄφις καὶ γνώσιν ἤνεγκεν, ἐδίδαξε τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῶν ἄνω Μυστηρίων τὸ πᾶν τῆς γνώσεως.

⁵³ The learned and indefatigable Brucker, remarking on the similarity of pursuits, subsisting between the families of Seth and Cain, and their posterity, observes, *Hist. Philos. Lib. I. cap. i. § vii.* that "the history of the world, by the sacred historian, attests that the descendants of Seth, were prone to press in the footsteps of the Cainites, in relaxing the reins to desire, and in abusing their talents to bad arts: but on what account they resigned themselves to the dominion of pleasure and cruelty cannot be easily said." Of this difficulty, it would however appear, that we are furnished with a solution, from the same authority; *Gen. vi. 2. 4.* "The sons of God saw the daughters of men, *that they were fair*, and they took them wives of all which they desired. . . . and the sons of God came in unto

of either sex, the qualities inherited in the maternal line entitled them to the appellation of Cainites, and some of them felt no scruples in avowing such to be their descent, and even gloried in the title. But the virtues possessed in the paternal line conferred a splendor on the name of Sethite, which rendered it the favorite title, and that which was most generally affected, even among those by whose practices it was dishonored. The name of Ophite, or Serpentarian, seems to have possessed so few attractions, as to render it difficult to conceive, how it could have found partizans, even among the depraved votarists of a religion, in which the author of evil was regarded with veneration. But to those who divest themselves of prepossessions, this paradox may find a solution. In the superstitions of the East, the serpent soon attained to divine honors;⁵⁴ having been considered the common benefactor of mankind, as the imparter of knowledge, and the revealer of mysteries.⁵⁵ The orgies in which those superstitions not only indulged their votarists, but which they inculcated as a part of their worship, as they were accommodated to the passions and propensities of mankind, naturally gained among the multitude many pros-

the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown."

⁵⁴ From the fragments of the Phœnician historian, Sanchoniatho, we learn, that the mystagogue "Taut ascribed divinity to the Serpent; in which he was followed by the Phœnicians and Egyptians." . . . and that "by the former, he was termed Agathodaimôn," the Good Demon or Spirit, "and by the latter, Cneph." Vid. Euseb. ubi supr. p. 40. d. 41. c. The Phœnicians it should be remembered were a part of the Asiatic population included under the name of Assyrians; or Syrians.

⁵⁵ The Ophites assigned this reason, for their worship of the serpent; apud Epiphani. *ibid.* p. 271, d. διὰ τὰς δι' αἰτίας φασὶ τὸν ὄφιν δαξάσθαι, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸς τῆς γνώσεως γενέσθαι τῶν πλῆθους.

elytes. In a system, so sadly perverted, that the grossest sensualism had superseded the pure spiritualism of religion, and in which to be depraved was accounted to be religious, the boundaries of virtue and vice were so confounded, that the author of evil easily obtained an ascendancy, and was at length established in a supremacy.

It may be considered an anticipation of the conclusion, which these inquiries tend to establish, if they are here suspended to observe, that even at a period so remote from the source, as that to which they are as yet conducted, time had not wholly obliterated the remembrance of the tradition which it is the object of these researches to recover. As far as the opinions of the Assyrians may be collected from the notions of the Sethites, who claimed an antiquity for their religion, not merely prior to the foundation of the earliest eastern empire, but antecedent to the Deluge; they supply us with evidence, that, even from the first, the expectation of a Great Deliverer had prevailed among this antient people. While the Sethites acknowledged the fulfilment of that expectation, in the coming of our Saviour; they maintained, that his advent was but the reappearance of their prophet Seth, from whom he was descended, not in the course of natural generation, but in a miraculous and celestial manner.⁵⁶ The mysterious obscurity with which they have expressed themselves, on this subject, renders it difficult to ascertain, how they supported this notion of personal identity between our Lord and the patriarch. But as the

⁵⁶ Epiphan. *ibid.* p. 280. a. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆ Σηθ κατὰ σπέρμα, καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν γένους, ὁ Χριστὸς ἦλθεν αὐτός Ἰησοῦς, ἔρχι κατὰ γένει, ἀλλὰ θαυμαστῶς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πεφηνῶς, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτὸς ὁ Σηθ, ὁ τότε καὶ Χριστὸς νῦν ἐπιφοιτήσας τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων. . . . ἤλθεν ἀπεγαλμένος.

doctrine of transmigration was common to the Sethites with other Orientalists, and has been frequently employed in the East, to identify two personages who appeared at different periods ;⁵⁷ it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that they believed that soul had taken up its abode in our Lord, which had once animated the antediluvian patriarch.

These are obscurities, however, which are found to clear up, in proportion as our inquiries are carried back to an earlier period. And in the ages intervening between the times to which this investigation has been hitherto conducted, and that in which the Assyrians existed as a nation, two epochs demand more particular attention ; as constituting the most remarkable eras in the history of revelation. The great antiquity and wide diffusion of the Sabian superstition being admitted, it would create a strong presumption against the mode in which this investigation is prosecuted, and the conclusion which it tends to establish, if, at the remarkable epochs, distinguished by the promulgation of the Christian and Jewish religion, this superstition were left wholly unnoticed by the sacred writers. In the course of inquiry, however, it will appear, that there is no ground for maintaining such an objection. In one of the earliest books of the Old Testament, the practices and opinions of the Sabaists are very plainly described ; and I am wholly deceived, or they are mentioned in it, under the name of Sethites. And two of the inspired authors of the New Testament

⁵⁷ This principle, which has been successfully employed to account for the different Hermes, Zoroasters, &c. who have been supposed to exist at different periods, has been happily illustrated and applied, by M. de Guignes, Acad. des Inscript. Tom. XXVI. p. 779.

have so plainly indentified a heresy, that existed in their own times, with the adherents of that superstition, that they enable us to ascribe it an origin, which is antecedent even to the Deluge.

In the last of the Epistles inserted in the Canonical Scriptures, some facts of patriarchal history are recorded,⁵⁸ which have been conceived, by some of the commentators who have expounded them, to be derived from tradition, but supposed by others to be received by inspiration. The sacred writer, in declaiming against a heresy, which, even at that early period, infected the christian church, obviously resumes the subject of one of his inspired predecessors;⁵⁹ frequently adopting his language,⁶⁰ and in appearance referring to his authority.⁶¹ The heretics, against which both these inspired writers direct the force of their eloquence, an early annalist, who has recounted some incidents of antedeluvian history, principally extracted from apocryphal writings, has identified with the Cainites.⁶² And the notion of their identity is fully borne out, by the object and tenor of the arguments employed by the apostles against them; which acquire greater clearness and strength, when understood in reference to certain opinions⁶³ ascri-

⁵⁸ Jude 9, 14.

⁵⁹ Vid. Clar. et Zeger. ad 2 Pet. ii. 11. The latter of these commentators describes Œcumenius, as having been of the same opinion. See also Syncel. Chronograph. p. 13. d. ed. Goar.

⁶⁰ Vid. Wolf. Cur. Philolog. in Jud. 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 17, &c.

⁶¹ Jude, *ibid.* 17. ⁶² Glycas, Annal. p. 120. ed. Par. 1660.

⁶³ The Cainites boasted their affinity not merely to *Cain*, but to *Core* and the *Sodomites*, and justified their nefarious practices by the example of the fallen *Angels*: vid. Epiphan. *ubi sup.* p. 276. b. 277. a. Such are the identical instances from which the apostles deduce their examples of the divine vengeance, in their declamations against the heretics; see Jude, 6, 7, 11. 2 Pet. ii. 4, 6. As a reference to the opinions of the heretics thus naturally accounts for the very peculiar mode of illustration

bed to this sect as well as practices imputed to them, in which they bore but too faithful a resemblance both to the ancient Gnostics and modern Sheits.⁶⁴ The application of the same principle to some passages in the apostolical epistles, furnishes a satisfactory solution of some difficulties in them,⁶⁵ on account of which they were for a long

adopted by the sacred writers; it enables us to perceive the force of the arguments which they have employed against those offenders. "If God," reasons St. Peter, "spared not the *angels* that sinned, but cast them down to hell" . . . "and turning the cities of *Sodom and Gomorrah* into ashes, condemned them with an overthrow," shall he not "reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished." 2 Pet. ib.

⁶⁴ Comp. Epiphan. *ibid.* p. 277 a. 272. a. 77. c. seq. 2 Pet. *ibid.* 10, 13, 14. Jude, 4, 7, 12, 19. Conf. *supra*, p. 16. n. 37.

⁶⁵ After all the learned pains employed by the commentators upon Jude, 6. 2 Pet. ii. 4. it is impossible to deny, that the most obvious and natural sense is that ascribed to these passages, by Cappel and Jurieu, who interpret them by Gen. vi. 2. understood of the *angels*, instead of the *sons of Seth*: Vid. Wolf. Cur. in loc. If the Apostles are supposed to reason merely on the concessions of the heretics, as deduced from their apocryphal works: their reasoning loses nothing of its force, while the apparent objection to those passages is removed. In favor of this view of their reasoning, it is to be observed, that the *Cainites* held similar notions respecting the angels; whose assistance they invoked, and whose example they pleaded, in justification of those enormities against which the inspired writers inveigh: vid. Epiphan. *loc. cit.* p. 277. a. d. And in those opinions, if not in those practices, they were followed by the *Sethites*: Id. *ibid.* p. 284. c. As these heretics possessed many apocryphal works, relating to this early period of antediluvian history, (vid. Epiphan. *ib.* p. 286. c. 287. b.) a similarity in the phraseology of the sacred writers which may be traced to the apocryphal 'book of Enoch,' justifies a supposition, that those writers have merely quoted this work, in opposing a heresy, by which it was assigned the authority of scripture. St. Peter speaks of the angels, as "delivered into *chains of darkness*, to be reserved *unto judgment*:" Ib. 4. St. Jude of their being "reserved in everlasting *chains* under *darkness* unto the *judgment* of the great day:" *ib.* 6. The book of Enoch, declares, that "the

time numbered among the disputed books of the sacred Canon.

It would be foreign from my purpose to pursue the parallel, minutely or extensively, between the apostates described by the apostles, and the heretics subsequently known, under the title of Cainites and Sethians. The perfect identity between the sectaries existing in the apostolical age, and the first apostates from the true religion, is apparently admitted by St. Jude, in referring to a prophecy which he ascribes to Enoch, whom the Sethites numbered among the founders of their religion. The apostle, having described, with the utmost strength of imagery and vigor of language, those miscreants, whose excesses, even in the age in which he wrote brought obloquy upon the church; and, having previously reproached them, with having "gone in *the way of Cain*," denounces them in a prediction of the patriarch, which he prefaces with the following words; "and *Enoch* also, the seventh from Adam, *prophesied to these*, saying,⁶⁶

four archangels having made their report to God" of the excesses committed by the watching angels, in their intercourse with the daughters of men, "at his command they *bound* the princes of those transgressors, and threw them into an abyss, there to be kept to the *day of judgment*." . . . "Raphael having been ordered to *bind* Azael, hand and foot, and to throw him into *darkness*. . . being destined to the punishment of fire, on the *day of judgment*." ap. Syncel. ubi supra p. 13.

⁶⁶ The words of Jude, without any variation of the manuscripts or versions, are as follows; *προεφώτευσεν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι ἑβδομοσ ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ Ἐνώχ, λέγων, καὶ*. The difficulty in these words is evaded in the Latin, English, French and Spanish versions, in the same manner; by rendering *τέτοις*, by *of*: but in the Italian and German, by rendering it, by *such*. It is however in vain to dispute, that the proper rendering of the phrase is that which is expressed in the Syriac, *ܐܢܘܟܐ . . . ܐܢܘܟܐ*, and supported by Valla "prophesied *to* these." To "prophecy *of*" is expressed in Greek, by *προφητεύω* with the preposition *πρὸς*, but to

behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment," &c. Of these words it is to be observed, that the sacred writer, in thus ascribing a prophecy to Enoch, accommodates himself to the modes of thinking prevalent among the Sabaists, who professed that they retained the patriarchs' predictions in their apocryphal books. And, in representing the antediluvian prophet, as addressing himself to his contemporaries, he implicitly admits the high antiquity which that sect ascribed to their religion, in assigning it an origin previous to the deluge.

In the correspondent epistle, in which these heretics are mentioned, no express notice is indeed bestowed on any prophecy, professed to be derived from the patriarchs. It appears, however, not merely from the tacit allusions but the express declarations of the author, that the subject engaged some share of his attention. After apprising his readers, that "there were false prophets among the people,"⁶⁷ he directly adduces an illustration, from the fallen angels,⁶⁸ between which and a passage in the apocryphal prophecy of Enoch a similarity has been traced that extends even to the lan-

"prophecy to" by the same verb with the dative; conf. Matt. xv. 7. xxvi. 68. The same distinction is observed in the Syriac which in the former case uses $\Delta\Delta$, but in the latter Δ ; as also in the Latin, which employs *de*, in the one case, but the *dative* in the other. Such being the obvious construction of the passage before us, and a natural meaning, in such a construction, being assignable to it, to force the sense of the genitive on a dative, or to take a demonstrative pronoun in the sense of an indeterminate pronoun, is to offer an unwarrantable violence to the sacred text. Yet even this is justifiable, when compared with the course adopted by Grotius, towards this passage, who, from the single term $\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$, extracts the sense, "id quod illis est eventurum."

⁶⁷ 2 Pet. ii. 1.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 4.

guage and imagery.⁶⁹ If this similarity be supposed to furnish too slender grounds for concluding that St. Peter has drawn from the same sources as St. Jude, who expressly quotes a prophecy of the patriarch; they may be possibly discovered in a previous declaration of the former apostle. In insisting on the evidence of prophecy, he assigns it a comparative force, which must be understood in reference to some traditionary predictions; or we must suppose him to maintain, that "the word of prophecy was more sure" than "the voice which he heard," with the other apostles, when he was an eye-witness of the transfiguration.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Syncellus, having given an extract from the apocryphal "book of Enoch," part of which has been already quoted *supr.* p. 25. n.⁶⁵ directly subjoins; Chronograph. p. 13. "these things Enoch witnesses; but the chief apostle, Peter, in his second epistle, declares of them" &c. after which words he quotes 2 Pet. *ibid.* 4. I have endeavored to shew, from the similarity in St. Peter and St. Jude's language and imagery, that they not only drew from the same source, but from the book of Enoch, *uti supra* n.⁶⁵. It must be however observed, that the remains of the book ascribed to Enoch have descended to us, in a state wholly corrupted and interpolated. They have been collected by Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* p. 160 seq.

⁷⁰ See 2 Pet. i. 19. The objection of Wolfius, *Cur. Philol.* in *loc.* to the interpretation of this difficult text given by Mauduit, who understands the "more sure word of prophecy," in reference to the "cunningly devised fables," mentioned *vs.* 16. is plausible;—that "it is not credible, the apostle would have compared the prophetic oracles with those specious trifles." But it loses its force, when in those *μύθοι σεσοφισμένοι* are included certain *predictions* received traditionally from the patriarchs, though "sophisticated" and blended with "fables." Of the existence of such, in the apostolical age, there is unquestionable evidence, independent of the quotation from Enoch's prophecy in St. Jude, and the passages cited from the epistles of both the apostles, *supra* p. 25. n.⁶⁵. Such prophecies, if traditionally received, were subjects of legitimate comparison with the sacred oracles. The channel through which they were res-

But however it may be doubted, that St. Peter has drawn from the same sources as St. Jude, or that either apostle has alluded to any apocryphal writings: it is not to be disputed, that by the one, an express reference is made to an antediluvian prophecy, and by the other, the subject ascribed to such prophecies is fully and explicitly mentioned. The prediction of Enoch, in St. Jude, speaks of "*the coming of the Lord to judgment,*" at the end of the world; but in St. Peter, "*the promise of his coming*" is connected with the subject of the Deluge and Conflagration. "There shall come scoffers" observes the apostle, "walking after their own lusts, and saying, where is the promise of his coming? . . . For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the wa-

pectively derived rendered "the prophecy of *the Scripture more sure,*" as not liable to be perverted, like the traditional prophecy, with the "private interpretations" of those by whom it was orally transmitted. Such is the scope and object of St. Peter's reasoning; and when his words are understood in reference to such a comparison, the difficulties with which they are embarrassed wholly vanish. That the apostle had such a comparison in view is I think deducible from the exclusive force of the first person in the subjoined passage, which is rendered more striking by a transition to the second, "*we have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well, that ye attend:*" for had he not spoken in a relative, but an absolute sense, the natural structure of the sentence would have required him to have written, "*ye have also a more sure word of prophecy*" &c. The same conclusion is deducible from the explanatory phrase "*of the Scripture,*" added in the context, which states the causes that rendered "*the word of prophecy more sure,*"—"no prophecy of *the Scripture* is of any private interpretation;" &c. had not some other species of prophecy, as that of *tradition*, been contemplated, this explanatory phrase would have been suppressed, according to the common usage of scripture language.

⁷¹ 2 Pet. iii. 3, 7, 13.

ter, and in the water, whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water perished: but the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men. . . . Nevertheless" he concludes, "we, according to his promise, look for new heavens, and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

The apostle's object in pursuing this subject, is obviously to restate the ancient doctrine of a Deluge and Conflagration, in opposition to the objections of those "scoffers" by whom it was derided; and to add the apostolical sanction to the prophetic authority, by which that doctrine was supported.⁷² How far the subject is connected with antediluvian times or persons is a question which admits of elucidation from documents of a different description, which however they may fall short of the apostolical writings, in authority, are little inferior to them, in point of antiquity.

The Jewish historian, Josephus, who wrote within a short period of St. Peter and St. Jude, has in many instances supplied the scantiness of the scripture narrative, from his paternal traditions. He not only ascribes a belief in the doctrine of a Deluge and Conflagration to the antediluvian patriarchs; but represents the posterity of Seth, as principally instrumental in transmitting the knowledge of it to their posterity. In mentioning the descendants of the patriarch, he declares, that⁷³ "having received a prophecy from Adam, that there would be a destruction of the universe, both

⁷² See 2 Pet. iii. 1, 2. As the best commentary on this doctrine, the reader may be referred to "the Sacred Theory of the Earth," Book III. chap. iii. p. 30. seq.

⁷³ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. I. cap. ii. § 3.

by the rage of fire, and by the violence and multitude of waters, they made two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone, and engraved, on them, their inventions; that if the pillar of brick happened to be destroyed by the flood, that of stone might remain to instruct mankind in what they had written. This pillar," the historian observes, "remains until now in the land Sirias."

Much learned trifling has been employed, in ascertaining the country in which these monuments of antediluvian science were erected, the very name of which is matter of uncertainty and conjecture.⁷⁴ By some the ruins of Seth's pillar have been accordingly discovered in Mount Seir; by others in Seirath near Gilgal, in the tribe of Ephraim; and by others in the iron mountain which extended to the land of Moab. Some have ascribed them a site in Syria, and some in Persia, while others have removed them to Abyssinia, and some even to India or China⁷⁵ In this uncertainty of opinion a specious claim might be preferred for the mountains inhabited by the Sabaists or Sheits: there can be, however, little reason to doubt, that the Sirias of Josephus must be sought in Egypt.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The terms *γῆν Σιριάδα*, which occur in Josephus have been variously distorted, into *Σιδίρον ὄρος*, *Σηριδός ὄρος*, *Συρίας γῆ*, *Ἰσρία*, *γῆν* &c. to justify the placing of the pillar of Seth according to the caprice or wishes of the different transcribers of the Jewish historian: vid. Reland. *Palest. Lib. I. cap. liii. p. 343.*

⁷⁵ Vid. Reland. *Palest. ubi supra.* Huet. *Dem. Evan. Prop. IV. c. ii. n. 14.* Stillingfl. *Orig. Sacr. B. I. ch. ii. § 12.* *Ant. Univ. Hist. B. I. ch. i. p. 244.* Brucker, *Hist. Phil. Lib. I. cap. ii. § 6.* Weidler *Hist. Astronom. cap. ii. § 4.*

⁷⁶ Weidl. *ubi. supr. p. 17.* "Nec terra Siriadica alibi quam circa Ægyptum quærenda est. Seres Æthiopica gens, Seres oppidum in vicinia Ægypti, et Ser fluvius insulam in mari rubro efficit. Nilus ab Æthiopicibus Siris appellatur" &c. conf. Brucker. *loc. cit. p. 59. n.* Jablonsk. *Annot. in Eratosth. laterc. ap.*

And an earlier account, which a historian of that country has given of the pillars of Thoth, forms conclusive evidence against the historian of the Jews;⁷⁷ that he has adopted the embellishing circumstances, respecting the pillar of Seth, which he has grafted on his paternal traditions of Adam's prophecy, from that writer whom he has frequently quoted. It should be, however, stated in his defence, that he was naturally led into this error by the identity of the personages whom he apparently confounds; the Egyptian mystagogue being a fictitious character, confessedly derived, through various transmigrations in persons of the same name, from some antediluvian prophet, who, there is no reason to doubt, must be the patriarch Seth, or one of his immediate descendants.

But however these objections may affect the incidental circumstances added by the Jewish historian to his account, they detract nothing from the main subject of the tradition which he has recorded, and which is corroborated by many collateral circumstances. That the spirit of prophecy rested on the posterity of Seth,⁷⁷ is not merely a supposition resting on probability, but a fact supported by in-

Vignol. Chronol. Tom. II. p. 764.

⁷⁷ Conf. Syncel. uti supr. p. 40. Joseph. contr. Appion. Lib. I. p. 1336.

⁷⁸ Brucker, referring to Gen. iv. 26. and Heidegger, Hist. Patriaroh. P. I. Exerc. vi. § 10. seq. observes, Hist. Phil. Lib. I. cap. ii. § viii. "*Sethi vero posteros, qui parentem habuere divina revelatione gaudentem, propheticam magis quam philosophicam scholam habuisse, inque ea, quæ de Dei vero cultu et speranda amissæ felicitatis per SEMEN MULIERIS restitutione pia parentum traditione et divina revelatione acceperant, ex saceris literis constat. . . . Habuisse quoque inter se prophetas peculiari cum Deo consuetudine et revelatione gaudentes, Enochæ exemplum probat, quem ex ista revelationis luce fuisse vaticinatum D. Judas asserit.*"

spired authority of one of the apostolical writers.

Enoch, who enjoyed the prophetic vision, was his lineal descendant; the prophecy, which we have the authority of an apostle for ascribing to him, relates to that great consummation, which Josephus represents to be the subject of Adam's prediction; and the apocryphal book, which was inscribed with his name, mentions the fate which awaited the earth, from the destroying elements, fire and water. After relating the defection of the watchers, it expressly states, that the earth was to perish by a deluge;⁷⁹ and in mentioning the curse pronounced against Mount Hermon, which was the scene of their excesses, it is incidentally added, that it was to perish by fire.⁸⁰ A foresight of these great events has been ascribed to the patriarch, from whom the Sethites took their name, by some Hellenic writers, who had access to apocryphal works, no longer extant. By one of these writers, who has quoted from "the lesser Genesis," and "book of Enoch," it is declared, that⁸¹ "when Adam had reached his two hundred and seventieth year, Seth was rapt from the earth by the angels, and initiated by them, in the fall of his future posterity, the watchers; and in the destruction of the earth by a deluge, and the advent of a Saviour. Having been abstracted and invisible forty days, he returned and revealed these things to his parents, having then attained his fortieth year."

Nor are we to regard these traditions as confined to a peculiar branch of the Assyrian race, who were favored with a more plenary revelation of the truth, and to whose exclusive keeping the inspi-

⁷⁹ Vid. Syncel. uti supra p. 25 b. ⁸⁰ Id. ibid. p. 26 c.

⁸¹ Syncel. ibid. p. 10. a. conf. Cedren. Hist. Compend. p. 8. d. 9. b. ed. Xyland.

ed oracles were committed, as a sacred deposit. It appears, on the authority of a native Chaldee historian, that the belief in a Deluge and Conflagration was prevalent among his compatriots, and that they professed it was derived to them from Belus, whom they numbered among the founders of their nation.⁸² Of this tradition it is observable, that it has suffered no less in its transmission through Chaldee than Jewish channels; Berosus, in framing his comment on the text of Belus, having borrowed some embellishments from his national science, in assigning it an alliance to the Chaldaic astrology.

If, with the aid of these illustrations, the preceding observations, on the testimony of St. Peter and St. Jude, be allowed their full effect, they seem to identify a heresy of the apostolical age with the primitive apostates who preceded the deluge. And however it may be disputed, that they have succeeded in substantiating this point, it will be atleast admitted, that they have adequately proved all that they are adduced to establish. That no argument can be deduced, from the silence of the inspired writers, against the existence of such a sect as the Cainites or Sabaists, in the age in which the Gospel was promulgated.

⁸² Senec. Nat. Quæst. Lib. III. cap. xxix. "*Berosus, qui Belum interpretatus est, ait, cursu siderum ista fieri; et adeo quidem id affirmat, ut Conflagrationi et Diluvio tempus assignet: arsura enim terrena contendit, quando omnia sidera, quæ nunc diversos agunt cursus, in cancrum convenerint. . . inundationem futuram, cum eadem siderum turba in capricornum convenerit,*" &c. This knowledge descended to Seneca, as a Stoic, from Zeno the founder of this sect: who acquired it in Citium, whither it was brought from Chaldea, by the Phœnicians, see "Burnet's Theory," Book III ch. iii. p. 27. We here observe that it is traced by Berosus the Chaldee historian, to Belus, one of the founders of the Assyrian nation: vid. supra p. 9. n. 17

Even further than this does the testimony of the apostles extend, as supplying a link in the chain of evidence, by which these inquiries may be at once connected with the period to which they are ultimately directed. In proscribing the heretics of the apostolical age, St. Jude condemns them, as "running into *the error of Balaam*,"⁸³ and St. Peter, as following *the way of Balaam*, the son of Bosor.⁸⁴ The evangelist, St. John, entering more into details, characterises them, by the offensive qualities which have rendered this sect infamous from the first: he upbraids them with "holding *the doctrine of Balaam*, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication."⁸⁵ In being led to this period, we are at once conducted to the object of these inquiries; as intended to ascertain the expectations formed by the Orientalists, of a Great Deliverer. This object may be effectually attained, from the opinions of Balaam; as declaring the sentiments of a native Assyrian, at a time when that empire, which took the lead in the policy of the East, had been some centuries established in its dominion.⁸⁶

The fortieth year had nearly expired, after the Israelites had taken their departure from Egypt, and they had reached their last encampment in the plains of Moab, when Balak invited Balaam from Syria, by a special deputation of his nobles, to oppose the new invaders with his enchantments. Of the occupation or country of the seer, whose assistance the king of Moab required, there can be little room for dispute; whatever difficulties have been

⁸³ Jude, 11. ⁸⁴ 2 Pet. ii. 15. ⁸⁵ Rev. ii. 14.

⁸⁶ The prophecy of Balaam was delivered in the year 40 of the Exod, which coincides with the year 774 of the Babylonian era, and was about 835 years after the deluge; vid. supra p. 9. n.¹⁶.

raised on the subject, by those who have investigated his history, or expounded his prediction.

Balaam is termed by his contemporary Moses, "the son of Beor of Pethor of *Mesopotamia*;" or, "Syria between the two rivers;"⁸⁷ in which designation he is at once identified as a native Assyrian.⁸⁸ Had we been at any loss to ascertain the country of the seer of Pethor, thus clearly defined by its natural boundaries; some light might be attained in discovering its site, from his own representation in declaring, that "the king of Moab, brought him *from Syria*, out of the *mountains* of the east."⁸⁹ The plains of *Mesopotamia* are overlooked

⁸⁷ According to the original Hebrew, Deut. xxiii. 4. בלעם בן בעור, מפתור ארם נהרים, which literally signifies, "Balaam, son of Beor, of *Syria* of the two rivers:" in which words the country of Balaam is so clearly defined, as not to be mistaken. The authors of the Chaldee Paraphrase and Jerusalem Targum, accordingly identify the principal of the rivers, within which it was enclosed, in rendering ארם נהרים, ארם דעל פרת, "*Syria* which is on the Euphrates." The Septuagint, in employing the language of the Greeks, have accommodated themselves to their geographical distinctions, in which Syria was not conceived to extend beyond the western bank of the Euphrates. They have accordingly rendered the passage, Βαλαάμ υἱὸν Βαιώρ ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, Balaam son of Beor *from Mesopotamia*; in which they are followed by the Italian, French, English and German versions. The Vulgate of Jerome, adhering more closely to the original, renders the passage, with an inversion, "Balaam filium Beor *de Mesopotamia Syriae*;" which is literally transplanted into the Spanish of P. Scio; "Balaám, hijo de Beór, *de la Mesopotamia de Siria*." The passage, with a slight alteration, would be, I conceive, properly rendered, "Balaam son of Beor of the Mesopotamian Syria."

⁸⁸ Selden, admitting that the terms Syria and Syrian were but European corruptions of the Oriental Assyria and Assyrian, confirms his assertion by the authority of Herodotus; ἵπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἰκαλιόνη Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν: and of Justin, "Imperium Assyrii, qui postea Syri dicti sunt, mille trecentis annis tenuere." De Dis Syris, Proleg. cap. i. p. 4.

⁸⁹ Num. xxiii. 7. מן ארם . . . מהררי קדם; in rendering these

by the Cordyæan mountains; and both the elevated and plain country⁹⁰ were inhabited by Sabians, whose tenets Balaam was instrumental in propagating among the Israelites. His country should be, however, rather sought near the upper Chaldea, which was also mountainous, and was situated to the north of Mesopotamia,⁹¹ which is equally represented, by the oriental traditions, as infested by the Sabian superstitions. In the vicinity of this region, the Greek and Latin writers place some schools of Chaldee diviners,⁹² to one of which they

words, the versions, after the example of Jerome's Vulgate, adhere more closely to the original. The Septuagint, following the Greek geographical distinctions, translates it, *ἐν Μισσοπολαμίας . . . ἐξ ὀρίων ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν*; but the Latin Vulgate, retaining the original term, renders it: "de *Aram* . . . de montibus orientis:" and the same term is preserved in the French, Spanish and English. But the Italian, with greater propriety; "di *Siria*, dalle montagne d'oriente:" as well as the German; "aus *Syrien* . . . von dem Gebirge gegen dem Ausgang:" vid. supr. p. 7. n.¹³

⁹⁰ Stanley, *Hist. Philosop. Orient. Lib. III. cap. ii.* after referring to the authority of the Rabbinical and Arabic writers, adds, that according to them, "the religion of the Sabians was the same as that of the inhabitants of Charan and Mesopotamia," at the time of Abraham.

⁹¹ Cleric. *Ind. Phil. in Stanl. Phil. Or. v. Chaldæa.* "Chaldæa duplex fuit, una Armeniæ vicina ac *montosa*, ad *septentrionem Mesopotamiæ*, de qua Xenoph. *Cyr. Lib. III. p. 70. ed. Wechel. et Strab. Lib. XII. p. 378. ed. Genev.* In hac fuit Ur, Abrahami patria; ut ostendit Sam. Bochartus *Geogr. Sacr. Lib. III. cap. vi. et alibi in suo Phaleg.*"

⁹² Bruck. *Hist. Phil. Lib. II. cap. ii. § 8. p. 114.* "Narrant porro Plinius (*Hist. Nat. Lib. VI. cap. xxvi.*) et Strabo (*Lib. XVI. p. 509.*) in diversis *Assyrii regni regionibus* et præcipuis urbibus, *peculiares fuisse scholas* [Chaldæorum]; *Hippareni*, *urbe Mesopotamiæ*, unde *Hipparenorum* secta; *Babylone* unde *Babylonii*; *Orchoës* Chaldæorum oppido, unde *Orcheni*" &c. *Conf. Stanl. ubi supra, Lib. I. sect. i. cap. ix.* The term *Orcheni* is derived by Salmasius, (*Præf. libr. de ann. climact.*) from the Chaldee אור כהניא, 'priests of fire': the פתור, *Pethor*, from whence Balaam was designated, and which Jerome trans-

ascribe a name, which may be derived from the Pethor, whence Balaam was designated, with less violence to orthography than has been offered to many oriental terms, avowedly transmitted to us by these writers.

In determining the profession of Balaam, there exists as little room for doubt, as in ascertaining his country. He is designated in scripture, as "Balaam the son of Beor, the soothsayer," or diviner.⁹³ The Chaldean sages have been divided, by the writer who has most accurately described them into four kinds; of whom the second addicted themselves to the arts of divination:⁹⁴ recourse being had to astrology and augury, to obtain an insight into futurity.⁹⁵ From an acquired proficien-

lates *ariolus*, Num. xxii. 5. seems to suggest a better derivation, in the participle הפתרון, from פתר, to *interpret*, for the *Hippareni* of Pliny. In support of this conjecture it is to be observed, that פתרון, signifies *interpretation*, from the same verb: and that some of the Chaldean astrologers were professed *interpreters*; vid. Stanl. ubi supra cap. x. To account for the omission of ה in the *Hippareni* of Pliny, it may be observed, that the Latin has no mode of expressing this character; and that it is constantly commuted with ה, in the dialects of the Semitic: as in the constructive case of feminine nouns, and in forming the feminine plural.

⁹³ According to the original Josh. xiii. 22. בלעם בן בעור, הקוסם, in rendering which words little difference is discoverable in the versions: הקוסם being translated, in the Greek, μάσις; in the Latin, *ariolum*; in the Italian, *indovino*; in the French, *devin*; in the Spanish, *adivino*; in the German, *Weissager*; and in the English, *soothsayer*. The Hebrew term is taken in an evil sense, Deut. xviii. 14. and generally throughout scripture; and in such a sense the cognate term קוסם is used by Balaam himself, Num. xxiii. 23. "neither is there any *divination* against Israel;" in which version, the proper force is assigned the term, which is rendered in the Septuagint, *μαντεία*, and in the Latin Vulgate, *divinatio*.

⁹⁴ Stanl. uti supra Lib. I. sect. ii. ad init.

⁹⁵ Id. *ibid.* cap. xxvii. "Secunda pars Chaldaicæ doctrinæ sita erat in *divinandi artibus*, quarum præcipua fuit *Astrologia*."

cy in these arts, we have authority from scripture to suppose,⁹⁶ that Balaam obtained the repute, and acquired the appellation, of a diviner.

Nor can his claims to a higher or prophetic character, previously to his entering on his mission to Moab, be supported on the same authority, although he has been termed "a prophet" by the apostle.⁹⁷ In reconciling this title with his designation, as "a diviner," it is unnecessary to suppose, that it has been catachretically applied, as by another apostle,⁹⁸ from being commonly conferred on the Chaldean seers, by the orientalisists. With that

Hæc quæ ab iis primum inventa traditur, præcipua eorum in se traxit studia" &c. Id. ibid. cap. xxiii. "Præter astrologiam, alias invenere et usurpavere Chaldæi *divinandi artes*, inter quas Diodorus memorat, 'divinationem per aves, somniorum prodigiorumque interpretationes et quæ pertinent ad *Aruspicinam*.' Maimonides quoque auctor est apud Chaldæos, *ab antiquissimis usque temporibus*, varia fuisse *Hariolorum genera*" &c.

⁹⁶ Num. xxiv. 1. "And when Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord... he went not, *as at other times*, to seek for *enchantments*." The Septuagint and Vulgate conspire in rendering עֲשֵׂה נִסִּים, by *augury*, which is here translated *enchantments*; the latter part of the passage is rendered in the LXX, ἐκ ἰσορροπίας κατὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτῶν εἰς συνάντησιν τοῖς οἰωνοῖς, and in the Vulgate, "nequaquam abiit, ut ante perrexerat, ut *augurium* quæreret." The Italian adopting *auguri*, and the Spanish *agüero*, accord with the Latin; the French using *enchantemens*, and the German *Zauberern* correspond with the English.

⁹⁷ 2 Pet. ii. 16.

⁹⁸ St. Paul, in quoting a passage from Epimenides, Tit. i. 12. thus speaks of the Cretan seer; "one of themselves, even a *prophet* of their own, said:" &c. in which passage the apostle accommodates himself to the heathen modes of expression; Aristotle and Cicero having attested the prophetic spirit of Epimenides, and Plutarch having preserved one of his prophecies. The same title was bestowed on the Chaldee diviners; Salmas. Plin. Exerc. in Solin. p. 647. b. "Sacerdos [Berosus] fuit Beli, καὶ θεοφῆτης, certe et ἀσεβολόγος, ut fere omnes fuere tam Ægyptii quam *Babylonii*, *prophetæ* ac sacerdotes. Immo et quales Ægyptiis *prophetæ*, tales *Assyriis Chaldæi*, qui et *Astrologi*."

sacred character the Mesopotamian diviner became invested, from the time that he uttered the remarkable prophecy, which he delivered to Balak. On that occasion, the scripture accordingly describes the influence by which he was moved, in terms that are only applicable to those, who were divinely inspired, and who possessed the prophetic vision.⁹⁹ That he was then visited by an afflation of the divinity, to which he had been previously a stranger, seems to be implied in the influence which it possessed, in inducing him to renounce his delusive art: "he went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments," or augury.¹⁰⁰

The wisdom of selecting a seer, from the country of diviners, to fill the high office on which Balaam was deputed, is sufficiently apparent, without any labored illustration: his mission derived advantages from his fame as a soothsayer, which it could scarcely have acquired from his character as a prophet. Had it secured no other object, than to give the Israelites the assurance of a diviner, and one the most highly reputed in his art, "that there was no enchantment against Jacob, neither any divination against Israel," in attaining this end, its wisdom had been obvious. On the nations existing out of the Jewish pale to whom the prediction of Balaam was addressed, and for whom it was principally intended, its operation was of more obvious importance. From them, a more ready assent was obtained to the truths, which Balaam was instrumental in revealing, in consequence of their being

⁹⁹ Num. xxii. 4. "And the spirit of God came upon him." On the authority of this passage, the Jewish and Christian commentators assert the inspiration of Balaam. Vid. Targ. Jonath. et Hieros. in loc. Drus. *ibid.* Bp. Newton on the Proph. Works, Vol. I. p. 90.

¹⁰⁰ Vid. *supra* n.⁹⁶

delivered by one of their compatriots, whose fame must have been generally diffused, as it extended from Mesopotamia to Moab. In the temporary conversion of so reputed a seer, and the public renunciation of his errors, before the assembled nobles of Midian and Moab, a salutary lesson was inculcated before those nations, upon whose superstition the delusive art which he practised had exercised a tyrannous and degrading influence.

But the wisdom evinced in the selection of a Mesopotamian diviner, to be the prophet of those truths which Balaam was chosen to deliver, must be principally sought in the substance and tenor of his predictions, and their adaptation to the purposes of those nations, to whom they were immediately directed. That these points may receive the fullest elucidation, preparatory to the deduction of those important consequences, which it is the object of these inquiries to elicit, I shall give the text of the prophecy in the form which I conceive approaches nearest to that in which it was written. In the different versions of it which have been transmitted to us, by the Jews and Samaritans, some trifling variations are discernible; as contributing to the establishment of the genuine text, on which alone our inferences should be founded, I shall transcribe it in the character in which it was originally composed, being that in which it is preserved by the Samaritans.

בְּעֵינַי אֵלֶּיךָ יָבֹאוּ וְעָלְתָה אֶת־הַרְעָה

¹⁰¹בְּעֵינַי אֵלֶּיךָ יָבֹאוּ וְעָלְתָה אֶת־הַרְעָה

¹⁰¹ The printed Hebrew text reads בער; but (1) as it marks the omission of the ו, by pointing ע with cholem; (2) as it also retains that letter, in citing the same name, quoted on other occasions: and (3) as in the collations of Hebrew mss. published by Kennicot, codd. 1, 5, 6, and above 30 others agree with the

נמנןא שרמ אגנא שאננ
 זא מרמא נממ שאננ
 ננזמנ ארנ ¹⁰²נרמנ
¹⁰³אגמ מרמ אגמ
 שמנמנ מנזנז זננ
 ארנ ארנ זנאא
 ארנ ארנ זנאא
 ארנמ ארנמ ארנ
 זאמממ נממ שרנ
 ארנמ ¹⁰⁴מרמנ מרמנ
¹⁰⁵רמ מננז ¹⁰⁶ארנא

Samaritan mss. in reading בער: no doubt can be entertained that the Hebrew printed text is in this place corrupted.

¹⁰² Several of the Hebrew mss. in Kennicot's collations, as cod. 9, 69, al. 8. read וירר.

¹⁰³ The printed Samaritan text reads מרממ ארמ מרממ but (1) as, in Kennicot's collation of Samaritan mss. אגמ is found in cod. 61, 63, 183, 221, al. 4: (2) as מוחו uniformly occurs in the Hebrew copies; and (3) as the *matres lectionis* א, ו, י, are constantly confounded by the Oriental scribes, the printed Samaritan text, in this place, is obviously corrupted.

¹⁰⁴ The printed Samaritan copies read מרמ, but (1) as מרמ occurs in the Samaritan, cod. 61, 64: (2) as א might have been absorbed in א following; and (3) as the Hebrew copies are constant in reading פאר, no doubt can be entertained that it is the genuine reading.

¹⁰⁵ Of the Hebrew mss. cod. 9. reads שג, and cod. 69. רש: but independant of the want of sense, in these readings, which are opposed to the common consent of the Hebrew and Samaritan copies, they have obviously arisen in the difficulty of the passage.

¹⁰⁶ The Samaritan copies, printed and manuscript, in place of ארנא, read נרנא: which reading is supposed to be confirmed by Jer. xlviii. 45. וקרר בני שאן; in which there is an obvious allusion to the passage before us. In favor of this reading of the Samaritan copies, it must be acknowledged, (1) that it was not likely to be adopted from the prophet, as the Samaritans receive none of the prophetic scriptures contained in the Hebrew Canon; (2) that the similarity of נ and א in the Samaritan

¹⁰⁷ אִנְיִן אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם
 אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם ¹⁰⁸ אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם
 אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם
 אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם
¹⁰⁹ אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם

text, or γ and γ in the Hebrew, might have occasioned the variation; and that the transition to \aleph or γ , is more easily accounted for, than to \aleph , or γ : as the small stroke by which these letters are distinguished might have been *obliterated* by time, or *omitted* by negligence, in the former case, while it is not easy to explain how they could have been *added* in the latter. But as the phrase קרקר... ימחץ occurs in Ps. lxviii. 22. and seems to have been colloquial, and, as such, was likely to be adopted by Jeremiah and the transcribers of the Pentateuch; and as the antithetical nature of the Hebrew versification, which is in this case supported by the stichometry, seems to require the verb, וקרקר, analogous to דרך... וקם... ומחץ, in the three preceding, and וחיח, in the two following verses, I am inclined to believe it the preferable reading. It is however of little importance to which reading the preference is given; as the effect produced by either on the sentence is immaterial.

¹⁰⁷ The printed Samaritan reads אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם; but as the Hebrew uniformly reads ירשה; in which it is supported by the Samaritan mss. cod. 61, 63, 183, 334, al. 4, the preference is due to this reading.

¹⁰⁸ The Samaritan copies, as well printed as manuscript, for אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם, Seir, read, אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם, Esau, a palpable gloss, derived from Gen. xxxvi. 8. It is notwithstanding adopted by the Septuagint.

¹⁰⁹ The reading, אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם, שריר מעיר, which is supported by the uniform consent of the Hebrew and Samaritan copies, as well printed as manuscript, and corroborated by the ancient versions, has given offence to the critics, who have proposed several conjectures for its amendment. The Chaldee paraphrast, who read מעיר, seems to have believed the sense incomplete, and has accordingly, paraphrased the passage, מקריח עממיה 'from the city of the people.' For שריר, Calmet proposes reading שעיר, and interprets the passage, 'the residue of Seir.' But Houbigant, with less violence to the text, proposes substituting the same word for מעיר; a conjecture which derives some countenance from the facility with which, in the primitive character, אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם might have been substituted for אֶלֶּם אֶלֶּם: he

אַשּׁא־מִן־זְלַמְמֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי פְּזַמְּוֹ אֲאֵ אֲאִמִּינֵי
 פְּזַמְּוֹ מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי
¹¹⁰צַבֵּי מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי
 אַשּׁא־מִן־זְלַמְמֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי ¹¹¹מִמִּינֵי אֲאֵ אֲאִמִּינֵי
 מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי
 מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי
 מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי ¹¹²צַבֵּי

interprets the passage 'the remains of Seir.' Some phrases in Isaiah and Jeremiah, relative to the destruction of the *cities* of Moab, to which the inhabitants naturally fled for safety, render these conjectures more than questionable: see Is. xvi. 7, 8. Jer. xlviii. 7, 8, &c.

¹¹⁰ The Samaritan copies, adopting a different division of the terms, read צַבֵּי מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי, with little influence on the sense; and as מִמִּינֵי as well as מִמִּינֵי occurs in the sacred text, with no improvement in the orthography. They are followed by Houbigant, who renders the passage, "posteritas ejus ad perniciem reservatur."

¹¹¹ Of the Hebrew mss. cod. 1, 5, 14, al. 4, read מקני, instead of the printed מקני, which generally occurs in the Hebrew and uniformly in the Samaritan copies. Of the mss. of the Septuagint which reads Κεραίων in the printed text, the collation of Holmes exhibits the following varieties; Κεραίων, cod. 2. ed. Complut; Κεραίων, cod. 16, 62, al. 4. Κεραίων, cod. 15, 18, al. 11. vers. Georg. Arm. 1. aliique, Arm. ed. Κεραίων in textu, et Κεραίων margo cod. x. Κεραίων, Lips.

¹¹² The Samaritan copies read, מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי, 'thy inhabitant shall depart from Assur;' but as this reading bears internal marks of being accommodated to the national prejudices of the Samaritans, whose migration from Assyria it is intended to commemorate, and as it is opposed to the external testimony of all the Hebrew copies, corroborated by all the ancient versions, there can be no doubt, that it is erroneous. For מִמִּינֵי אֲמִמִּינֵי, (ער מה,) Houbigant proposes substituting ערמה, rendering the passage 'astutia Assur.' In favor of this correction, he appeals to the Septuagint; which reads νοσσία πανουργίας, in a very different sense and construction: and he at the same time objects, that מה ער signifies *usque quo*, and that by the common construction אשור, a masculine noun, is made to govern תשב, a verb in the feminine. But to these objections it may be replied, (1) that there is an in consequence introduced by the correction into the sentence; (2) that the change must be greater than is proposed,

אֲשֶׁר-חָצַב לְעַמּוּתָם אֲחֻזָּה¹¹³
 לֵאמֹר אֲחֻזָּה אֲחֻזָּה אֲחֻזָּה אֲחֻזָּה
 אֲחֻזָּה אֲחֻזָּה אֲחֻזָּה¹¹⁴

in this conjectural emendation, as עָרַמָּה, in the constructive case, must be used for עָרָה; an alteration not likely to occur in the primitive character; in which אֲשֶׁר-חָצַב could have been hardly substituted for אֲשֶׁר חָצַב; (3) that עָרָה properly signifies *usque quo* only in interrogative sentences; and if the sense requires an emendation, we may then adopt, with less violence to the text, אֲשֶׁר חָצַב, *until that*; for which אֲשֶׁר חָצַב might have been easily mistaken; (4) that אֲשֶׁר, as taken for the name of the country, is used in the feminine, like מוֹאָב, Jer. xlviii. 9: both nouns being probably used by an ellipsis of אֶרֶץ, after the analogy of אֶרֶץ מוֹאָב Jer. ibid. 9. In this view, the Septuagint found no difficulty, in making אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר govern חָשַׁב.

¹¹³ In this place, the Septuagint inserts *καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸν Ὄγ*: which is not only wanting in the original, and the ancient versions, but is rejected from the following copies of the LXX: Cod. VII, XI, 16, 30, al. 9. Compl. On this point however, I lay no stress, as the Greek text in these mss. probably follows the Hexapla, which was corrected after the Hebrew. The passage, however, bears internal marks of being an interpolation, fabricated, according to the custom of the translators, after the analogy of the preceding passages, vs. 20. *καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸν Ἀμαλήκ*: vs. 21. *καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸν Κιναῖος*. But as these passages are adapted to the subject, and acknowledged by the context, they form no precedent to justify the interpolation, which is wholly unconnected with either. On the subject of similarity it may be observed, that the fate of Amalek and the Kenite was of very secondary importance, in respect to the general object which the prophet had in view. They are accordingly introduced episodically, and mentioned only as presenting themselves to his observation while he spoke. Conformably to this distinction, the main subject of his prediction is prefaced generally with the words, "and he took up his parable and said;" the incidental subject of Amalek and the Kenites' fate, with the words, "and he looked upon Amalek and said" &c. As all that follows the passage interpolated in the Septuagint relates to the general subject of the prediction, it is most improperly preceded by such a preface.

¹¹⁴ For אֲחֻזָּה, and *Ships*, which occurs in the Hebrew, the Samaritan copies read, in the 3d. pers. sing. fut. Hiphil, of אָרַב,

רָצוּ רָצוּ רָצוּ רָצוּ¹¹⁵ רָצוּ

רָצוּ מִרָצוּ אֶרֶץ שִׁיט

As introductory to the perfect understanding of this extraordinary prediction, it is necessary to premise, that it was delivered from the top of Pe-or;¹¹⁶ from whence the Israelites were beheld encamped in the plains of Moab, and an extensive prospect was commanded of the adjacent country. When, from this station, Balak heard, for the third time, a benediction pronounced on his enemies, by the prophet whom he had hired to curse them,

שִׁיט מִרָצוּ מִרָצוּ, *will cause them to go, will lead them.* This reading, it must be allowed, derives some countenance from the Septuagint, who, omitting all mention of "ships," render the passage, ἐξελείσεται ἐκ χειρῶν Κιτιαίων: consequently taking the Greek verb, after their manner, with the force of the Hebrew Hiphil, in consequence of its being in the Middle. To this various reading it may be objected, (1) that the unfrequency of the word יצ, pl. יצו and יצו, which is rendered by Aquila τριήρης, and by the LXX. πλοῖον, (Is. xxxiii. 21. Ezek. xxx. 9.), and the difficulty of deriving it, as coming from נצח, a verb in פ"נ, might have occasioned the change: (2) that, while the Hebrew copies are uniform in reading יצו, the Samaritan, by contradicting each other, invalidate their common testimony, some adopting the participle מוציא, and some the obviously false reading יוצא; (3) that the Hebrew reading is fully confirmed by Dan. xi. 30. יצו כתיב, *ships of Chittim*, respecting which, there is no variation in the manuscripts or versions.

¹¹⁵ For the indefinites, רָצוּ, the Samaritan copies, prefixing מִ in both places, use with the same sense, two futures, before the first of which they omit the conjunction. As in these readings there is not only an accommodation to the Samaritan dialect, but a violation of the genius of the Hebrew, which takes, after ו conversive, the indef. with the sense of the future, there can be little doubt, that they are spurious. It seems almost superfluous further to observe, on the present occasion, that in the place of אשור, in the Hebrew copies, אשר, is substituted, 1mò, cod. 1, 184. et 2dò cod. 129: and for עבר, in the same text, is substituted אבר in cod. 84. and אבר in cod. 128. which are very unskilful attempts to avoid the supposed difficulty of the passage.

¹¹⁶ Num. xxiii, 28.

the sacred narrative proceeds—¹¹⁷“ And Balak’s anger was kindled against Balaam, and he smote his hands together : and Balak said unto Balaam I called thee to curse mine enemies, and behold thou hast altogether blessed them, these three times. Therefore now flee thou to thy place ; I thought to promote thee unto great honor : but lo, the Lord hath kept thee back from honor.” The prophet, after pleading his submissiveness to the divine will, in justification of his steady, uncorrupted integrity, replies in the following terms. “And now, behold, I go unto my people : come therefore and I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days.

¹¹⁸And he uttered his mystic speech, and said”—

“The saw¹¹⁹ of Balaam, the son of Beor,
And the saw of the man whose eye is closed ;¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Num. xxiv. 10.

¹¹⁸ From this place, a new translation is given by the author.

¹¹⁹ The original, as pointed by the Masorets, is thus literally rendered ; אָמַר בְּלָעָם the saying, or ‘saw of Bileam ;’ אָמַר being the constructive case of the part. Paul of the verb אָמַר, he said, The Latin, ‘dixit Balaam,’ the Spanish, ‘dixo Balaám,’ and English, ‘Balaam hath said,’ are irreconcilable with sense : the Greek, φησὶ Βαλαάμ ; the Italian ‘dice Balaam ;’ the French, ‘Balaam dit,’ and the German, ‘es saget Bileam,’ have avoided this error, but do not express the original. The Oriental versions dispose of the difficulty in a different manner. The Chaldee adopting the paraphrastic present, with an ellipsis of the auxiliary verb, reads אָמַר בְּלָעָם ‘Balaam (is) saying ;’ the Syriac, adopting the imperative, reads اَقِمِ صَاحِبِ, ‘say Balaam ;’ as also the Arabic, قُلْ يَا بِلْعَامَ, ‘say, O Balaam.’

¹²⁰ The verb שָׁטַם, which occurs in the original, signifies *he closed* : the passage is accordingly rendered in the Vulgate, ‘cujus obturatus est oculus ;’ by Arias Montanus, after Pagnini, ‘vir *occlusus* oculo ;’ by Houbigant, ‘qui *clausos* habet oculos,’ by Didotati, ‘c’ha l’occhio *chiuso*,’ and by Scio, ‘cuyo ojo está *cerrada*.’ One Hebrew ms. cod. 199. adopting שָׁטַם, puts the sense out of

The saw of him who heard the word of God,
 And knew¹²¹ the knowledge of the Highest;
 Who beheld the vision of the Almighty,
 Falling [en-tranced], and being illumined¹²² in sight.
 I shall see¹²³ Him, but not now;

dispute, as this verb is assigned no other meaning: vid. Buxtorf. Lex. c. 1559. The Samaritan, English, French and German, which take the word in the sense of *open*, are positively wrong; the Septuagint, to dispose of their doubts, which sufficiently indicate the true sense of the passage, adopt a bold paraphrase, which, if it does not suit the text, is atleast accommodated to the context; ὁ ἀληθινῶς ὁρῶν. The same observation may be extended to the Chaldee, רשפיר חוי, which expresses the same sense:

to which the Arabic nearly conforms, الرجل الحدييد الصبر, 'the man of clear vision:' and from which the Syriac does not very far recede ܕܥܝܢܐ ܚܘܫܐ, 'whose eye is illumined.' The importance of this rendering for which Bp. Newton contends, ubi supr. p. 76. will be manifested in the sequel.

¹²¹ If the reading ܘܪܥ be adopted, the sense will be, "and made known."

¹²² The participle Paul ܘܪܥ, from ܘܪܥ, properly means *uncovered, revealed*: and in this sense it seems necessary to understand it, in order to avoid a contradiction with verse 15. 'whose eye is closed.' The proper force of the term is accordingly expressed in the Samaritan, ܘܪܥܘܢܐ ܘܪܥܘܢܐ, 'illumined in eyes;' in the Septuagint, ἀποκαλυμμένοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ; and by Arias Montanus, 'discoopertus oculis: the sense of the phrase being accurately expressed in the Chaldee paraphrase ܘܪܥܘܢܐ ܘܪܥܘܢܐ, 'it having been revealed to him.' The Vulgate of Jerome, which is followed by Diodati and Scio, contains a contradiction; in the Syriac, ܘܪܥܘܢܐ ܘܪܥܘܢܐ, 'having his eyes open, and the Arabic which uses the singular, with the same sense, وهو معتوج العين and in the French, English and German, this error is indeed avoided, but both the opposed terms are mistranslated in these versions.

¹²³ The rendering of the Septuagint seems to affect the authority of this important text; as it recedes so far from the original, as to justify a suspicion, that it may have arisen in a different reading from that contained in the existing editions: אראנו ולא עתה אשורנו ולא קרוב. This passage is thus rendered by these translators, δεῖξω αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔγωγε σὺν, μακαρίζω αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγὼ ἔγωγε, 'I shall shew to him, but not now, I felicitate him and he does not

I shall behold him, but not near:
A star shall proceed¹²⁴ out of Jacob,

approach.' But the integrity of the text is wholly unaffected by this translation; as the sense here ascribed to it has been obviously extracted from the present reading. If אראו be taken as the future of Hiphil הראה, *to cause to see, to shew*, instead of as the future of Kal, ראה, *to see*, and אשור as the future of אשר, *to bless*, instead of that of שורר, *to see*, it will produce the sense ascribed to the text by the Greek translators. The natural force of the passage may be, however, supported by the highest authority. Aquila, a Jew, eminently skilled in the Hebrew, renders it, in the received sense, ἀφῆμαι αὐτὸν ἴδῃ ἔτι ἔτι, προσεσπασῶ αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἰγγύς; Symmachus, who bore the same character, renders the latter part of it, ἴδῃ αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἰγγύς; St. Jerome also, in the same sense, 'videbo eum, sed non modo, intuebor illum, sed non prope;' Pagnini, likewise, following the pointed text, 'videbo eum et non nunc, intuebor eum et non prope;' and Houbigant the unpointed, 'videbo eum sed non modo, ego eum contemplabor, sed remotum.' And the same sense is adopted, with one consent, by the authors of the Italian, Spanish, French, English and German versions. Of the Oriental versions, it must be allowed, that the Samaritan, only expresses the force of the tense, רָאָה אֲשׁוּר אֲבָרָא אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִיַּצְחָק אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִיַּצְחָק אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִיַּצְחָק, 'I shall see him but not now, I shall celebrate him, but not near;' of course making אשור, the future of שורר: the Chaldee adopts the indefinite, ולא כען סביחיה, *I have seen him, but not now, I beheld him but he is not near;* and the Syriac, מִלְּמַלְאִים סָלַל כְּסֵם מִיָּמִים סָלַל, *I have seen him, but not for a long while, I have beheld him, and he is not nigh:* but the Arabic wholly departing from the sense, reads, *أرى أمرا وأليس هو موجودا الآن*، وهو غير قريب، *I see the affair, and it is not existing now, I behold it, and it is not near.* But the sense in these versions has every appearance of being accommodated to the prejudices of the translators.

¹²⁴ Although ררך is written without ו conversive, yet in consequence of being coupled by that conjunction with a number of verbs to which it gives a future sense, it is properly taken in the future. In this sense, it is accordingly rendered almost with one consent in the versions. The original Hebrew, ררך כוכב מיעקב, is thus paraphrased in the Chaldee of Onkelos, כד יקום מלכא מיעקב, *when a king shall arise from Jacob;* but rendered in the Syriac, *there shall arise a star out of Jacob:*

A sceptre shall rise out of Israel,
And shall break the Termini¹²⁵ of Moab,

and in the Arabic *ان يطلع كوكب من ال يعقوب*, 'for a star shall proceed out of Jacob;' or if the pointed text be followed,

'shall be sent,' as *يطلع* is pointed in the future passive. The Samaritan, is however, dissentient, in which the phrase is rendered, *אפדן מן זבדן דאבא*, 'he caused a star to proceed from Jacob;' *דאבא* being used in the indefinite Aphel of *דאבא*. In the Western versions, the future is generally adopted. The Greek reads, in the common sense, *ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ*; as also the Latin, '*orietur stella ex Jacob.*' The Italian likewise coincides, '*una stella procederà da Jacob:*' and the Spanish, '*de Jacob nacerá una estrella;*' as also the German, '*es wird ein stern aus Jacob aufgehen;*' and the English, '*there shall come a star out of Jacob:*' the French is indeed dissentient, '*une étoile est procédée de Jacob,*' but its voice will not avail much, against such a host of suffrages.

¹²⁵ The commentators, who render *פאתי מואב*, "and will smite the *princes* of Moab," are reduced to sad straining, to extract the sense of *princes* from *פאתי*, which signifies *corners*. This sense is adopted not only in the Chaldee, *ויקטול רברבי מואב*, 'and will slay the *princes* of Moab;' but in the Greek, *καταύσει τὸς ἀρχηγούς Μωάβ*, 'and will wound the *rulers* of Moab;' and in the Latin, '*et percutiet duces Moab.*' The Syriac offers a different sense, *והשמיד את גיגי מואב*, 'and will destroy the *giants* of Moab;' and the Samaritan, following a different reading, *אפדן מן זבדן דאבא*, 'will transfix the *foolish ones* of Moab:' but the Arabic renders it, with more accuracy,

قبيهن جهات ماب, 'will debilitate the *regions* of Moab.' or, as the passage is rendered by Symmachus, *καίσει κλίματα Μωάβ*, 'will smite the *regions* of Moab.'" The first of these translations, which appears to have arisen from confounding *פאתי מואב* with *פחת מואב*, Esdr. ii. 6. viii. 4. Neh. iii. 11. is wholly untenable. It is notwithstanding adopted, after the example and authority of the Septuagint and Vulgate, in almost all the modern versions; in the Italian, '*trasfiggerà i principi di Moab;*' in the Spanish, '*herirá á los caudillos (will smite the chiefs) de Moab;*' in the French, '*transpercera les chefs de Moab;*' in the German, '*wird zerschmettern die Fürsten der Moabiter.*' To all these the literal rendering of the English is to be preferred, '*shall smite the corners of Moab;*' which receives illustration and support from 2 Chron. xxviii. 2. 24. Pagnini,

And destroy¹²⁶ all the Sethites.¹²⁷

however, appears to me to have expressed more accurately than any of the translators, the meaning of this curious passage; 'et transfiget *terminos* Moab;' which Arias Montanus rejects for the more literal version, 'et transfiget *angulos* Moab,' of which I cannot discover the sense.

¹²⁶ If the reading of the Samaritan עַפְעַפְז be adopted, the rendering should then be, 'will smite the Termini of Moab, and *the crown* of the sons of Seth.' But against this reading it remains further to be stated, that it is obvious it was not found in the copies from which the principal versions have been made. The Greek, $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, the Latin, 'vastabitque,' with the same sense, have obviously proceeded from Pihel וקרקר of the verb קרר: and they sufficiently establish the antiquity of this reading in the Hebrew. The same observation may be extended, with some grains of allowance, to the Chaldee וישלוט, and will subdue;' to the Syriac, ܫܡܪܝܢ , 'and will subjugate;' and to the Arabic, ويزلزل , 'and will shake,' which have obviously not descended from וקרקר. The version of Symmachus, ἐξερευνήσουσι , 'will investigate,' seems derived from וחקר; as its author possibly supposed the Hebrew ought to read: for this he has rendered the same verb, in Ps. xxxiii. 22. Prov. xxv. 27. vid. Montfauc. Hexapl. in loc. The copy from which he translated must have consequently conformed rather to the reading of the Hebrew than the Samaritan recension.

¹²⁷ As בני ישראל means *Israelites*, בני שט means *Sethites*. The term שט in the passage before us, Num. xxiv. 17. is written, in the pointed Hebrew, as the patriarch's name, Gen. v. 4: both are translated accordingly; being rendered in the Septuagint, $\Sigma\tau\epsilon$, and in the Vulgate, *Seth*. The authors of the Chaldee Paraphrase and Jerusalem Targum prove, by their version, that they understood it of the patriarch; the one interpreting בני שט, as 'all the sons of men;' the other, as 'all the *Orientalists*,' who were properly descendants of *Seth*. The word is accordingly adopted with this orthography, not only by Houbigant following the unpointed Hebrew, and by Pagnini following the pointed, but in the Syriac, which reads ܫܡܝܬ , and in the Arabic, which reads شبيث ; and by the authors of the French, Spanish and German versions. The Italian, indeed, renders it, not as a proper, but a common name, 'i figliuoli di *fondamento*;' and the English, altering its orthography without any authority, renders it, 'all the sons of *Sheth*.'

And Idumea shall be a possession,
 And Seir shall be a possession of his foes :
 And Israel shall do [deeds of] might:¹²⁸
 He [that] shall rule¹²⁹ [shall be] from Jacob,
 And shall destroy him that survives of the city."¹³⁰

¹²⁸ The versions in rendering this passage, are opposed with one consent, to the Chaldee in which it is rendered; וישראל יצלח, 'and Israel shall prosper in goods;' in the Syriac, it is translated, כן יצא ישראל, 'and Israel shall acquire might;' in the Arabic, واسرايل يزداد ايداء, 'and Israel shall encrease in might;' in the Samaritan אִשְׂרָאֵל יַעֲשֶׂה כֹּחַ, 'and Israel shall do [deeds of] might :'; in the Septuagint, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐποίησεν ἐν ἰσχύν, 'and Israel did in might :'; in the Latin, 'Israel vero fortiter aget :'; in the Italian, 'ed Israel farà prodezze;' in the Spanish, 'mas Israel procederá esforzadamente;' in the French, 'et Israel agira vaillamment :'; in the German, 'Israel aber wird Sieg haben;' (have victory); and in the English, 'and Israel shall do valiantly.'

¹²⁹ The Septuagint renders this passage, καὶ ἐξ Ἰακώβ, 'and he shall arise from out of Jacob;' deriving the Hebrew וירר, from the verb ירר, to descend, instead of רדה to rule. And in this rendering, they are generally countenanced by the Oriental versions, which adopt the verb נחח, נסח, of which Buxtorf declares, Lex. Chald. c. 1330. "pro Hebræo ירר usurpatum." Thus the Chaldee יקעב יקעב מרביה חר, ויחור חר, 'and one shall descend from the house of Jacob;' the Syriac כן יצא ישראל, 'and he shall descend from Jacob;' and the Samaritan אִשְׂרָאֵל יַעֲשֶׂה כֹּחַ, with the same sense. The Arabic, however, coincides with the Western versions, rendering the passage, والذي يستولي من آل يعقوب, 'and he who shall rule from Jacob shall' &c. Thus also the Vulgate, 'de Jacob erit qui dominetur;' the Italian, 'ed uno disceso di Jacob signoreggerà;' the Spanish, 'de Jacob saldrá el que domine;' the French, 'et celui qui dominera viendra de Jacob;' the German, 'aus Jacob wird der Herrscher kommen;' and the English, 'out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion :'; in which, by a singular coincidence, these versions, by means of the auxiliary verb which they employ, express both the roots from which the Hebrew verb is deduced.

¹³⁰ This passage is rendered, in the same sense, by the Septuagint καὶ ἀπολεί σῶζόμενον ἐκ πόλεως; and by St. Jerome, 'et per-

And he beheld the Amalekite, and uttered his mystic speech, and said ;

“ The Amalekite is the head of the nations,
But his end¹³¹ is [appointed] for destruction.”

And he beheld the Cainite¹³² and uttered his mys-

det reliquias civitatis : by the Chaldee, גוינו קטנוכי קטנוכי קטנוכי, ‘and will destroy him that escapes of the city of the people ;’ by the Syriac, ܩܬܝܢܝܐ ܕܩܝܢܝܐܐܝܬܐ ܕܩܝܢܝܐܝܬܐ, ‘and will destroy him that escapes from the city ;’ and by the Arabic, بئيد السيد القرى, ‘will destroy the fugitive from the cities,’ which sufficiently authenticates the received reading, by establishing its antiquity and general reception.

¹³¹ The Septuagint renders this passage, ἐν τῷ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ἀπολείται, ‘and his seed shall be destroyed ;’ taking קטנוכי in a sense which it is frequently assigned. But independent of the antithesis between that word and ראשיה, which is lost in this version ; the common rendering accords better with Exod. xvii. 14. and is generally followed in the versions. The Latin expresses ‘cujus extrema ;’ the Chaldee קטנוכי, ‘and his end ;’ the Syriac, ܩܬܝܢܝܐܝܬܐ, the Arabic, وانحرها, and the Samaritan ܩܬܝܢܝܐܝܬܐ, the same sense : of the modern versions, the Italian ‘e’l’aurario-nante ;’ the Spanish, ‘cuyas postremetas ;’ and the English, ‘his latter end :’ but, with an adverbial force, the French, ‘mais à la fin ;’ and the German, ‘aber zuletzt.’

¹³² This name is variously rendered in the different versions. In the primitive character, קַיִן, and in the unpointed Hebrew קן, it differs not from the name of the first son of Adam. According to the Masoretical pointing, these names differ merely as קן from קַיִן ; both of which are rendered *Cain*, by Pagnini and Arias Montanus, who scrupulously follow, in the rendering of proper names, the orthography of the Masorets. By the Chaldee paraphrast, the Hebrew phrase, וירא את קני, ‘and he beheld the Cainite,’ is rendered וירא את שלמאן, ‘and he beheld the *Salmaean*,’ which is transferred to the Jerusalem Targum, וירא את שלמאן. Those who render the phrase ‘and he beheld the *Kenite*,’ are of course deserted by the authority of these ancient versions ; the authors of which have obviously adopted this term from סלע in the context, ושים בסלע קנך, ‘and put thy nest in a rock,’ where there is a palpable play upon the name. The Septuagint, employing the term, Κεναϊον, or Κιναϊον, and the Vulgate

Until the Assyrian shall take thee captive."¹³⁴

And he uttered his mystic speech, and said ;

“ Alas ! who shall live when God [appointeth] this ?
For [there shall be] ships¹³⁵ from the side¹³⁶ of Citium,

werden ; and in the English, ‘ nevertheless the Kenite *shall be wasted*.’ The Arabic, though paraphrastic, appears to have originated in the same reading, واذا يكون وقت لنفي القينيين, ‘ and when the time shall be for expelling the Kenites from you.’

¹³⁴ In the Samaritan this passage is rendered, 9733 734 777 777 777 777, ‘ thy return from Assur is a witness :’ and in the Arabic, with a direct application to the *Kenites*, يسيبهم الموصليون ‘ the Musoleans (or Assyrians) shall take *from them* captives.’ But in this rendering they are opposed to the common consent of the versions ; to the Greek and Latin, *uti* *supr.* n.¹³³. to the Chaldee, ער מה אחוראח ישבך, ‘ whilever the Assyrian shall make *thee* captive ;’ to the Syriac, حتى لا ياتيك, ‘ until Assur shall lead *thee* captive ;’ to the Italian, ‘ infino attanto ch’ Assur *ti* meni in cattività ;’ to the Spanish, ‘ pues Assur *te* apresera ;’ to the French, ‘ jusqu’ à ce qu’ Assur *te* mene en captivité ;’ to the German ‘ wenn Assur *dich* gefangen wegführen wird ;’ and to the English, ‘ until Assur shall carry *thee* away captive.’

¹³⁵ The modern versions, are corroborated by the Chaldee and the Latin, in rendering this passage ; the former renders it, וסיען יצרחן, ‘ and *ships* shall come ;’ the latter, ‘ venient in *trieribus* :’ so also the Italian, ‘ poi appresso (veranno) *navi* ;’ the Spanish, ‘ vendrán en *galeras* ;’ the French, ‘ et des *vaisseaux* viendront ;’ the German, ‘ und *Schiffe*,’ and the English, ‘ and *Ships* shall come.’ But the Greek renders it, ἐξέλθουσιν, ‘ he shall come forth ;’ the Syriac, سلكهم من حصن, ‘ and *legions* shall come from ;’ the Samaritan, 777 777 777 777, ‘ he shall lead them ;’ and the Arabic, والداوميين, ‘ and those who shall betake them.’

¹³⁶ Thus I conceive the passage is most justly rendered ; the idiom formed in Hebrew by the term יד, *hand*, being in many cases analogous to that formed in English by the term *side*. Thus 1 Sam. iv. 13. יד דרך, *the hand of the way*, is justly rendered, in the English version, ‘ the way-*side* ;’ and *Ibid.* 18. יד השער, *the hand of the gate*, as justly, ‘ the *side* of the gate :’ examples of the same idiom may be found in Deut. ii. 37. Prov.

And shall vex the Assyrian, and vex the Hebrew ;¹³⁷
And he also [is reserved] for destruction.

Even while this prophecy is regarded through the medium of a servile translation, divested of its idioms, and separated from those local and hereditary associations, which rendered its subject fami-

viii. 3. Dan. x. 4. Of the ancient versions, this term is transferred into the text of the Samaritan ; and wholly omitted in the Chaldee ; in the Syriac it is translated *ܣܘܚ ܐܝܘܢ ܕܚܝܬܝܡ*, 'from the land of Chittim,' and in the Arabic, *من قريضة قبرس*, 'from the port of Cyprus,' to which the Italian nearly conforms, 'dalla *costà di Chittim*,' and the English, 'from the coast of *Chittim*.' The Chaldee *מכחאי*, 'from the Cithians,' and the German, 'aus Chitim,' though less explicit, express too much ; the French, 'du quartier de Kittim' appears to me to have most faithfully rendered the passage.

¹³⁷ In the Chaldee paraphrase, this passage is rendered with a manifest accommodation to the national prejudices of the Hebrews ; *ויענון לאחור וישתעבדון לעבר פרת*, 'and will afflict Assyria, and subjugate beyond the river Euphrates ;' which rendering is transplanted into the Targum of Jonathan. As, from the apposition of Eber and Assur, in the Hebrew, both terms must be taken with the same sense ; in this translation the original is grossly misrepresented. It is accordingly rejected by the common suffrage of the versions, ancient and modern. In the Septuagint the passage is accordingly rendered, *καὶ κακώσονται Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ κακώσονται Ἑβραῖους* ; in the Vulgate, 'superabunt Assyrios, vastabuntque *Hebraeos* ;' in the Syriac *ܘܫܘܒܘܢ ܐܝܘܢ ܕܚܝܬܝܡ*, 'and shall subdue Assur, and subdue the *Hebrews* ;' in the Samaritan, *אשור אשור אשור אשור אשור אשור אשור אשור אשור אשור*, 'shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict *Eber* ;' and also in the Arabic, *تعذب الموصليون والعبريين*, 'will afflict the Assyrians and the *Hebrews* ;' by Pagnini and Arias Montanus, 'et affligent Assur, et affligent *Heber* ;' by Houbigant, 'oppriment Assur, oppriment *Hebraeum*.' It is likewise taken in the same sense by the common suffrage of the modern versions : in the Italian, 'ed affligeranno Assur, ed opprresseranno *Eber* ;' in the Spanish, 'vencerán á los Assirios, y destruirán á los *Hebréos* ;' in the French, 'et ils affligeront Assur et *Heber* ;' in the German, 'werden verderben den Assur und *Eber* ;' and in the English, 'and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict *Eber*.'

liar to the persons, who were immediately addressed by its author, it marks out the extraordinary personage to whom the prediction applies, in a manner too explicit to be long mistaken. So obvious is it in its application, that the earlier Jews, whose sentence is valuable in proportion to its antiquity, exclusively recognised the expected Messiah, in the prophetic declaration ;

I shall see him, but not now,
I shall behold him, but not near:¹³⁸

Many of their later commentators have indeed discovered in it a different force, and have assigned it a different application, in which they have succeeded in gaining over some followers, where it seems strange they should have made any proselytes.¹³⁹ It would be, however, attended with little difficulty to prove, from a view of the entire scheme of Prophecy, and the history of the nations whose fortunes it predicts, that it was wholly perverted from its object, in receiving any application to David ; in whom it is supposed the prediction was primarily, and of course, properly accom-

¹³⁸ In the Targum of Jerusalem the above-cited passage is paraphrased in the following words ; "A Prince shall arise from the house of Jacob, and a Redeemer and ruler from the house of Israel, and shall slay the mighty ones of Moab, and annihilate and destroy all the sons of the East." In the Targum of Jonathan it is paraphrased as follows ; "When a brave Prince shall reign of the house of Jacob, and shall be anointed Messiah, and a mighty sceptre from Israel, and slay the rulers of Moab, and annihilate all the sons of Seth" &c. In the ancient Targum of Onkelos it is interpreted in the same sense.

¹³⁹ R. Salom. Jarchi in loc. understands the passage of David ; in this view of the prophecy it is less wonderful to find the Apostate Julian concur, Oper. Tom. I. p. 262. a. than the Rt. Rev. author of the Dissert. on Prophecy, who contends for the *primary application* of the prophecy to the same monarch : Newt. Works, Vol. I. p. 80.

plished. A small share of attention, directed to the original cause which occasioned the prediction, to the ultimate object at which it aims, and to the circumstances under which it was delivered, will enable us to form a just estimate of the subject.

As the original cause which occasioned the delivery of Balaam's prophecy was the recent inroad of the Israelites, on the borders of Moab; the ultimate object of his prediction is their captivity and removal from that territory by a more powerful people; for whom a like fate was reserved to that which they had inflicted. In making this disclosure, the prophet met the views, and replied to the requisition of the king of Moab, whose apprehensions at the advancement of so formidable an enemy on the borders of his territory, had first led him to engage the enchanter of Pethor, to employ his art, in the destruction of the invaders. But with the fate of Israel, the fortunes of Moab were inseparably connected. The Assyrians having been made the instruments of the judgments which were reserved for the Israelites; the direct road to the invasion of their territory lay through the dominions of Moab. And at the period when this prediction received a signal accomplishment, in the captivity and deportation of ten tribes, and the utter subversion of the throne of Israel; the Assyrians commenced their operations against that kingdom, with the subjugation of the Moabites, having wasted their territories, and dismantled their cities.¹⁴⁰ As this

¹⁴⁰ The circumstances which attended the final dissolution of the kingdom of Israel, are thus succinctly stated by Abp. Ussher; *Annal.* p. 55. ad A. M. 3280. "Shalmaneser having discovered the conspiracy of Hosea, *first occupied the territory of the Moabites* (that he might leave nothing in his rear,

was an event of paramount interest to that nation, whom Balaam immediately addressed; it is accordingly selected by him, as the principal subject which he had to reveal, in giving them an insight into futurity. "Come," he declares to the king of Moab, "and I will advertise thee, what this people shall occasion to thy people, in the latter days."

Not less intimately connected with the object which the prophet had in view was the advent of that expected Personage, to whose coming he first directs the attention of his hearers, on promising to disclose the disastrous consequences, with which the establishment of the new settlers in their borders would be finally attended. In the common calamity in which Moab would be involved with Israel, the evils inflicted by Assyria operated as a scourge, to reclaim and to chastise them in their common apostacy; redemption and protection having been offered, through that Great Deliverer, whose kingdom would finally triumph over the people who should subjugate Israel

which would be detrimental to his forces,) having cut off their two chief cities, Ar and Kir-hareseth; according to the prophecy of Isaiah, delivered the third year before the event. He then *invaded the entire kingdom of Israel*: and going up against Samaria, in the fourth year of Hezekiah and the seventh of Hosea, then commencing; besieged it for three years. At the end of the third year of the siege, Shalmaneser took Samaria, and *carried away the Israelites*, and placed them *in Halach, and Habor, and Nehar-gozen*, (where Tiglathpileser had transplanted the two tribes and a half which inhabited Perea beyond Jordan), and *in the cities of the Medes*. For the anarchy which prevailed among the Medes, before the royal authority was committed to Dejoces afforded the Assyrians the opportunity of occupying their cities. . . . And thus *ended the kingdom of Israel*, after it had remained 254 years separated from the kingdom of Judah."

and Moab.¹⁴¹ As the advent of this expected personage would be not less signally marked by the destruction of his enemies, than by the deliverance of his adherents; the former having been the relation in which the Moabites had placed themselves, by their depraved habits and idolatrous worship, they had rendered themselves obnoxious to his vengeance. Such was the light in which they were prepared by the prophet to expect his arrival: his power would be displayed in the subversion of the idols, and the destruction of the idolaters,—he would “break the Termini of Moab, and destroy all the Sethites.”

With the leading object which Balaam had in view, he interweaves the fate of the different people whom he beheld from the elevated situation to which Balak had conducted him, to survey the encampment of Israel. The fortunes of these nations had an obvious connexion with the fate of this people, with whom they were connected not merely by the geographical position of their territories, and the participation in the same rites and worship, but by the ties of consanguinity. Moab traced its original to Lot; Edom and Amalek, as the descendants of Esau, were also collaterally descended from the same stock with the children of Israel. As these nations were viewed from the

¹⁴¹ The defection of the Israelites to the worship of Baal, and their disregard of the prophets who were sent to reclaim them from their idolatry are stated to have been the causes of their deportation and captivity: 2 Kings, xvii. 6—18. The prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah, who uttered particular predictions against the Moabites, upbraid this people with their devotion to the same idolatrous worship: Is. xvi. 12. Jer. xlviii. 35. By Isaiah, whose prophecy was delivered three years, before the territory of Moab was laid waste by the Assyrians, she was “exhorted to yield obedience to Christ’s kingdom:” vid. Is. xvi. 3—5.

heights of Nebo, the Israelites were beheld encamped in the plains of Moab; beyond their borders, the Moabites extended themselves along the banks of Arnon; still further south, the Edomites extended themselves along the skirts of Palestine; and beyond their territories the Amalekites, reaching northward to the sea, occupied the intermediate country between Edom and Egypt. By these nations, the entire tract through which the route of the Israelites lay, in seeking their destination in Canaan, was consequently occupied; and they had severally become implicated with the emigrant nation, in denying them a passage through their territories; the Amalekites having opposed their progress by force of arms.¹⁴² The prophet, who beheld them from the elevated position where he was placed, was thus afforded an opportunity to connect their destiny with the fortunes of Israel, which he was employed in disclosing. Suitably to the disposition which they had displayed towards this people, such should be their retribution. While "a ruler of the house of Jacob should have the dominion, Moab should be afflicted in its remotest boundaries, Edom should be the possession of its enemies, and Amalek be reserved for utter destruction."

Nor does the prophet leave it matter of conjecture that the period was distant, at which the prediction would receive its signal accomplishment. In avowing the object with which he addressed the king of Moab, he declares, that the consequences of which he advertised him would occur "in the latter days." When understood even in the laxest sense, these words must have marked the

¹⁴² Comp. Exod. xvii 8. 14. Num. xx. 14. 18. xxi. 11. 13. Deut. ii. 4. 8. 9.

decline of one or both of the nations, whose future destinies the prophet professes to reveal. With this specific signification they had been long used; the Jews having employed the phrase to designate the close of an old and waning dispensation, which would be superseded by a new order and economy, under the Messiah.¹⁴³ And the most profoundly learned of the early christian commentators have so understood them, and have deduced from them, in such a sense, the true application of the prophecy to Christ, and that the period of its accomplishment would be distant.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ By "the latter days" the Jews generally understood the times of the revelation of the Messiah: Targ. Jonath. in Gen. xxxv. 21. אחרגלי מלכא משיחא בסוף יומיא, 'in the end of days the Messiah, the Prince, will be revealed:' conf. R. Mos. Bar Nachman in Gen. xlix. 1. Dav. Kimch. in Is. ii. 1. Aberbanel in Pirke Avoth cap. iv. By the intervention of the Septuagint, we are enabled to trace the phrase, in the same sense, to the New Testament. The Hebrew באחרית הימים, occurring in the passage before us, which is rendered in Chaldee בסוף יומיא, is translated by the LXX. Gen. xlix. 1. ἐν ἰσχατίαι τῶν ἡμερῶν, and Num. xxiv. 14. ἐν ἰσχατίαι τῶν ἡμερῶν. St. Peter adopts the former terms, in speaking of the descent of the Holy Ghost, at the commencement of the New Dispensation, Acts ii. 17. and applies the latter to its close, in mentioning the scoffers who derided the notion of our Lord's second coming; 2 Pet. iii. 3. They are accordingly adopted, in the Jewish sense, by the generality of commentators among the Christians; vid. Hammond on Matt. xxiv. 3. Wolf. Cur. Philol. Vol. I. p. 338. b. Schleusn. Lex. Nov. Test. voc. αἰῶν. § 10. Buxtorf. Lex. Rabbin. voc. עולם. col. 1620.

¹⁴⁴ Origen, who possessed a knowledge of the original, which was not attainable by a reader merely of the Septuagint, consequently understands the passage, 'I shall see him,' as meant of Christ, and the phrase 'the latter days,' as meant of the time of his manifestation: Hom. xviii. in Num. Tom. II. p. 341. f. "In aliis quidem exemplaribus legimus, 'videbo eum sed non modo.' Quod si recipiatur, facilius intelligi putabitur, ut Christum, de quo in consequentibus dicit, 'orietur stella ex Jacob, et exsurget homo de Israel,' videndum, dicat esse, sed

There is consequently no just ground for maintaining a second opinion,¹⁴⁶ as to the person intended by the prophet, in the splendid passage in which he opens his prediction ;

I shall see him, but not now,
I shall behold him, but not near :

Even the indefinite nature of the language which he employs sufficiently discloses his purpose: the personage to whom he alludes being so obvious as to require no specific designation.¹⁴⁷

non modo : hoc est, non eo tempore quo ista loquebantur. In *novissimis enim diebus*, 'ubi venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus filium suum.' After explaining the text, as rendered in the vulgar translation, he adds, *Ibid.* p. 342. b. "Sed hoc tempus, in quo hæc futura sunt, non appropinquat: longe enim est, et in ipso sæculi fine sperandum."

¹⁴⁵ Bp. Newton assigns the following as his reason for applying the prophecy, in its primary sense, to David; *uti supr.* p. 82.—"for this reason *particularly*, because Balaam is here advertising Balak, 'What this people *should do* to his people in *the latter days*,' that is what the Israelites *should do* to the Moabites *hereafter*." In both of which positions, the learned writer's commentary is unfortunately deserted by the authority of his original. The term which he here renders 'should do,' is in the original יִפְעֵל ; and as thus pointed by the Masorets in the *fut. Hiphil*, has consequently the sense 'will cause to be done:' the verb in *Kal* signifying *to do*, but in *Hiphil* to cause others to do. That the accompanying $\text{בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים}$, has a very different force from what it receives in the 'hereafter' of the learned commentator, has been I trust sufficiently established; *supr.* p. 82. n.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁶ Willemer *Desert. de Stel. ex Jacob. oriund.* § 10. "Objectum visionis significatur inseparabili pronomine וְ , *illum*, nempe *REGEM MESSIAM*, suo regnique splendore illustrem, ut cum stella lucidissima multis modis conferri mereatur. Similiter ad personam pronomem istud referunt Chaldæi, Syrus, Samaritanus, Vulgatus, Estius, Tirinus, Castalio, ipseque Lutherus, dum convertit eum, *Ihn*. Ubi ex vero observavit Cajetanus vocem *eum* אֵת יֵשׁוּעַ respicere Christum, tanquam personam nulli comparandam, et de qua dicatur, omnium maxime dignam."

Nor let it be supposed, that as thus pointed out by merely negative marks, the character to which the prophet alludes is vague and uncertain. The terms which he employs to announce his coming are nearly identical with those by which the Messiah was designated, at a time when the expectation of his advent was realised.¹⁴⁷ And in describing the character by which that event would be distinguished, he selects those images, which identify, beyond all doubt, the real object of the prediction:

A star shall proceed out of Jacob,

A sceptre shall rise out of Israel:

On the signification of these words, two hypotheses are maintained; which, though they lead to their end by different ways, terminate in establishing the same conclusion. At an early period of the church, this prediction was understood in the letter; and was supposed to foretell the appearance of the star by which Magians were conducted to Judea, at the time of the nativity.¹⁴⁸ And in

¹⁴⁷ The Messiah was generally designated in the times of our Lord merely by the terms, ὁ ἐρχόμενος, 'he who is to come,' or, as expressed in the vernacular Syriac, [ܠ] ܘܨܝܘܕ: vid. Matt. xi. 3. Luc. vii. 19. John vi. 14. Heb. x. 37. The grammatical refinement of Houbigant, who refers the pronoun *him* to "God," and "the Highest," which precede in the context, and thus converts the text into a testimony in favor of the divinity of the Messiah, is therefore without apparent necessity. He observes *Bibl. Sacr. not. in Num. xxiv. 17.* "Affixum ܘܨܝܘܕ, *eum*, pertinet ad ܠܐ, *Deum*, et ad ܘܨܝܘܕ, *Altissimum*, quæ nomina mox antecesserunt. Ex quo sequitur, aut Balaam, nihil sententiæ, quanquam Deo afflante, extulisse, aut vaticinatum fuisse venturum esse in terras Deum Altissimum."

¹⁴⁸ Origen, whose opinions regulated the prevailing mode in theology, for a long period, understood the passage in this sense, *Hom. in Num. uti supr. p. 342. b.* "Post hæc, 'Orietur' inquit, 'stella ex Jacob, et exsurget homo ex Israel.' De his et in superioribus diximus, quia evidenter de stella quæ Magis, in

favor of this interpretation a still more ancient prescription may be pleaded, as in such a sense, the prediction appears to have been understood by those Eastern sages.

But from the precision of modern criticism, the prediction has received a different exposition; according to its decision, nothing more was intended by the prophet than a mysterious metaphor, or hieroglyphic expressive of the character of the expected personage.¹⁴⁹ In favor of this explanation it has been urged, that as the star is said to "proceed out of Jacob," the description is wholly inapplicable to any natural phenomenon by which the Magians could be directed.¹⁵⁰ It may be also acknowledged, in its support, that such figures are perfectly consistent with the prophetic style;¹⁵¹ and that an earlier prophecy of the patriarch Jacob is nearly constructed of similar metaphors.¹⁵² Of the two images which Balaam employs, it must be admitted, that both should be naturally understood in the same sense; and as it is not to be conceived, that a real "sceptre should rise out of Israel," neither can it be imagined, that a real "star should proceed out of Jacob."

As the language of the prophet must be consequently understood in a figurative sense; the ima-

orientis apparuit, prophetetur: qua duce venerunt ad Judæam, requirentes eum qui natus est rex Israel, et repertum oblati muneribus adoraverunt."

¹⁴⁹ In this sense the passage is understood by Bp. Newton, *ubi supr.* p. 77. who, in this view of it expressly follows Bp. Warburton, *ibid.* p. 81.

¹⁵⁰ Houbigant, *ubi supr.*

¹⁵¹ Vid. Walt. Appar. in *Bibl. Polyglot.* Tom. I. p. 47. Nonnunquam hieroglyphicis [Scripturæ] utuntur, et symbolis, et ænigmatibus, &c.

¹⁵² Gen. xlix. 3. seq.

ges which he has chosen, not only possess a natural sense,¹⁵³ but a sense which is most appropriate to the subject. The characters by which the advent of the Messiah was to be distinguished, are described by our Lord, in reply to the interrogatives of his disciples, as to "the signs of his coming:" he informs them that "they should see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory."¹⁵⁴ Of the emblems by which these attributes might be represented, the imagination can scarcely conceive two more appropriate or happy, than the *sceptre* and *star*, which were selected by the prophet. On this account, it appears, that the true Messiah is described under the image of "the morning-star;"¹⁵⁵ and the glories which would attend his appearance are represented as "the day-spring from on high, which visited his people."¹⁵⁶

Another and not less apposite characteristic of the divine personage to whom the prophecy applies is contained in the judgments, which at his advent would be visited on his enemies. Such is

¹⁵³ The exposition of Origen merits transcription, as less extravagant than most of the comments of that fanciful expositor, Hom. in Num. uti supr. p. 342. e. "Et ideo *deitatis* ejus indicium illam *stellam* fuisse opinor. Unde et ordo prophetiæ hæc eadem consequenter ostendit, cum de deitate quidem ejus dicit, 'Orietur stella ex Jacob;' de humana vero natura, 'Et exsurget homo ex Israel;' ut in utroque et secundum deitatem, et secundum humanitatem, Christus prophetatus evidenter appareat." It may be observed, that in understanding the symbol in this sense, Origen, as an Alexandrine, interprets it as an Egyptian heroglyphic; for we learn from Horus Apollo, ἄστρον παρ' Ἀιγυπτίους γραφόμενος Θεὸν σημαίνει. The subsequent part of his exposition is founded on the mistranslation of the Septuagint, ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ.

¹⁵⁴ Matt. xxiv. 30.

¹⁵⁵ 2 Pet. i. 19. Rev. ii. 28.

¹⁵⁶ Luke i. 78. conf. Matt. iv. 16. et Wetsten. not. in loc.

the light in which that event is described, in the entire prophetic scheme: from the prediction uttered by Enoch before the deluge,¹⁵⁷ to the prophecy delivered by our Lord, on the downfall of Jerusalem, such are the terrors in which it is arrayed, by the prophets. In the figurative language in which their denunciations are delivered, the enemies of the Messiah's kingdom are characterised, under the names of the earliest adversaries of Israel.¹⁵⁸ Balaam's speaking in the same spirit, adopts the same language. In describing the visitations which would accompany the manifestation of the Divine Personage, he marks out, as the objects of his wrath, those nations which had exhibited, from the first, a hostile disposition towards the Israelites: and thus specifies Moab, Edom and Amalek, as devoted to judgment. The consanguinity between the Israelites and the descendants of Lot and Esau, served as a temporary protection to their territory;¹⁵⁹ but there was a time appointed in the counsels of the Highest, when judgment would fall upon those idolatrous nations; when the image would be broken, and its worshipper destroyed; "Edom would then be subjected, even in the fastnesses of Seir; Moab would be led captive by Assyria: and Amalek be wasted by a protracted and exterminating warfare."¹⁶⁰

This denunciation of particular judgments reserved for the immediate enemies of Israel, the prophet follows up, with a statement of the retri-

¹⁵⁷ Vid. sup. p. 27.

¹⁵⁸ Walt. Appar. ubi supr. § xxv. p. 46. "Synecdochice per Philistinos, Arabes, Ægyptios, Moab, Ammon, Idumæos, et alias gentes barbaras, Judæis vicinas et notas, significant prophetæ omnes gentes impias, subigendas a Christo, totumque mundum ad eum convertendum: ita S. Hier. in cap. lx. Isaia.

¹⁵⁹ Deut. ii. 4. 5. 9.

¹⁶⁰ See Exod. xvii. 14. 16.

bution prepared for her more powerful and successful adversaries. After adverting to the captivity and deportation by the Assyrians, this being the main object of his prediction, the principal event of which he undertakes to advertise the king of Moab, he closes his prophecy in the following terms :

Alas ! who shall live, when God appointeth this ?
 For there shall be ships from the side of Chittim,
 And shall vex the Assyrian, and vex the Hebrew,
 And he also is reserved for destruction.

It has been clearly established,¹⁶¹ on the authority of sacred and profane writers, that the nations of Palestine understood by the Chittim, the Macedonians and Romans : in whose invasion and conquest of the great empire, which passed successively under the dominion of the Assyrians and Persians, this prediction received an extraordinary accomplishment. But, as on the sense in which the concluding denunciation of the prophet is understood, in a great measure depends, not only the ascertainment of the accuracy with which it has

¹⁶¹ The authorities on this subject are collected by the learned Bochart, *Geogr. Sacr. Lib. III. cap. v. col. 157. seq.* who proves, by numerous quotations from sacred and profane writers, that under the term Chittim the Macedonians and Romans were meant : though he inclines to think the latter people were rather intended in the passage before us. Bp. Newton however reconciles the contradiction, by adopting both opinions ; understanding the prediction as referring to the eastern conquests of both Greeks and Romans ; *Dissert. ubi supr. p. 86.* As the opinions of the ancients on this subject are briefly stated by St. Jerome, they may be here laid before the reader ; *Com. in Is. xxiii. Tom. IV. p. 60. c.* “ Cethim Cyprum quidam interpretantur : usque hodie enim est apud eos urbs Citium ; de qua et Zeno Stoicæ sectæ hæresiarches fuit : quanquam *plerique nostrorum*, et maxime *Machabæorum principum*, Cethim *Italiæ Macedoniaque insulas arbitrentur.*”

been fulfilled, but of the main object at which it aims, the subject merits still further consideration. While it is not to be denied, that the language of the prophet conveys the plain and natural sense, "*the Hebrew*... also is reserved for destruction:" it cannot be disputed that, by the obvious and literal sense¹⁶² of this passage, every forced and artificial construction of it¹⁶³ must be superseded. At the period in which Balaam delivered his prophecy, the Romans, whose existence as a nation had not commenced, could be only known under the name of the Chittim:¹⁶⁴ this extraordinary pro-

¹⁶² By Bp. Newton, the pronoun 'he,' in the concluding line of the prediction, is referred to 'Chittim,' Dissert. ubi supr. p. 89. But independant of the remoteness of the substantive, its employment in the constructive case unfits it for qualifying the pronoun; its dependence in that case, upon the noun η , proves it rather the name of a place than a person. By Origen the pronoun is with greater justice referred to 'the Assyrian,' which intervenes between it and 'the Hebrew:' Homil. ubi supra p. 346. e. But even this construction, as forced, must give place to the more natural and literal in which it is referred to 'the Hebrew,' as the noun immediately preceding; with a view of the passage is adopted and defended by Houbigant; Bibl. Sacr. not. in loc.

¹⁶³ In this sentence I would be understood to proscribe the sense ascribed to the passage, by the learned Dr. Hyde, who following the later Targuums, understands the term עבר, as meaning, *ultrafluvialem*; and consequently excludes the name of 'Hebrew' altogether, from the denunciation of Balaam: De Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 52. I have already stated some objections to this view of the passage, and cited a variety of authorities in favor of the received translation: supr. p. 56. n. 157. On the present occasion, it is merely necessary to oppose to the authority of Dr. Hyde, the opinion of an oriental scholar no less reputed. Bochart. ubi supr. Lib. II. cap. xiv. p. 105. "Tamen in scriptura certum est, *Transeuphratenses* non dici עברים sed אנשי מעבר נהר: vid. 2 Sam. x. 16. Esd. iv. 10. 11. . . . Denique *Ebraeorum gens* etiam vocatur *Eber*, Num. xxiv. 24. et *fili Eber*, Gen. x. 21."

¹⁶⁴ By the Jewish historian, who was contemporary with

phesy must be consequently understood as predicting the destruction of the Hebrew Republic by the last and most powerful of the invaders of Asia. And regarded in this light, it becomes a subject of further interest, from the striking coincidence which it again exhibits to the prophecy delivered by our Lord, on that event, when interrogated by his disciples, on "the signs of *his coming*, and of the end of *the age*."¹⁶⁵ In reply to their re-

Balaam, *Chittim* is mentioned among "the sons of *Javan* . . . by whom *the isles of the Gentiles*, were divided in their lands." Gen. x. 4. 5. From hence *the Greeks*, whom Homer, *Iliad* N. 685. terms *Ἰάκωνες*, or *Ἰάκωνες*, derived their origin and their name; Hier. ubi supr. p. 226. c. "*Græci autem qui sermone Hebraico appellantur Javan, Ionas significant: unde et Græci Iones et mare Ionium.*" The *Latins*, who constituted the next great branch of '*the Gentiles*,' mentioned by Moses, as *Eolians* by descent, were derived from the same original: vid. *Salmas. in Solin. Tom. I. p. 650. d.* As neither people existed as a nation, at the times of the *Exod*, they were necessarily termed by Balaam after their aboriginal instead of their national appellation; the name *Chittim* or *Citium*, being chosen by him, in consequence of its being expressly applied to *the Macedonians and Latins*, as may be seen in *Bochart: ubi supr. p. 157.* On the subject of the *Persian* name and nation the prophet is equally silent, for the same reason; this people being included by him under the term *Assyrian*, of whose empire they and the *Medes*, who succeeded to the dominion of *Asia*, formed merely a part; vid. *Herod. Lib. I. cap. xc. xcvi.* In the prophecy of Balaam, "the *Assyrian* and the *Hebrew*" are particularized, as they were respectively the remote cause and the immediate instruments of the calamities which the prophet advertises *Balak* would fall upon his people, in the latter days.

¹⁶⁵ Matt. xxiv. 3. τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας, καὶ τῆς συνελθείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, which is properly rendered in the *Latin Vulgate*, 'quid signum adventus tui, et consummationis sæculi;' and in the *Syriac*, ܩܘܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ. By the intervention of ܕܡܝܢܐ, in the latter version, we at once identify the phrase in the *Hebrew*; in which the terms עולם הזה and עולם הבא, are opposed in the sense of—'this age, and the age which is to come:' from whence they have been adopted, not only in the *Syriac*, ܩܘܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ, but in the *Greek*, ὁ αἰὼν

quisition, he apprises them of the destruction of the Temple, and of the downfall of Jerusalem; in the ruins of which the Hebrew Polity was irrecoverably buried with the Jewish Religion.

After the details into which I have thus minutely entered, in exposition of this extraordinary prophecy, a further appeal to the Jews, on its object and purport, may be considered superfluous. But the Chaldee paraphrase, as containing the popular version of the Jewish Law, and as completed at least forty years before the Christian era, delivers a sentence which is at once so impartial and decisive, that it appears to merit transcription. The version which it gives of Balaam's prophecy exhibits a closeness and fidelity to the original; but when the prophet expresses his confidence of beholding some distinguished Personage, though at a distant period, the translator, deserting the indefinite and figurative language of his original, applies the passage, in the most explicit terms, to the Messiah.

I shall see him, but not now,

ἄρας . . . ὁ αἰὼν ἰσχυρίστος, vid. Luke xvi. 8. xviii. 30. &c. On the Greek phrase Schleusner observes, Lex. Nov. Test. voc. αἰὼν § 10. "αἰῶν κατ' ἰσχυρὸν tempus Vet. Test. seu œconomia Mosai- cae notat. 1 Cor. x. 11. ἰθ' ἕς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήγγισεν, 'quæ vivimus tempore Nov. Test.' quo plene abrogata est œconomia Mosai- ca: et Heb. ix. 26. ἰσὺ τῆ ἀναστασία τῶν αἰώνων, sensu eod- em." On the Hebrew phrase, Buxtorf observes, Lex. Chald. voc. עולם. "Quidam per עולם חבא intelligunt ימות המשיח, dies Messia, quibus scilicet venturus Messias, quem Judæi adhuc expectant, quod in hoc mundo temporaliter regnaturus sit." In this view 'the end of the age,' used by our Lord, is perfectly analogous to 'the latter days,' employed by Balaam; both expressing the abrogation of the Mosaic economy as preparatory to the introduction of the Christian dispensation;—the abolition of the Hebrew republic, previous to the establishment of Christ's kingdom.

I shall behold him, but not near :
 When a King shall come out of Jacob,
 And the Messiah be anointed out of Israel ;
 And shall slay the princes of Moab,
 And rule over the sons of men ;
 Idumea shall be a possession,
 And Seir shall be the inheritance of his foes,
 But Israel shall prosper in substance.¹⁶⁶

Thus far it may be assumed as proved, that, in the same year in which Moses closed his legation, an Assyrian prophet, expressing the most confident expectation, that a Messiah would arise in Israel of the lineage of Jacob, taught the surrounding nations, that the polity which the Jewish law-giver established was of a declining and temporary nature. While he expresses the fullest assurance, that he would behold, at a future though distant period, this divine Personage ; he intimates, in the plainest terms, the great national revolutions that would precede the introduction of his authority : which, at once inculcated the necessity of turning, for safety, to the expected Deliverer, and determined the period at which he would appear.

With what consummate wisdom a prophet, who was a pagan and diviner, was chosen to be the organ through which these truths were published, is so happily illustrated by an ancient writer, that I shall need no apology for transcribing him in full. ¹⁶⁷“ Balaam, as we have observed above, was a diviner, having sometimes a prescience of future events, through the intervention of demons, and magic arts. He is required by Balak, king of Moab to curse the people of Israel : the ambassa-

¹⁶⁶ Targ. Onkel. in Num. xxiv. 17. seq.

¹⁶⁷ Origen, Hom. xiv. in Num. § 3. p. 324. c. “ Balaam hic, ut superius diximus, divinus erat, dæmonum scilicet ministerio, et arte magica nonnunquam futura prænoscens. Rogatur à

dors arrive with the rewards of divination : the nations stand astonished and anxious, what Balaam will answer, of whom they are persuaded, that he was worthy to be admitted to a conference with the divinity. Behold now, how the wisdom of God made this organ, who was chosen for reproach, profit not only one nation, but almost the whole world. . . For it was effected by the great and wonderful dispensation of God, as the words of the Prophets, which were inclosed within the Jewish veil, could not reach the Gentiles; that through Balaam, in whom the nations universally reposed faith, the secret mysteries of Christ should be made known; and that he should impart the inestimable treasure to the Gentiles," &c.

Still farther than this are we justified in pursuing our deductions, in illustration of this interesting subject. As the explicitness of Balaam's prediction must be imputed to the prophetic spirit by which he spoke; it may be supposed, that previously to the delivery of this prophecy, the nations for whom it was intended had no knowledge of the Divine Person, to whose manifestation they were then taught to look forward. Should it be therefore urged, that those opinions, to which I would ascribe the remotest antiquity, were of a recent o-

Balach rege ad maledicendum populo Israel, legati veniunt, divinacula in manibus ferunt, stant attonitæ gentes, et anxie, exspectantes quid respondeat Balaam, de quo persuasum habebant quod dignus divinis colloquiis haberetur. Vide nunc quomodo sapientia Dei vas istud ad contumeliam præparatum proficere fecit ad utilitatem non solum gentis unius, sed pene totius mundi: . . . Agebatur enim mira et magna dispensatione, ut quoniam Prophetarum verba, quæ intra aulam continebantur Israeliticam, ad gentes pervenire non poterant, per Balaam cui fides ab universis gentibus habebatur, innotescerent etiam nationibus secreta de Christo mysteria, et thesaurum magnum proferret ad gentes," &c.

igin among the Assyrians; the objection may find a direct answer, in the manner in which that Divine Personage is introduced in the prediction: the opening of which, would have been less abrupt, had not the subject been familiar. But positive proof may be adduced, from the popular superstitions of the period when the prediction was uttered, that the expectation of such a Personage prevailed among the people, for whose use and instruction it was intended. To such superstitions it indeed appears very expressly to allude; and against some pernicious errors which they tended to inculcate on the popular mind, it appears, in some of its leading topics, to have been immediately directed.

Brief as are the notices which it consisted with the purpose of the sacred historian to give of the superstitions of the nations bordering on Judea; they are sufficiently explicit to enable us to form an accurate idea of their rites and worship. As conducive to the main object of this inquiry, it remains to be observed, that in those superstitions every trait may be discovered which characterises the opinions and practices of the Sabaists; a sect, which was formerly noticed, as existing to this day, in the mountains bordering on Mesopotamia, and which claims a descent, not merely prior to Moses or Balaam, but antecedent even to the deluge.

At the period in which Balaam delivered his last prediction, the Israelites yielded to the seductive influence of the popular superstitions; having been led to join in the impure and idolatrous rites of Baal, through the corrupt suggestions of the prophet.¹⁶⁸ The account given by the sacred histo-

¹⁶⁸ Orig. uti supr. Hom. xx. p. 347. a. "Balaam posteaquam

fian of their defection is expressed by him in the following terms: ¹⁶⁹“ And Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began to commit fornication with the daughters of Moab. And they called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods. And Israel joined himself unto Baal-peor.”

When this brief account is confronted with a description of the Sabian superstitions, as sketched by a writer, who has traced it without any view to the similarity which it is my purpose to establish, the conviction of their perfect identity appears to be almost irresistible. After describing the general character of these superstitions, he observes, in reference to their rites and ceremonies; ¹⁷⁰“ Of these, others were more gross and open, the scope and intention of which will be apparent to every one, without the aid of an interpreter. To this class must be referred those rites, which were woven, as it were, of a coarser web; incurvations in temples consecrated to their gods; the prostitution of women in honor of the Syrian goddess; the performance of rites

Dei virtute constrictus, non est permissus maledicere Israel, volens tamen placere regi Balach, ait ad eum sicut scriptum est: ‘Veni, consilium do tibi.’ Et quid consilii dederit ibi non apparet, in posterioribus tamen ipsius libri Numerorum scriptum refertur. Sed plenius in Revelatione Joannis, ubi ita continetur: ‘Habes,’ inquit, ‘ibi quosdam, qui tenent doctrinam Balaam, qui docuit Balach, ut mitteret scandalum in conspectu filiorum Israel, ut manducarent idolis immolata, et fornicarentur.’ Ex hoc ergo apparet quod nequitia usus sit Balaam, et consilium dederit regi, &c.

¹⁶⁹ Num. xxv. 1. seq.

¹⁷⁰ Spene. de Leg. Heb. Lib. II. cap. i. sect. 4. “Ex iis [ritibus Zabæorum] alii magis crassi fuerunt et aperti; quorum nempe scopus et intentio, sine interprete aliquo, cuivis innotuerunt. In hunc censum referendi sunt ritus e filo quasi crassiore contexti, quales sunt Incurvatio in templis idolo consecratis, Feminarum in Veneris honorem publicatio, Sacrorum peractio

in a state of exposure which modesty prohibited; swearig by Baal and participating in idol sacrifices; the erection and dedication of statues, for religious worship, and reverence paid to the images; the immolation of children to Moloch, and rites performed to the idol, besides other ceremonies in which the Sabians plainly and openly avowed themselves devoted to the worship of demons."

In this infamous catalogue, the impure and impious rites, into which the Israelites were drawn by the depraved counsel of Balaam, possess a prominent place: when, indeed, the human sacrifices offered to Moloch are excepted, to every part of the description the plainest allusions may be traced, in the history of that disgraceful occurrence. As far as a subject of its nature admits of investigation, it seems necessary to enter into the inquiry; not merely as conducting to the point, to which these inquiries ultimately tend, but as contributing to account for the defection of the Israelites, to a superstition so depraved and degrading.

Baal-peor, the divinity in whose worship the Israelites joined, through the allurements of the Midianite women, is generally identified with the Priapus of the western nations. To this offensive deity rites and ministers were assigned suitable to the gross form and character in which he was represented. The superintendance of his worship was chiefly committed to priestesses, who were as disgracefully distinguished, by their dissolute morals, as the obscene idol, to which they

partibus nudatis quas honestas tegi jubet, Juramentum per Baal, idolothytarum participatio, Statuæ alicujus ad cultum erectio et dedicatio, honor religiosus imagini præstitus, Infantum Molocho immolatio, sacrum coram idolo factum, et consimiles alii, quorum usu Zabii se demonis cultui devotos esse palam et aperte profitebantur."

were consecrated, by his offensive appearance.¹⁷¹ Of the rites in which they ministered, the apostle observes, with a sentence of peculiar reprobation, that they “taught to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication:” these rites being not merely accounted religious observances, but the initiatory ceremonies by which they were at first admitted into this vile superstition, and subsequently maintained communion with its abandoned votarists.¹⁷²

The nature of the rite, by which the proselyte was principally admitted into this idolatrous communion, precludes our entering at any length into the offensive subject. It will be sufficient to observe, on its antiquity, that the infamous function

¹⁷¹ Seld. de Dis. Syr. Synt. I. cap. v. p. 159. “D. Hieronymus ad Oseæ cap. ix. ‘Ipsi autem educti,’ (ait Patrum ille doctissimus) ‘de Ægypto fornicati sunt cum Madianitis et ingressi sunt ad Beelphegor, idolum Moabitarum quem nos Priapum possumus appellare.’... Idem Pater magnus ad Oseæ cap. iv. postquam de sacris Deum Matris est loquutus, ‘Istiusmodi,’ inquit, idololatria erat in Israel, colentibus maxime fœminis Beelphegor ob obscœni magnitudinem.’... Is item Lib. I. contr. hæreses Joviani cap. xii. ‘Phegor in lingua Ebræa Priapus appellatur.’ Fœminas vero quæ sacris ejus præerant קדשות, *Kedeshoth*, prophetarum lingua dictas vult ad Oseæ cap. iv. com. 13. ‘Sciendum,’ inquit, ‘quod in præsentibus, קדשות, meretrices, *ιεγεις*, id est, sacerdotes Priapo mancipatas vocet.’ Sic sane קדשים, *Kedeshim*, dicti Astartæ sacerdotes, de quois infra.” Conf. Synt. II. cap. ii. p. 237.

¹⁷² Spenc. ubi supr. Lib. II. cap. iii. Sect. 4. p. 498. “*Esus idolothyti sanguinis aut suffocati, et fornicatio non tantum ritus ethnici fuerunt et idololatrici, sed ritus ipsi quibus homines olim Ethnicismo initiabantur, et in dæmonum aut idololatrarum societatem admittebantur. Homines idolothyti comestione Gentium sacris initiatos fuisse, vel illa Psalmistæ non obscure docent, [Ps. cvi. 28.] ‘Initiati sunt Beelphegor, et comederunt sacrificia mortuorum.’... Ideo vero participes idolothyti Dæmonis aut Idoli sacris addicti vel initiati censebantur, quod, eo ritu, ‘mensæ Dæmonis’ assidere, cum illo fœderaliter epulari, eique familiaritate quadam conjungi et quasi commisceri, viderentur.*”

with which the ministers in this religion were vested, reduced the name of priestess to a level with the lowest term of infamy; and as such it was the subject of a specific denunciation in the Law of Moses;¹⁷³ as thus denounced by the Jewish law-giver, it must have existed previously to the times of his contemporary, the Assyrian prophet.

The idol-sacrifices, by which communion was maintained with this superstition, merit more particular attention; as they afford us some light in ascertaining its origin.¹⁷⁴ "Blood was a principal ingredient in these execrable festivals; they considered it the food of demons, and the most acceptable offering that could be made to the infernal deities. Nor did they hold anything to be more efficacious in obtaining an intimacy with those divinities, and in acquiring the power of divination, than their eating flesh saturated in blood, and celebrating their magical feasts, on the blood of an animal immolated to the demons. It was thus customary with this sect, after sacrificing an ani-

¹⁷³ Id. *ibid.* p. 499. "Fornicationem etiam initiationis idololatricæ ritum fuisse, testimonio sit locus ille Deuteronomii xxiii. 17. 'Non erit פשרה, meretrix, e filiabus Israel, neque erit שרה, scortum masculum, e filiis Israel: sic enim interpretes Græci locum interpretantur, ἔκ ἔσται τελεσφόρος ἀπὸ θυγατέρων Ἰσραήλ, κ' ἔκ ἔσται τελεσκοόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, 'non erit initiatrix inter filias Israel, nec initiatus inter filios Israel.' Sic verba Græca transfero, Theodoretum secutus, qui τελεσφόρον interpretatur τὴν μυσταγωγῆσαν *iniatricem*, τελεσκοόμενον vero *initiatum*. Aliis etiam in locis, LXX, שרה et פשרה *initiandi* sensu reddiderunt."

¹⁷⁴ Id. *ibid.* cap. xi. p. 327. "Veteres illi idololatræ præcipuam sanguinis in ceremoniis suis rationem habuere, eum Dæmonum cibum, et donum Diis inferis gratissimum, existimantes; nec quicquam ad obtinendam Deorum societatem et divinandi potentiam efficacius habuerunt, quam si sanguinem aut carnes sanguine fluentes ederent, vel apud aut supra sanguinem bestię dæmonibus immolatæ convivia magica celebrarent. Hinc sectæ illi solenne erat, mactato dæmonibus animali, sanguinis par-

mal to the demons, to partake of part of the blood, or to pour it in the dust, or into a trench, and to assemble round it, for the purpose of feasting; that when the demon, as it was believed, and themselves partook of the blood and flesh of the immolated animal, the closest intimacy with them, and a power of divination would be acquired." It appears from the author, who has principally furnished this account, that these sacrifices were considered federal rites; that those who thus participated, at the same board, with the demons, contracted an alliance and fraternity with those spirits, who would appear to them in dreams, and impart to them a knowledge of future events.¹⁷⁵

Among the illusive arts, which tended to perpetuate the influence of this superstition over the popular credulity, divination by the serpent was held particularly in repute.¹⁷⁶ To this reptile

tem comedere, vel sanguinem in pulverem au fossam effundere, et ad eum, convivandi causa, frequentes convenire; ut cum dæmones animalis mactati sanguine (uti creditum est) et ipsi carnes yescerentur, eorum usum familiarem, et inde divinandi facultatem, sibi conciliarent."

¹⁷⁵ Maimon. Mor. Nevoch. P. I. cap. xlvi.

¹⁷⁶ Spencer observes, on the divination employed by the Sabatists, while commenting on Lev. xix. 26. ubi supr. sect. xi. p. 336. " שרן, strictius accepta ὄφιωμαθία, divinationem a serpente petitam indicat. Nam dubitare nequeo, vocem illam שרן, a *serpens*, deductam, cujus, in auguriis, incantationibus, aliisque veterum sacris, magnum usum fuisse, multis testimoniis et indicis, eruditionem non vulgarem olentibus, apertum fecerunt, Heinsius, Bochartus, D. Vossius, Seldenus alique. Vox ea, latius accepta, divinationem ab avibus haustam notat. . . Hunc sensum vocis tribuunt interpretes plerique veteres, LXX, Vulgatus, Arabs, Syrus, Jonathan, Interpres Hierosolymitanus, et R. Selomo. . . Hic autem interpretes illi duces equidem peritos et oculatos, sed (quod mirum) errante vestigio, sequebantur. Nam LXX. vocem שרן per οἰωνοσθε, apte quidem et erudite, reddidere; cum antiqui verbo οἰωνοσθε, ad divinationes, non tantum ex avibus, sed et serpentibus captatas, exprimendas ute-

a peculiar virtue was ascribed in incantations and augury; as he was considered the author of all knowledge, and particularly the revealer of the higher mysteries in this depraved superstition.¹⁷⁷ As an accompaniment of divination and, as such, connected with it, in the prohibitions of the Jewish Law, "the prognostication of times" may be mentioned:¹⁷⁸ a knowledge of futurity having been regarded as attainable by astrology, which was equally cultivated with divination, by the seers of Chaldea.¹⁷⁹

That these rites were more ancient than the times of Balaam might be collected from the testimony of his contemporary Moses, by whom they have been proscribed, in an express interdiction.¹⁸⁰ On the subject of this inquiry they have a more intimate bearing; as the plainest allusions to them may be traced, in the history of the Assyrian prophet. In recording the defection of the Israelites to the worship of Baal-peor, the sacred historian expressly mentions the impure rite by which proselytes were admitted into that superstition, and the idol-sacrifices by which they maintained communion with its members:¹⁸¹ and the language,

rentur. Assertionis meæ fides nititur Hesychii verbis; Οἰωνός, ὄφεις· ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ λέγεται εἰς τὰς μαντείας τὸς ὄφεις ἔχειν, ἕς κὴ οἰωνός ἔλεγον." Conf. D. Vos. in Maimon. de Idol. cap. vi.

¹⁷⁷ Vid. supr. p. 20. n. ⁵²

¹⁷⁸ After treating of divination by serpents, used by the Sabaists Dr. Spencer proceeds, while commenting on Lev. xix. 25. Ibid. p. 387. "Ad præceptum proximum לֹא תִשָּׂא קוֹלְךָ בְּעִוְנוֹתָיִם, calamus jam promovendus est. De vocis hujus origine sensuque docti diversa sentiunt... Notæ clarioris authores, Maimonides, R. Kimchi, Fullerus, Joannes Cochus, Vossius, alii sentiunt, hoc verbum a קוֹלָא derivatum, quod *tempus decretum et statutum* sonat, adeoque Deum, hac in lege, *temporum electionem aut observationem, juxta præcepta præsertim astrologorum institutam, vetuisse.*"

¹⁷⁹ Vid. supr. p. 33. n. ⁹⁵

¹⁸⁰ Lev. xix. 26—29.

¹⁸¹ Vid. supr. p. 75.

in which he describes their admission into that superstition, implies that it was an initiation in its mysteries.¹⁸² The divination to which he represents Balaam as addicted, was that in which the serpent was employed,¹⁸³ in the calculation of future events. And the profession made by the prophet to the king of Moab, to advertise him of what should occur to his people “in the latter days,” very

¹⁸² Num. xxv. 3. ויצמד ישראל לבעל פעור, which is rendered in the English version, ‘and Israel *joined himself* to Baal-peor,’ is more accurately expressed, in the LXX, καὶ ἐτελεύσθη Ἰσραὴλ τῷ Βεελφεγορῷ, and in the Latin Vulgate, ‘*initiatuque* est Israel Beelphegor,’ and Israel *was initiated* in Baal-peor.’ In the same sense the passage appears to have been understood by the other Greek translators, with the exception of Theodotion, who expresses ויצמד by καὶ ἐζευγίσθησαν: the participle ויצמד, in the context, which the LXX render τετελεισμένοι, is accordingly rendered by Aquila, μνηθίντας. In this sense Origen also understood the passage: Hom. uti supr. p. 349. f. “Beelphegor idoli nomen est, quod apud Madionitas præcipue a mulieribus colebatur. In hujus ergo idoli *mysteriis consecratus est Israel.*” If it be thought, that this sense is derived from the Greek translation; on the Hebrew verb Beyer observes, Addit. in Seld. de Dis Syr. p. 236. “Accedit quod Scriptura, hunc cultum abominans, utatur voce ויצמד, *copulam conjugalem* significante.” Ibid. p. 237. “*Sic copulato* Israele *cum idolo Peoris* accensam esse iram Jehovæ in Israelem; adhæsisse enim dicit Ps. cvi. 2. 23. i. e. . . *copulatos, sociatos, adjunctos, et veluti matrimonio conjugatos* fuisse Peor, scil. per *commessiones et meretrices*, vel filias Moabitarum prius ab idolo deinde ab ipsis subactas” &c. Conf. Voss. de Idololatr. Lib. II. cap. vii. p. 174.

¹⁸³ The sacred historian, in mentioning Balaam’s temporary renunciation of his art, particularises this species of augury: Num. xxiv. 1. לא הלך בפעם בפעם לקראח נחשים, “He went not as at other times to seek for *serpent-divination* :” so the term נחשים, which is used here, is properly explained, supr. p. 79. n.¹⁷⁶ D. Vossius, whom Spencer follows in explaining the term, while he assigns it a more extended sense, admits this to have been its original signification, uti supr. p. 39. “A נחש, *serpens*, deductam vocem, non ambigo; nam ejus in auguriis et incantationibus, aliisque sacris, magnus erat usus: unde Hesychius, οἰωνός, ἄφιδις,” &c.

fully implies, that the prognostication of times, which the Jewish lawgiver combines with divination by serpents, formed a part of the art which the seer of Pethor exercised.

When viewed through the medium of these superstitions, the prophecy of Balaam presents a new and interesting aspect. It is not merely valuable, as disclosing the highest tenet of Revelation, in the promise of an expected Redeemer; but is important, as preserving the remains of some ancient traditions, which refer their origin to a period antecedent to the deluge.

The king of Moab, in suborning an Assyrian diviner to oppose the Israelites, is represented as choosing three stations, from whence he was to utter his malediction against the new invaders. He first led Balaam to some sacred mounds, which were consecrated to the worship of Baal.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Num. xxii. 41. ויעלו במות בעל, 'and he made him ascend the *high places* of Baal.' So the passage is rendered in the Latin Vulgate; 'duxit eum ad *excelsa* Baal,' in the Samaritan, 279 אצאצאצא צפאצא, and in the Chaldee, with a slight variation, ואסקיה לרמת דהלתיה, 'and he led him to the *high places* of his god:' in the Syriac the original term is retained, ܐܘܨܡܘܨ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܥܠ, 'and he made him ascend Bemoth Baal:' in the Greek the sense is somewhat ambiguous, ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰς γὰρ τῆς Βαάλ, 'he made him ascend to the *pillar*, or *mound* of Baal;' but in the Arabic very loosely expressed, فاصعدني الى بعض بيعة معبوده, 'and he led him up to some *temples* of his god.' In the modern versions the passage is accurately rendered; in the English, 'and brought him into the *high places* of Baal;' in the Italian, 'e lo menò sopra *gli alti luoghi* di Baal;' in the French, 'et le fit monter aux *hauts lieux* de Bahal;' in the Spanish, 'le llevo á *los altos* de Bahal; and in the German, 'und führete ihn hin auf *Höhe* (the heights) Baals.' The original במות, from whence the Greeks derived the term, βωμὸς, which the Syrians converted into ܥܘܠܘܬܐ, properly means a *sacred* or *sacrificial mound*; the term is thus properly explained by the ablest writers on Hebrew antiquities; Spenc. uti supr. Lib. II. cap. vii. sect. 1. "Gentium an-

as they afforded but a partial view of the Israelites, he seems to have believed the prophet would be emboldened to devote that people to destruction by a sense of their being few and inconsiderable. He next led him to the summit of one of the highest hills;¹⁸⁵ from whence the view of their numbers

tiquiorum usu receptum erat, *altaribus* uti *sublimibus*, ad res divinas eò majore cum solennitate peragendas. Ita morem habuisse, e multis Scripturæ locis clare percipiamus: nam populus in *Excelsis* sacrificare et incensum offerre dicitur: quæ *excelsa* vocantur, Exod. xxxiv. 13. loco parallelo, Num. xxxiii. 52. *altaria* appellatur: et Deus multis in locis eorum *excelsa* tollere, perdere, destruere et devastare, comminatur, Lev. xxvi. 30. Ezec. vi. 3. Hos. x. 8. Amos. vii. 9. *quæ sane loca intelligi nequeunt de montibus* et collibus (nunquam loco movendis aut dissipandis) sed *altaribus*, quæ sublimi vertice cælum minitari videbantur. Atque inde venit, quod *Altare*, non apud Latinos tantum sed et Hebræos, nomen ab *altitudine* sortitur. Nam במה *altiludo* ad altare notandum usurpatur, Jer. xlviii. 35... Ezec. xvi. 16... Hinc et LXX. vocem במה, nunc βωμολ, nunc ἄλλα, interpretari solent."

¹⁸⁵ Num. xxiii. 14. שדה צפים אל ראש הפסגה, 'to the field of the watchers, to the top of the peak,' or literally, 'the peak's head.' In this sense the passage is rendered in the Chaldee, לחקל סכותא לריש רמחא, 'to the field of observation, to the top of the hill;' in the Syriac, ⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ, 'to the field of the watchers, to the top of the hill;' and in the Samaritan, Ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁ Ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁ Ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁ Ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁ, 'to the field of the watchers, to the peak of observation.' Nor does the Greek, recede very far from this sense; εἰς ἀγρῶ σκοπίας ἐπὶ κορυφῇ λελαξεν ἡμῖν, 'to the field of observation, on the summit of a levelled place.' but the Arabic, with its accustomed inaccuracy, renders the passage, *الضفة المشرفة على رأس القلعة*, 'to an high place, on the top of a citadel.' The Latin Vulgate, 'in locum sublimem, super verticem montis *Phasga*;' which is transplanted into the Spanish, 'á un lugar alto, sobre la cima del monte *Phasga*,' 'to a high place, on the top of mount *Pisgah*;' to which the German nearly conforms, 'an einen freyen Platz, auf der Höhe *Pisga*,' to an open place, on the top of *Pisga*.' In the other modern versions the same principle is extended, and two proper names adopted; viz. in the English, 'to the field of *Zophim*, to the top of *Pisgah*;' in the French, 'au territoire de *Tzophim*, vers le sommet de *Pisga*;' and in the Italian,

was equally limited, while the appearance of their strength was diminished, in proportion to the distance at which they were beheld. Finding himself disappointed in both these expedients, as the prophet only continued to utter prognostications of their future greatness; he thence led him to the top of Peor,¹⁸⁶ from whence the prophet, seized with inspiration, at the sight of the Israelites in their encampments, uttered the splendid prediction, in delivering which he closed his prophetic legation. "And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and saw Israel abiding in his tents, according to their

'al campo di *Sofim*, nella cima di *Pisga*.' There can be however little doubt, that both terms, as significant, and rendered as such in the ancient versions, should be taken as common, not proper names; פסגה, from פסג, *to lift up*, signifying a *summit*, and as such, rendered in the Chaldee רמתא, and in the Syriac ܦܫܓܐ; and עפים, 1 Sam. xiv. 16, from עפף, σπορεύειν, *to spy*, signifying *spies, watchmen*; and as such rendered in the Syriac ܦܫܘܥ, and in the Samaritan 𐤏𐤍𐤊𐤍. From Deut. xxiv. 1. it appears that the proper name of the mountain was Nebo, of which Pisgah was the peak.

¹⁸⁶ Num. ibid. 28. ויקח בלק את בלעם ראש הפעור. 'and Balak took Balaam to the top of *Peor*;' so the passage is almost with one consent rendered in the versions, in the Greek, καὶ παρέλαβε Βαλακ τὸν Βαλαάμ ἐπὶ κορυφῆν τῆς Φογώρ; in the Latin, 'cumque duxisset eum super verticem montis Phogor:;' in the Syriac, ܦܫܓܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢ ܕܒܠܥܡ; in the Samaritan, 𐤏𐤍𐤊𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤊𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤊𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤊𐤍. The name of Peor is indeed suppressed in the Chaldee, 'and Balak led Balaam to the top of the hill;' and in the Arabic, فاخذة الى رأس الربابة. The name is, however, retained in the modern versions, which coincide in the translation of this passage; the Italian rendering it, 'Balac adunque menò Balaam in cima di *Peor*;' the French, 'Balac donc conduisit Balaam sur le sommet de *Péhor*;' the Spanish, 'y habiéndole llevado sobre la cima del monte *Phogor*;' the German, 'und er führete ihn auf die Höhe des Berges *Peor*;' and the English, 'and Balak brought Balaam unto the top of *Peor*.'

tribes; and the spirit of God came upon him. And he took up his parable," &c.

From the stations chosen by Balak, for the prophet to curse the Israelites, and the solemn rite in which the ceremony commenced, it may be inferred, that the king intended the enchanter should derive encouragement, from the sense of his acting under the protection of the divinity, whom they mutually sought to propitiate by a religious rite. The spot selected for offering the first sacrifice and delivering the first prediction was on "the high places of Baal." The mountains,¹⁸⁷ on which

¹⁸⁷ The mountainous tract, which extended from east to west through the plains of Moab, and lay on the opposite side of Jordan to Jericho, was called (Deut. xxii. 49.) חר העברים, 'the mountain of passes;' as the term is properly rendered by Symmachus, τὸ ὄρος διαβάσεων, and paraphrased in the Latin Vulgate, 'mons iste Ábarim, id est *transituum*;' which receives some confirmation from the Chaldee שורא דעברא, 'the mountain of the emigrants,' and the Syriac ܟܘܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ, with the same sense: to which we may also add the Samaritan ܐܘܪܝܢ ܐܒܪܝܡ. The Hebrew term is indeed preserved in the Greek, τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀβαρίμ, and its follower, the Arabic, جبل العبرين. Of this tract, Nebo and Peor are the only mountains distinguished by proper names; their names are accordingly preserved untranslated in the ancient versions; in Deut. xxxiv. 1. הר נבו is accordingly rendered in the Chaldee, שורא דנבו; in the Syriac, ܟܘܢܝܢ; in the Samaritan, ܐܘܪܝܢ ܐܒܪܝܡ; in the Arabic, جبل نبو in the Greek τὸ ὄρος Ναβαῦ; in the Latin, 'mons Nebo:' the same remark extends to the modern versions. Of Peor I have already spoken and made the same observation; *supr.* n.¹⁸⁶; the Chaldee indeed reads ריש רמחא, but there is reason to believe that this name was laterly substituted for ראש מעור. Eusebius observes *Onomast. Urb. et Loc. sub. voc.* Βηθραμφθα, that 'the city Bethramphtha of the Syrians is called Livias,' and again, *sub. voc.* Βηθραμφθα, that 'Beth-peor, opposite Jericho, is six miles from Bethramphtha.' We at once identify the Chaldee, ביה רמחא, or Syriac ܟܘܢܝܢ ܟܘܢܝܢ, in the Bethramtha of Eusebius; the vicinity of this city to Beth-peor, and its celebrity in the time of Herod, who termed it Livias, in compliment to Augustus, will

the ceremony was repeated, and the subsequent prophecies uttered, we shall soon have occasion to shew, possessed the same names as the principal idols of Moab. On each occasion, the king and prophet are represented as entering on their work, with an act of religious worship: "And Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven oxen and seven rams. And Balak did as Balaam had spoken: and Balak and Balaam offered on every altar a bullock and a ram." That this ceremony was performed, in no purer spirit, and after no form more sacred, than that prescribed by the popular superstitions, there can be little reason to doubt:¹⁸⁸ as the place on which the first sacrifice was offered determines the idolatrous character of the rite, almost beyond controversion. Nor can any objection arise to this supposition, from the consideration of the result which followed, on the performance of the rite; that "Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, and he went not as at other times to seek for enchantments." If the sacrifice was of-

sufficiently account for the substitution of the new name for the ancient, which occurs Deut. iii. 29. where the Hebrew and Chaldee have *בית בעור*, and the Syriac *ܒܝܬ ܦܥܘܪ*. I formerly observed of *פסגה*, that it is not a proper but a common name, analogous to *peak* or *vertex*: and that it was a part of Mt. Nebo.

¹⁸⁸ Origen uti supr. Hom. xvi. p. 329. c. "At ille, hoc est Balach, 'stabat juxta holocaustomata, et omne principes Moab cum illo. Et dixit ei Balach: 'Quid loquutus est Dominus?' Res quidem *prophanis sacrificiis* gerebatur, et *divinatio magica arte* requirebatur: volens tamen Deus ibi abundare gratiam, ubi superabundavit peccatum, adesse dignatur, nec refugit ab iis, quæ non secundum Israeliticam disciplinam, sed *secundum Gentilium gerebantur errore*. Adest autem non sacrificiis, sed in occursum venienti, et ibi dat verbum suum, atque ibi mysteria futura prænunciat ubi maxime fides et admiratio Gentilium pendet, ut qui nostris nolunt credere prophetis, credant divinis et vatibus suis." Conf. Hom. xvii. p. 335. b.

ferred, with the view of obtaining an omen, to encourage the seer in his intention ; on the sign's being withheld, he would thence naturally infer, that heaven was unpropitious to his design, and acquire sufficient reason to abandon all further search after omens.¹⁸⁹

Nor is it to be inferred that the mountains, on which Balak and Balaam performed these ceremonies of religion, were merely frequented occasionally, in celebrating the worship of the divinity which received the devotion of the Assyrian nation. Mount Peor, which witnessed the last and noblest prediction of Balaam, was not only dedicated to the idol, into whose worship the Israelites were seduced by the prophet's counsel, but conferred on that god his title of Baal-peor, and appears to have had a temple consecrated to his worship.¹⁹⁰ Mount Nebo, to the summits of which Ba-

¹⁸⁹ Orig. *ibid.* Hom. xvii. p. 335. b. "Requiratur fortasse unde vidit Balaam, quia bonum est in conspectu Domini benedicere Israel, et putabitur ex sacrificiis intellexisse quæ immolaverat. Ubi enim vidit *nullum adesse dæmonium*, nullam contrariam potestatem victimis suis adistere audentem, exclusos esse omnes malitiæ ministros, quibus uti ad maledicendum solebat, potuit ex his intellexisse, quia bonum esset in conspectu Domini benedicere Israel." Without recurring to such a machine, the knot may be untied by the assistance of a learned person, who supposes that Balaam was accustomed to see omens, instead of demons ; and who, on the same principle, solves the difficulty of two other remarkable texts : Voss. in Maimon. uti *supr.* p. 73. "Ita נחש Bilhami fuerit proprie *augurium*. Et cum idem ait, לא נחש ביעקב ולא קסם בישראל, non est *augurium*, vel *omen*, contra Jacobum, nec *divinatio* contra Israellem." Atque inde verba, 'Fortasse obviam fiet Deus mihi, et *quæcumque rem ostenderet mihi*, indicabo tibi :' i. e. videbo quale mihi *signum* Deus offerat, et tibi renuntiabo."

¹⁹⁰ Seld. uti *supr.* Synt. I. cap. v. p. 162. "Mons enim Moabitaram regione *Peor dictus erat*, ubi, ni fallor, *Baal hic et de lubrico et sacris honorabatur*. Moses Num. cap. xxxiii. 'et assumpsit Balac Bileam in summitatem *Peor*, sive *Phegor*, qui res-

lak conducted Balaam, from "the high places of Baal," was equally dedicated to the deities of Moab. On this mountain a temple was erected to the idol Chemosh,¹⁹¹ who is conceived identical with Baal-Peor: but it seems to have been particularly consecrated to an idol from whom it derived its name, the god Nebo,¹⁹² to whom the Moabites paid religious honors.

To form a just estimate, how far the consideration of those deities, and their rites entered into Balaam's views, when delivering his predictions in the scene of their worship, it is necessary to examine a little further the titles which were ascribed to them, and the emblems by which they were distinguished. Of those deities, the principal was

picit faciem deserti Jesimon.' Montium summitates ante alia loca divinis rebus olim destinatas, non est cur adjungerem... *Hinc etiam dictum Beelphegor* vult Theodoretus ad Psalm. cv. alii, et Suidas, Βεελφεγώρ· Βεέλ, ὁ Κρόνος· Φεγώρ δὲ τὸ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἱτιμᾶτο, ἐξ ᾧ ὁ Βεελφεγώρ;... Uti enim Jupiter Olympius, Mercurius Cylenius... a montibus appellati: ita *Baal seu Belus* noster, quem Jovem aut *Belum Phegorium* licet vocare. In Deut. xxxiv. mentio est *Domus Phegor*, seu *Beth-Peor* in terra Moab, juxta quam vallis illa in qua sepultus Moses. Certe *Beth-Peor* pro monte ubi *templum* numinis, quod *Beth* Ebraice dicitur, ibi sumitur: ut Βηθδαγών pro templo Dagonis" &c.

¹⁹¹ Id. ibid. p. 165. *Chemos* vocant Χαμῶς LXX. interpretes; et *vocamine tantummodo a Phegorio Deo hunc distare* sentit D. Hieronymus. Ad Esiam Lib. V. 'In *Nabo* [hujus mentio Esai. xv. et Jer. xviii.] erat *Chamos* idolum consecratum, quod alio nomine appellatur *Beelphegor*.'

¹⁹² Id. ibid. Synt. II. cap. xii. p. 340. "Numen erat etiam *Nebo* seu *Nabo*. Esai. cap. xlvi. 'Cecidit Bel, succubuit *Nebo*.' *Nebo* autem in Deut. xxii. com. 40. *montis Abarim cacumen*... An a monte cognomine dictus *Nebo*? Ad designatum Esaiæ locum, D. Hieronymus: '*Nabo et ipsum Idolum est, quod interpretatur prophetia et divinatio*... LXX. autem Seniores in Esaiæ loco jam dicto: ἀπολείται γὰρ καὶ Νεβών, ἢ ὁ βωμὸς ὑμῶν, id est, 'vastatur *Nebon* ubi altare vestrum.' An Δεβών legendum ibi? videtur sane. Nam *Nebo*, in eodem comate iis est Ναβὼ τῶς Μωαβιτιδος."

obviously Baal-peor, who has been already mentioned, as identical with the Priapus of the western nations. Nor can any reasonable objection be urged against this conclusion, which is supported by the highest authority.¹⁹³ Were we destitute of historical evidence, that this obscene god, who was paid religious honors at Lampsacus, was imported from the East into Greece, his pedigree might be deduced from his name, which sufficiently reveals his descent from the idol worshipped in Moab.¹⁹⁴

If conducted by this clue, we now take the description of the oriental deity, from his western representative, it appears that his image was formed, with a sceptre in his right hand, and with some emblems, characteristic of his depraved rites, of too gross a nature to admit of description.¹⁹⁵ And as an identity is admitted, not only between Peor and Chemosh,¹⁹⁶ but as Nebo is also allowed to

¹⁹³ In this opinion, the critics and commentators seem with one voice to concur; Orig. in Num. Hom. xx. p. 349. Hier. uti supr. p. 77. n. 171. August. de Civ. Dei Lib. VI. cap. ix. Lib. VII. cap. iii. Seld uti supr. p. 77. n. 171. Beyer Addit. in Seld. p. 241. Voss. de Idololatr. Lib. II. cap. vii. Spencer de Leg. Hebræ Lib. II. cap. vii. p. 297. Fuller's Pisgah Sight. B. II. § 19. Cumberl. on Sachoniath. p. 67. Brvant Obs. on dif. pas. of Script. p. 24. n. Patrick on Num. xxv. 1. Newton Dissert. on Proph. &c.

¹⁹⁴ Voss. de Idolol. Lib. II. cap. vii. p. 174. "Hunc vero [Priapum] esse Baal-phegor etiam etymon ostendit, si fidere nostræ licet conjecturæ; nempe ut posterior pars in *Priapo* sit *πα*, *ab*, hoc est *pater*; prior autem sit *περ*, *Peor*, sive *Phegor*... Hoc etymon si placet, *Priapus* significat *Phegor-pater*; ut Jupiter est Jovis pater; Mars piter est Mars pater," &c. Vid. infr. n. 196.

¹⁹⁵ Suid. Lex. voc. Πρίαπος· τὸ ἄγαλμα τῷ Πριάπῳ... ἀνδρωπομοιδίς ποῖσιν, ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σκήπτρον κατέχον... ἐν δὲ ἐωνύμῳ κραδίῳ τὸ αἰδοῖον αὐτῷ ἰνσταμένον.

¹⁹⁶ Vid. supr. p. 88. n.¹⁰¹. Conf. Voss. de Idol. Lib. II. cap. viii. p. 176.

have partaken of the common resemblance in which they agreed;¹⁹⁷ we cannot greatly err, in supposing, that these idols, if not of the same kind, were atleast distinguished by the same emblems.

Nor is this conclusion materially affected by the supposition, that Nebo or Peor rather agreed, with the Mercury¹⁹⁸ than Priapus of the West; as the resemblance which has been traced between the oriental originals was observed to extend also to their western descendants. Mercury and Priapus were alike represented in the form of a Terminus; and in the disgraceful emblems by which they were distinguished, no difference is discoverable. The sceptre in the hand of the one corresponds with the rod in the hand of the other; the serpents with which it was intertwined marking its connexion with the ophite worship, which occupied a distinguished rank in the Sabian superstitions.

On a subject, rendered obscure from its antiquity, considerable light is shed, by an account of some superstitions, which appear to have prevailed to a very late period, if they are not preserved to the present day, in the country originally pos-

¹⁹⁷ Voss. *ibid.* p. 177. "Quare ex Hieronymi mente *Nebo*, quando pro numine sumitur, *idem sit ac Chemos et Beelphegor*," Seld. *uti supr.* Synt. II. cap. xii. p. 341. "Certe *haut alium Nebo a Chamos et Belo Phegorio jure forsan putes.*"

¹⁹⁸ *Ant. Univ. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 102. "Nebo is thought by some to have been another deity of the *Moabites*. It was.. possibly *the same as Mercury.*" Hyde *not. in Peritsol. Synt. Dissert. Tom. I. p. 53.* "Herodotus p. 123. *monet Mercurii etiam statuam porrecto veretro fieri; ita ut tam ad Mercurium quam ad Bacchum referatur nomen בעל פעור [Baal-peor], dominus turpitudinis, et בית פעור [Beth Peor], locus turpitudinis ubi colebatur.*" Herod. in *Enterp.* p. 123. τῷ δὲ Ἐρμῆϊ ἀγάλματα ὅσδ' ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῦντες, . . . ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν, πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, κτλ. These statues are described in similar terms by Plutarch, and Phurnutus, whose opinions are cited by Vossius, *uti supr.* cap. xxxii. p. 239.

essed by the Moabites. We are assured, on authority which receives confirmation from the highest and most ancient sources,¹⁹⁹ that the inhabitants of this region revered two idols. To one of these, which resembled the Saturn of the western nations, they erected a black image formed of stone; and to the other, which they identified with Mercury, they erected a white image of the same material. Twice in the year the worshippers of these idols paid them religious homage. The festival in honor of Nebo or Mercury, as held when the sun entered *aries*, happened at the vernal equinox; while that in honor of Peor or Saturn, as observed when the sun entered *libra*, occurred at the

¹⁹⁹ Petrus Alphonsus, quoted by Bernhard Breidenbach, ap. Beyer Addit. in Seld. p. 322. aliosque: " Duo filii Loth, Ammon scilicet et Moab . . . duo colebant idola, unum ex albo factum lapide quod *Mercurium*, alterum ex nigro, quod *Camus* appellabant: et istud quidem, ex nigro lapide, in honorem Saturni, alterum ex albo in Martis [i. Mercurii] honorem venerabantur. Et bis in anno ad hæc idola adoranda eorum ascendebant cultores. Ad Martem [i. Mercurium] quando sol intrat arietis gradum . . . in cujus discessione, ut mos erat, *lapides jaciebantur*. Ad Saturnum vero quando sol primum gradum libræ ingrediebatur. . . sicque *nudi ac tonsis captibus* thurificabant." There can be no doubt that Mars has been substituted, in this extract, for Mercury; the מרגמות, or Ἐρμαῖος λόφος, erected in whose honor, by casting stones in a heap, were so ancient as to be mentioned by Solomon, Prov. xxvi. 8. and Homer Odyss. π. 471. This custom which is mentioned in the preceding extract, is described by Phurnutus, ubi supr. προσσπειρούσιν δὲ τὰς λίθους τοῖς Ἐρμαῖς ἵκαστος τῶν παρόντων ἕνα τῖνα αὐτοῖς προσίδουσιν, זגג; and by Maimonides, de Idolatr. cap. iii. § 1. as the authority of this writer confirms the preceding extract from Petrus Alphonsus, I shall quote him more fully; פעור שעבודתו שיפער—עצמו לו: ומרקוליס אדם שעבודתו ושיוק לו אבנים או יסקל מלפני אבנים,—'Peor whom they worshipped by uncovering themselves before him; and Mercury, whom they worshipped by casting stones at him, or scattering stones before him.' Conf. Buxt. Lex. v. פעור, col. 1780. v. מרקוליס, col. 1263. Voss. de Idol. Lib. Lib II. cap. xxxii. Seld. uti infr. p. 96, n.²⁰⁶.

autumnal. And in the offices performed on these occasions, the most ancient customs were preserved; the worshippers of Mercury raising a sacred mound in his honor, while those of Saturn appeared in a state of nakedness before him. While this account receives some confirmation from the statement of the most learned Hebrew writers, it bears internal evidence of its traditional accuracy. In the term *Camus*, which it bestows on one of the gods of the Moabites; it preserves one of the most ancient titles by which the divinities of that people were distinguished; and in identifying the other with Saturn, it coincides in the views which it gives of their superstition with the most credible accounts that have been transmitted to us from antiquity, in which that god is represented as identical with *Bel* or *Baal*.²⁰⁰ As to the causes which led to those deities being considered the same, they may be collected from *Sanchoniatho*, from whom we learn, that *Cronus*, who was *Bel*, was consecrated in the planet Saturn.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Serv. in *Æneid.* I. 729. "*Belus—lingua Punica Bal dicitur, apud Assyrios Bel dicitur, quadam sacrorum ratione, et Saturnus.*" &c. Theophil. Antioch. Lib. III. p. 1:59. a. ἔνιοι μὲν σέβονται τὸν Κρόνον, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἰνομάζουσι Βῆλ καὶ Βάλ, μάλιστα οἱ οἰκούντες τὰ ἀνατολικά κλίματα . . . παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις Σατοῦρνος ἰνομάζεται. Hier. Com. in Is. xlvi. 1. "*Quem Græci Belus, Latini Saturnum vocant.*"

²⁰¹ Sanchon ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 40. Κρόνος τοίνυν, ὃν οἱ Φοίνικες Ἰλ προσαγορεύουσι . . . μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίω τελευτήν, εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστέρα καθιερωθεὶς καὶ εἰ. For Ἰσραήλ, which occurs in the text of Eusebius, loc. cit. and Lib. IV. cap. xvi. p. 156. d. I have substituted Ἰλ, on the authority of the context, which reads, *ibid.* p. 38. a. ὁ Ἰλο; τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος. The substitution has been obviously made in the text, in consequence of Ἰλ being the common abbreviation of Ἰσραήλ in the ms. copies of the New Testament. After having thus accounted for the corruption of the text and justified its emendation; if it be thought to require further authority, it may be found in the following tes-

From this desultory account of the idols of the Moabites, a sufficiently accurate notion may be formed of the superstitions of that people, when Balaam proceeded at the requisition of Balak, to devote the Israelites to destruction. When we behold the prophet, led to the hills which were consecrated to the Moabite gods, and delivering himself amid the altars which smoked with their offerings; it would appear extraordinary, while he denounced judgment against Moab, if no sentence was passed on her idolatrous worship. The necessity of avoiding this difficulty determines the sense of the passage in which he delivers himself, after declaring his confident hope that he would, one day, behold the Redeemer:

A *star* shall proceed out of Jacob,
A *sceptre* shall rise out of Israel,
And shall break the *Termini* of Moab:

The images thus chosen by Balaam possessed a sufficient recommendation to the prophet, in the appositeness with which they expressed "the power and glory" of Him whose advent he predicted. But those attributes might have been expressed without a figure, or represented by other images, which were no less descriptive or forcible.²⁰² Those which the prophet selected are not

timony of an oriental bishop, who has been just quoted; Theophil. uti supr. p. 139. b. ὁ Κρόνος ἢ ὁ Βῆλ... ἀπὸ Ἐπιφίτου φασι τὴν Ἰσραηλῆων ἀποκαταστάσιν, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ἀπὸ Λινοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰδιος [γρ. Ἰλιος] Ἰσραὴλ.

²⁰² Thus the Messiah is termed by the prophet Malachi, ἰβ. 2. שמש צדקה, 'the Sun of righteousness;' and our Lord to the sons of Zebedee, Marc. iii. 17. בני רגש, or as it is rendered in the Syriac, حناب وحناب, 'the sons of Thunder.' The appearance of our Lord is likened to that of the sun, Rev. i. 16. and his coming compared to the descent of lightning, Matt. xxiv. 27. Luc. xvii. 24. By those images Balaam might have dea-

merely adapted to his subject, but were suggested by the objects which presented themselves to his observation. Baal, it has been already observed, was consecrated in the *star* Saturn; and he was represented by an image bearing a *sceptre* in its hand.²⁰³ The idol had appropriated the honors and engrossed the worship of the Divine Personage, whose advent the prophet taught the Moabites to expect at a future period. In the science cultivated in Chaldea from the remotest antiquity, it was besides inculcated, that there would be a restitution of all things, after a revolution of years; and the commencement of the new epoch was calculated by the rising of particular stars.²⁰⁴ To the er-

cribed his advent, had he not had a particular object in view, in characterising his appearance, by the rising *star*, and uplifted *sceptre*.

²⁰³ Vid. supr. p. 89. n. 195, p. 92. n. 201.

²⁰⁴ I have already observed on the authority of Berosus, as preserved by Seneca, that the Chaldeans expected a great restitution at the end of their Annus Maximus; vid. supr. p. 34. n. 82. p. 10. n. 19. Censorinus speaking of their Great Year, observes, De Die Natal. cap. xviii. "Huic Anno [ex annis vententibus duodecim] *Chaldaico nomen est, quem Genethliaci non ad solis lunæque cursus, sed observationes alias habent accommodatum: quod in eo dicunt tempestates, frugumque proventus, sterilitates, item morbosque circumire.*" With the Great Year of the Egyptians, who borrowed their astronomical knowledge from the Chaldeans, the same writer was better acquainted; he speaks of its beginning as determined, not only by *the rising of a star*, but of a star which was termed Thoth and Seth; Censorin. ibid. p. 107. "Ad Ægyptiorum vero *Annus Magnum* luna non pertinet, quem Græce *κυνικόν*, Latine *cannicularem* vocamus, propterea *quod initium illius sumitur, cum primo die ejus mensis quem vocant Ægyptii Thot, Caniculae sidus exoritur.*" It is against those "observations of times," mentioned by Censorinus, and by which the Chaldaic *Genethliaci* were directed in prognosticating the occurrence of future events, that the Levitical law was directed, vid. supr. p. 80. n. 178, and the allusion to them by Moses is a sufficient testimony, that they were more ancient than the times of Balaam.

rors which prevailed on these subjects the prophecy of Balaam is directly opposed. In declaring, that in "the latter days," at the end or "consummation of the age,"²⁰⁵ when the Messiah would appear,

A star should proceed out of Jacob,
A sceptre should rise out of Israel:

He directs their attention, from the appearance of a natural phenomenon to the advent of a Divine Person, who would be of the house of Israel and lineage of Jacob. And he annihilates the grounds of that confidence which they reposed in the deities distinguished by those symbols, by declaring, that, on the appearance of this Personage, their images would be broken and their worshippers destroyed.

And shall break the Termini²⁰⁶ of Moab,

²⁰⁵ Vid. supr. p. 62. n. ¹⁴³ p. 70. n. ¹⁶⁵

²⁰⁶ The various significations assigned to the term פְּאָחֵי, in the principal versions of Balaam's prophecy, have been already stated, supr. p. 50. n. ¹²⁵. And however remote the sense of 'princes,' and 'rulers,' which it is generally ascribed in the ancient translations, may be considered from that of 'Termini,' as I conceive it should be rendered, an analogy may be traced between those different significations, which will at least justify the liberty I have taken, in departing from their authority. The word מְרֻמּוֹת, Prov. xxvi. 8. which I have already explained, supr. p. 91. n. ¹⁹⁹. is obviously a cognate term of רְגֻמָּה, Ps. lxxviii. 28. Both are derived from רָגַם, *lapidare, lapidibus obruere*; the former differing from the latter but in having the particle מְ prefixed to it, which is exclusively applicable to it, as a preposition of place, contracted from the particle, מִן. But by Pagnini, Thesaur. Ling Sanct. sub. voc. רָגַם col. 2624. the one term is explained, "Psal. lxxviii. 28. *principes* Jehudah, רְגֻמָּה, *duces* eorum: ut LXX. seu, *ducatu, principatu*:" and the other, "Hinc est et מְרֻמּוֹת, *congregatio lapidum, secundum Rab. David, in libro Radicum . . . במְרֻמּוֹת . . . R. David, in acervo lapidum . . . Hieronymus, in acervum Mercurii*." Vid. infr. n. ²⁰⁸, et n. ²¹¹. The grounds of this affinity appear to me

And destroy all the sons of Seth.

It is a singular fact, and such as throws considerable light upon this difficult passage, that the idols which have been described as worshipped by the Assyrians, and as transported into the West by the Palasgic and Phenician colonists, were made in the form of a Terminus. In the early age of Grecian art, Priapus and Mercury, who were the immediate descendants of Peor, Chemos and Nebo, were uniformly represented by a memberless trunk, to which a bust merely was added in the more refined period of sculpture. We are therefore not likely to err in taking our notions of the oriental model from the western copy. We have the authority of the most ancient historian of the West, that those deities were directly imported from the East;²⁰⁷ and in the retention of the oriental names,²⁰⁸ and preservation of the rude form

to lie in the circumstance of *princes* having assumed the titles of those gods to whom those sacred *mounds* and *termini* were erected. Such was the god *Nebo*, whom we have seen *identified with Mercury*; and of whose title Selden declares, *De Dis. Syr. Synt. II. cap. xiii.* "Vestigia hujus nominis habes in Nabuchadnezar, Nabuzaradan, Babyloniorum Nabonito, Nabonassaro. . . Nabonabo et hujusmodi aliis. Supra enim admonuimus *Deorum nomina Principum nominibus*, uti bona omnia, sæpissime *adjecta*."

²⁰⁷ Herodotus uti *supr.* p. 90. n. ¹⁹⁸. admits that those idols were first brought into Greece by the Pelasgians. This people, it is generally admitted, came originally out of the East; from whence they brought the use of letters into the West; they spoke a language which was radically the same as the Chaldee: see Bryant's *Mythol. Vol. III. p. 397. 405. 4to.*

²⁰⁸ The term Priapus has been traced to the oriental פְּעוּר אֵב, *supr.* p. 89. n. ¹⁹⁴. and the name Mercury had a like original; *Seld. de Dis. Syr. Synt. II. cap. xv.* "In Proverbiis Solomonis cap. xxvi. com. 8. . . 'Sicut qui mittit lapidem *in acervum Mercurii*,' &c. . . Ebraica veritas habet. במרגמה, id est, 'in *Mergamah*,' ex qua voce *Mercurium* formarunt, uti vides, prisci."

which their statues ever possessed, we have no inconclusive proof, that the only change which they underwent, was that of place, in their migration from Asia to Europe.

Should there be any one of opinion, that a preference is still due to the literal force of the passage, "shall smite *the corners* of Moab;" in which version it must be admitted, he will stand opposed, with scarcely any exception, to the authority of the translators ancient and modern; even in this view of it, the allusion of the prophet to the popular superstitions may be supported. It appears that such sites were not only chosen for the erection of idols, but that they were appropriated to the images of Baal. Of Ahaz, who was irreclaimably addicted to this superstition, it is recorded, that²⁰⁹ "he walked in *the ways of the kings of Israel*, and made also molten *images for Baalim*" that "he shut up the doors of the house of the Lord, and made him altars in *every corner* of Jerusalem. And in every several city of Judah he made *high places* to burn incense unto other gods."

In a word, these idolatrous objects had so obvious a connexion, with the scene in which Balaam's predictions were delivered, that the difficulty really lies in conceiving, how they could have been dis-

Conf. infr. n. ²¹¹. The name *Hermes* may be traced to the same root: in continuation Selden observes; "*Mer. urius enim, id est Hermes, viarum præses erat.*" And shortly after: "*Margemah autem a רגם, ragam, id est lapideus obruit, deduci volunt, qui ibi Merkolis intelligunt, et, 'lapidum jactum' interpretantur. Et Rabbi Nathan loco jam citato עבודתה (inquit) רגים אבנים, 'cultus ejus est lapidum jactus,' seu Ragemath cui Margemah cognatum esse volunt.*" From the oriental root, by taking an oriental prefix, *Hermes*, as well as *Mercury* may be consequently deduced; the one assuming מ and the other ה before רגם, from רגם.

²⁰⁹ 2 Chron. xxvliii. 2. 24. 25.

regarded by the prophet, in his denunciations of Moab. The whole of the mountainous tract, to the summits of which he had been conducted, to pronounce his maledictions, was termed Abarim, from *the passes* with which it was intersected, or *the passers* by whom it was frequented.²¹⁰ That such persons should erect mounds in such places, to Mercury, or Nebo, who gave a name to the principal mountain, was not merely an observance recommended by custom, but a rite enjoined by religion.²¹¹

If it be therefore allowed, that Balaam at all alludes to the Moabite idols, it will be readily admitted, that he refers to their worshippers, when he declares, in the context,

He shall destroy all the *sons of Seth*:—
Yet is *the Cainite* reserved for destruction,
Until the Assyrian shall take Moab captive.

In favor of the conclusion, that under the terms here used by the prophet, some sects of the Sabian superstition must be intended, no inconsiderable presumption is conveyed in the fact, that neither term can be taken in the sense it is usually assigned, and understood literally of the lineal descendants of Seth, and the Kenites to whom Moses was allied by marriage. In the Patriarch, from whom the Sethite heretics derived their name, commenced the line in which the expected Deliverer was descended, and the Kenites existed on

²¹⁰ Vid. supr. p. 85. n.¹⁸⁷

²¹¹ Seld. ubi supr. p. 251. "Quid autem 'acervus Mercurii' denotet breviter enarrandum. A sacro enim ritu erat id ad quod interpres [loc. cit. Prov. xxvi. 8.] digitum intendit, et ab Orientali cultu. Erant apud priscos Ἐρμαῖοι λόφοι, sive lapidum acervi Mercuriales, seu Ἐρμαῖα, viis publicis et compitis ad itinera demonstranda congesti, quos transeuntes viatores crebro lapidum jactu in Mercurii honorem augebant."

such amicable terms with the Israelites, that they were separated from the Amalekites, when those judgments were carried into effect,²¹² to which the prophet alludes in his context ;

**The Amalekite is the head of the nations,
But his end is appointed for destruction :**

As in this view of the subject, the prophet must have proscribed the Redeemer himself, among the lineal descendants of Seth ; and have devoted a nation “ to destruction,” which were in amity with Israel ; recourse must necessarily be had to a different principle of exposition, to arrive at the signification of the prediction. And as we are reduced to the alternative, of believing, that the terms used by the prophet were either paternal names, or assumed titles ; there seems little reason to hesitate in adopting the latter, as the only probable conclusion. When indeed we consider the extraordinary permanence of the sect by which the name of Sethite has been assumed ;²¹³ the claims which they lay to an original, antecedent even to the deluge,²¹⁴ and the chain of evidence by which they are supported in their pretensions ;²¹⁵ the authority on which they are referred to the times of Balaam,²¹⁶ and the extraordinary coincidence which exists between the superstitions which they still retain, and those which prevailed in the age of the Mesopotamian prophet :²¹⁷ it is only reasonable to conclude, that the title assumed by that ancient sect has not been less permanent, than their rites and opinions ; and of consequence, that it is against *the Sethites*, whose superstition exists to the

²¹² Comp. Judges, i. 16. with 1 Sam. xv. 6. and Exod. xvii. 14. with 1 Sam. ib. 7.

²¹³ Vjd. supr. p. 12.

²¹⁴ Ibid. ²¹⁵ Supr. p. 24. seq.

²¹⁶ Supr. p. 35.

²¹⁷ Supr. p. 74. seq.

present day, that the denunciation of the prophet is directed.

This conclusion receives even additional confirmation in the solution of the only difficulty which remains, and which it is of the last importance to the main object of these researches, to resolve:—from whence had those deities their origin, to whose altars the king of Moab resorted, for support, against the armies of Israel, and into whose worship the Israelites were seduced, by the suggestions of the prophet whom he employed as his counselor?

A solid foundation is laid for our deductions, on this subject, by an inspired writer, whose testimony has created no slight embarrassment to the constructors of mythological hypotheses, on physical and allegorical principles. In mentioning the initiation of the Israelites in the mysteries of Baal-peor, he describes the sacrifices of which they participated as “the offerings of the dead.”²¹⁸ As

²¹⁸ Ps. cvi. 28. ויצמדו לבעל פעור ויאכלו ובהי מחים, ‘and they were initiated in (the rites of) Baal-peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead.’ Thus the passage is rendered in the ancient versions, with the exception of the Arabic, to which a preference is given by D. Vossius, who has collected them in the following passage, in which he supersedes the opinion passed by Selden on this text; Not. in Maimon. de Idolol. cap. iii. § 2. “Verum magis mihi placet sententia Nicholai Lyran, sic interpretantis, ‘Comederunt de carnibus animalium idolis immolatorum:’ ut מחים non sint carnes quæ pro mortuis offeruntur, sed carnes immolatae, sive ἰδωλόθυστα: quod certe mihi valde placet, cum et Arabs eodem modo transtulerit, ضحاکانا متة, sacrificia mortua;’ Syrus, [חמים] [אכלו], ‘sacrificia mortuorum,’ ut Hebræus: etiam Græci θυσίας νεκρων, et Chaldæus habet, ניססח מחים, ‘oblationem martuorum.’” In this partiality, I trust, this admirer of the Arabic is not likely to have a rival. Of the modern versions, the following coincide with the principal ancient; to which the Latin Vulgate remains to be added, which reads, ‘sacrificia mortuorum.’ The Italian accordingly reads, ‘dei sacrifici de’

the psalmist obviously follows the account of Moses and adopts his language, a collation of their testimony enables us at once to decide, that it was to their departed ancestors that those religious honors were paid by the Moabites. As the historian represents those offerings as “the sacrifices of the gods,” which the prophet describes as “the sacrifices of the dead;” the most obvious and natural mode of reconciling their testimony lies in the inference, that they *deified* and worshipped *the dead*.²¹⁹

If we now consider, from what progenitors, the Moabites were derived; that, as the descendants of Lot, they deduced their origin from the same source as the Hebrews; and that the history of this people preserves an authentic account of their common ancestors, it affords an adequate test by which the truth of our inquiries may be proved. I shall confine my attention to a simple explanation of the titles which they have ascribed to their

morti; the Spanish, ‘los sacrificios de los muertos,’ and the English, ‘the sacrifices of the dead.’ The French indeed paraphrases the passage, ‘des sacrifices des idoles mortes; and the German, in the same sense, ‘von den Opfern der todten Götzen: of which sense, an equally labored and inefficient defence, may be found in the elder Vossius, De Idol. Lib. II. cap. vii. p. 172. of which more by and by. In balancing the foregoing suffrages, it appears, that the Chaldee, Syriac, Greek, Latin, English, Italian and Spanish, in which the most important suffrages are included, assign that sense to the passage, which I venture to adopt.

²¹⁹ It has been justly observed by Vossius, on the passage, quoted in the last note, though he had not skill to make use of the remark, De Idol. ubi supr. p. 172.—‘quod locus ille Psalmi [cvi. 28.] expressus sit ex Numer. xxv. 2: ubi simpliciter legas; ‘Nam invitaverunt populum ad sacrificia deorum suorum.’ Quod illic ‘sacrificia deorum,’ illud hic ‘sacrificia mortuorum.’ From this analogy a man of plain understanding would be merely led to conclude, that this people *deified* and worshipped *the dead*. But by the help of a little critical wire-drawing, this writer easily proves that they worshipped *idols*, or the *sun* and the *stars*.

deities, and in the language which they spoke; and to a brief recapitulation of the incidents which compose the mythological history of those divinities: on confronting the sacred with the fabulous account, the inference may be then left in the hands of the reader.

The highest title which was bestowed on those deities, and which constitutes the first part in the composition of Baal-peor, was the common appellation of the Assyrian gods. In decyphering this title, there is little difficulty to encounter: as it is not merely a significant term, but expressive of the same sense in the different dialects of the Assyrian, it may be therefore considered a proper term of that language. In whichever of the dialects of the Semitic we attempt to trace its origin, it proves to be simply an epithet expressive of dominion, and analogous to Lord.²²⁹ And it carries

²²⁹ Pagnin. Thes. Ling. Sanct. rad. בעל: "quicumque est dominus et patronus alicujus rei appellatur בעל, Dominus," &c. He derives it from a root which he thus explains; Ib. "בעל, in conjugatione Kal, est Dominari, dominium habere." And the verb must have had this sense in the Assyrian, as retained in its dialects, if Hottinger's opinion be just, who thus explains it, Lex. Harm. sub voc. p. 38. "בעל dominatus fuit, Heb. Chald. Syr. Arab. sic Æthiop. dives fuit." Though the idolatrous sense ascribed to the term בעל, brought it into disuse, (vid. Hos. ii. 16.) and it is generally superseded in the Syriac by ܒܠܝܢ and ܒܠܝܢ, and in the Chaldee by שליטא מרי; yet in these early dialects of the Assyrian, as well as in the Hebrew, it retained its original sense of Lord: vid. Castel. Lex. Syr. ed. Michael. p. 111. Buxt. Lex. Chald. col. 333. The notion, that this term is a proper name derived from a monarch of the Babylonians, and applied, as the term Cæsar, to future monarchs, is wholly untenable; vid. Brucker. Hist. Phil. Lib. II. cap. ii. § 2. p. 123. The existence of the verb בעל is a sufficient refutation of this conjecture; and the cognate שליט, by which we have seen it is superseded in the Chaldee and Syriac, in giving rise to the title Sultan, in Chaldee שלטן, in Syriac, in Arabic, سلطان, is a sufficient proof, that the titles

with it this evidence of its descent and meaning, that the sense which it acquired in those dialects corresponds with the rise and progress of civil authority among the people by whom they were vernacularly spoken. As *dominion*, in the primitive ages originated in the paternal and patriarchal authority, out of which the monarchal and despotic arose; the term בעל *Baal* which expresses the idea, so far avouches its original, as it properly signifies the *ruler of a family*; in which sense, it is of importance to observe, that it is almost exclusively used in that dialect of the Assyrian in which it is most natural to conceive that early language is chiefly preserved.²²¹

From the general term Baal, which was the common title of the Assyrian deities, we must therefore turn to the adjunct Peor, with which it is compounded, for an epithet expressive of the attributes of the divinity to which it is applied. This title, of which it is equally remarkable, that it prevades the dialects of the Assyrian, and may be consequently regarded as a proper term of that

of oriental monarchs have originated in significant terms. The supposition that the name of Baal was originally the *title of the ALMIGHTY*, as the learned Selden supposed, is perfectly reconcilable with the preceding observations; but it is exposed to great difficulties, which I cannot admit him, with all my admiration of his inexhaustible erudition, to have wholly removed; vid. *De Dis. Syr. Synt. II. cap. i p. 195.*

²²¹ In corroboration of the above assertion, I shall extract from the most reputed Lexicons of the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, the significations annexed to the term בעל, regarded both as a verb and noun; בעל, *Heb.* "possidere ut dominus, maritum esse—patronus, maritus." Pagnin. ed. Mercer. col. 291. בעל, *Chald.* "synechdochice significat dominium maritale, i. e. maritus fieri—maritus, herus." Buxtorf. col. 331. ܒܥܠ, *Syr.* "nupsit—dominus, maritus." Castel. ed. Michael. p. 111. In the Syriac it is nearly confined to the latter sense; while in the Hebrew, and Chaldee it obtains a more extended and higher signification, expressing also to *rule* and *Lord*: vid. *supr. n.*²²⁰

language, possesses in those dialects the signification of *naked, uncovered*.²²² And with a title having this sense, the description given of the deity to which it is applied, but too accurately accords. In the representation of Priapus, with whom Baal-peor is identified, nothing was so remarkable as the offensive nakedness of his form. The circumstances of his history, as stated by the best informed of the ancients²²³ are few but characteristic.

²²² Mercer, in his additions to Pagnini, has thus explained the term, which he derives from the verb פער, *aperire*, &c. *Thes. Ling. Sanct.* col. 2209. "Hinc פער et בעל פער... idolum apud Moabitas, ab *apertione et nuditate*, quod Deus esset turpitudinis et libidinis, quæ in hac lingua *nuditatis* nomine significatur. *Priapum* voce nonnihil detorta nostri appellarunt. Cujus cultus in comessationibus et omni lascivia effreni libine versabantur. Num. xxv. Jehos. xxii. unde et Monti in Moabitude nomen fuit Pehor, ubi et templum dei fuit et cultus," &c. This title, as significant, and derived from a root which generally prevails in the Semitic dialects, could not have been unknown to the primitive Assyrian; besides the Heb. פער, '*aperuit*,' Pagnin *ibid.* the Chaldee possesses 'פער, *aperire...retegere, nudare*,' Buxt. *Lex.* c. 1780. the Syriac, 'פער, *aperuit distendit*, unde פער amictus' *Cast. Lex.* p. 719. the Arabic فعر, *aperuit, apertio* &c. The silly and disgusting trifling of the Rabbinical doctors, in the etymology of this title of the Moabite idol may be seen in Selden, who passes on it the sentence which it deserves; *De Dis. Syr. Synt.* l. cap. v. p. 158. 162. in which he has been honored with the concurrence of the Vossiuses, son and sire.

²²³ Voss. *de Idol. Lib.* II. cap. vii, p. 172,—“Isidorus Orig. *Lib.* VIII. cap. xi...sic scribit: “*Beelphegor interpretatus simulachrum ignominia: idolum enim fuit Moab, cognomento Baal, super montem Phegor, quem Latini Priapum vocant, deum hortorum.* Fuit enim de Lampsaco civitate Hellesponti, de qua *pulsus est*: et propter virilis membri magnitudinem in numerum deorum suorum eum Græci transtulerunt, et in nomine” [*l. numine*] “*sacrauerunt hortorum*: unde et dicitur *præesse horti*, propter eorum fecunditatem.” Ac prævit ea parte Servius in *Georg.* IV.

Et *custos furum*, atque avium *cum falce saligna*,
Ellespontiacy servet *tutela Priapi*.

Gardens were supposed to be under his protection ; the obscenity of his appearance, it was believed, had occasioned his expulsion from his native soil ; after which he was deified, and became the god of the cultivated grounds, which he protected. In the different representations of his figure, we find his sceptre exchanged for a sickle ;²²⁴ but of this substitution his history affords a sufficient solution, which represents him as reduced from the rank of a monarch to the humble state of a husbandman.

This short sketch of the most ancient of the gods of the Moabites I now submit, to be compared with an account of the earliest of the ancestors of that people ; which was drawn up by a contemporary of Balaam, but a short time previous to the seduction of the Israelites to the worship of that deity, through the suggestions of the prophet. After representing the creation of Adam, and recording the blessing pronounced on him and his partner,²²⁵ “ to be fruitful and multiply, to replenish the earth, and to subdue it, and have dominion over it ;” the sacred historian proceeds ;²²⁶ “ and the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden.” . . and he “ took the man and put him into the garden, to dress it, and to keep it. . . And they were both of them naked, the man and his wife and were not ashamed.” The detail of the fall by the temptation of the

“ Hic ” inquit, “ Priapus fuit de Lampsaco, civitate Hellesponti : de qua pulsus propter virilis membri magnitudinem, post in numerum deorum receptus, meruit numen esse hortorum. Yet after the detail of these testimonies, the learned citer gravely assures us ; Ibid. “ *Priapum vero φουρνός; esse Solem, multis adstruitur argumentis.*”

²²⁴ Comp. Suidas, supr. p. 89. n. 195. Virgil, supr. p. 104. n. 223.

²²⁵ Gen. i. 28.

²²⁶ Ibid. ii. 8. 13. 25.

Serpent succeeds, with the curse of sorrow in bearing children, and in laboring the ground, respectively pronounced against the transgressors; and the narrative thus closes, with the account of their expulsion from paradise; ²²⁷“therefore the Lord God *sent him forth* from the garden of Eden, *to till the ground*, from whence he was taken.” It must be superfluous, to pursue the description further, or draw a formal parallel, where the coincidence is rendered obvious by the resemblance of the objects compared. I trust also I shall need no forgiveness, for declining to violate the modesty of the leafy girdle, which even a pagan hand has spread over the offensive part of the picture;—

Hic deus e patrio prænobilis Hellesponto,
Venit ad usque Italos, sacris cum turpibus, hortos,
Turpiter *adfixo* pudeat quem visere *ramo*.

Prudent. contr. Sym. Lib. II. p. 263.

From this representation, I willingly turn to the consideration of the other fabulous descendant of the Assyrian deity, who passed to a still more westerly region, in which he was known under the title of Saturn. ²²⁸ But on this subject it will not be necessary to dwell; as the likeness which the copy bears to the great original, which has given rise to various imitations, is so striking that it has been frequently noticed. As the oriental superstitions have been, in this instance, adopted by a grave and virtuous people, they have lost much of their eastern licentiousness. Sufficient evidence of their original has been however retained. The name of Saturn as well as Priapus is oriental and significant; but unlike the title of this offensive deity, it was adopted, not from his exposure but his concealment; one name being deducible from an epi-

²²⁷ Gen. iii. 23.

²²⁸ Vid. supr. p. 92. n. ²⁰⁰

thet signifying naked, or uncovered, the other from one signifying *hid* or *cōncealed*²²⁹ But however striking the contrast between these epithets, it is not less obvious, that they have been taken from the same original. A single authority from the sacred volume will justify the assertion; ²³⁰“and the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were *naked* . . . and *Adam* and his wife *hid* themselves from the presence of the Lord God, among the trees of the garden.” As my present purpose engages me in the consideration of the oriental superstitions; I shall leave in other hands, the application of this remark, and the production of those striking coincidences, which prove, that the eastern traditions contributed, in no small degree, to the composition of the western fable.²³¹

²²⁹ Even from Vossius, whose system led him to identify all the gentile divinities with *the Sun*, the force of truth exacted a different sentence respecting Saturn, whom he acknowledges to have been the same as Bel or Baal. After quoting some passages of the poets, descriptive of the Golden Age, he observes, *De Idol. Lib. I. cap. xviii. p. 72.* “*Quam belle ea conveniunt hominis statui in paradiso. Ut mihi quidem dubium sit nullum, quin ex traditione aliqua hæc hauserint poetæ. Nempe prima hominum ætas in poetis est eadem, ac prima in Scripturis: eoque Saturnus est idem ac Adam. Saturnum enim non aliud quam hominem fuisse; ne gentium quidem historici negare ausi unquam fuerunt. Advocare eos omnes longum foret.*” After referring to several authorities and quoting Tertullian at large, he subjoins; “*Si omnes gentium Dii fuere homines; nec ante Saturnum ullus gentium deus fuit: quis Saturnus nisi Adamus? Quid mirum sit si tam multa, quæ conveniebant Adamo, gentiles tribuerint Saturno. Quod nomen tum meruit Adamus cum pudore nuditatis se absconderet a facie Domini. Nam סתר satar Hebræis latere; ut Saturnus idem sit ac Latius*” &c.

²³⁰ Gen. iii. 7.

²³¹ Vossius, though he again relapses into the old dream of a solar hypothesis, thus sums up the affinities on which his conclusion is founded, that Adam and Saturn are identical; *De Phys.*

After Baal, Nebo demands our consideration; as these were not only the divinities to whom the mountains were consecrated, whither Balaam was conducted by Balak, but the great national gods of the Assyrians. In the interpretation of the title of this idol we are not left to uncertain conjecture; as it has been explained by a learned ancient, who has contributed not a little to the illustration of the oriental superstitions, by establishing their connexion with the western mythology. He assigns it the signification of *prophecy, divination*;²³² and the etymology is the more valuable, as this sense is common to the term, in those dialects of the Assyrian, in which the signification of the cognate title has been traced. A closer attention, however, to the orthography of the term, and the grammatical structure of those dialects, justifies the assertion, that it bore a participial force, and properly signified, *foretold, prophesied*.²³³

Christ. cap. ix. p. 173.—“initium nobis faciendum sit ab Adamo, qui in Saturno cultus. . . Saturnum esse eundem ac Adamus, quod is dicatur Cœli et Telluris filius; quod tradatur toti imperasse orbi; quod aurea sub eo ætas fuisse credatur; quod regno sit expulsus; quod reperta ab eo agricultura. Quæ omnia nulli æque conveniunt ac Adamo, a Deo e terra formato, domino totius orbis constituto, ante peccatum felicissimo, post peccatum ejecto e paradiso, et primo agricola.”

²³² Hieron. in Es. xlvi. 1. “Nabo autem et ipsum idolum est quod interpretatur *prophetia et divinatio*, quam post evangelii veritatem in toto orbe conticuisse significat.” Thus we find, in the various dialects of the Assyrian, the root from which the title is derived, in the Heb. נבא, Chald. אַחַבְנִי, Syr. [ܢܒܥܐ], Arab. نبا, and Ethiop. ጥበብ, rendered *prophetavit*; from whence the noun is derived, Heb. and Chald. נבוא, Syr. [ܢܒܘܐ], Arab. and Ethiop. نَبِيّ, *propheta*.

²³³ The name נבו Nebo, or as it is more properly written Nabô, assumes the epenthetical *vau* in its second syllable; as appears from a collation of its orthography in the oriental languages and the western translations, vid. supr. p. 85. n.²⁸⁷. The verb נבא or נבי from which it is confessedly derived, and

If guided by this clue, and following up our first principle, that the original of the gods of the Moabites must be sought in the paternal history of that people; we now open the volume in which alone their history is contained, it presents us but with one person to whom the preceding epithet is strictly applicable. And in the account of this personage, the Moabites were so far interested, as it occurs in a prophecy ascribed to one who was a near relation of their progenitor Moab. The patriarch Jacob, finding his end draw near, "gathered his sons together, to tell them what should befall them in the latter days."²³⁴ In the prophecy which he delivered, a prediction is included, in which not only the people of Moab were concerned, but "all the nations of the earth" were interested: the patriarch declares—

"The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor a ruler²³⁵ from between his legs,
Until Shiloh²³⁶ [the Pacificator] be come;

which differ only in the common and accidental change of verbs in Lamed-aleph, *naturally* assumes the epenthetical ו, in the past participle, of which it is the characteristic. From Paul גבוה, *prophesied*, has been formed גבו, Ναβαῦ, *Nabo*; by rejecting the variable termination, after the analogy of עש, *Esau*, from the past participle, עשוי, of the verb עשה. Thus Pasor derives the latter name; Etyma. Nom. Nov. Test. sub voc. "Hosū, *Esau*, nomen viri. . origine Hebræum עשו . . . עשו vero dicitur q. d. *factus, perfectus*. . a radice עשה, *perfectū*."

²³⁴ Gen. xlix. 1. comp. p. 62. n. 148. *supr.*

²³⁵ Gen. ib. 10. מחקק מבין רגליו, thus the passage is rendered in the Samaritan, דדדדדד דדדדדד דדדדדד; 'a ruler from his standards;' but in the Greek, ἡγέμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, 'and a ruler from his thighs;' in the Latin, 'et dux de femore ejus, a ruler from his thigh;' and in the Spanish, 'y de su muslo el caudillo,' with the same sense: *conf. infr. p. 113. n. 244.*

²³⁶ ער כי יבא שילה, the original term is retained in the English, 'until *Shilo* be come;' and in the French, 'jusqu' à ce que *le Sile* vienne:' but paraphrastically explained in the Greek, ἕως

And to him [shall be] the expectation²³⁷ of the nations.

ἐὰν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, 'until *what is reserved for him* shall come; which is followed by Symmachus, by the Syriac, ܠܝ ܐܝܢ ܒܝܝ ܕܕܝܗ ܗܘ ܠܗ, and Arabic, إلى ابن ببي الذي هو له. This sense has obviously arisen from resolving the name יְהוָה, into ו—ל—ל—הוּא, *what (is) to him*; which however suitable to the idiom of the modern dialects, but ill accords with the genius of the Hebrew. It is accordingly rejected from all the modern versions but the Italian, '*colui al quale quello appartiene.*' vid. infr. p. 111. n. 240.

²³⁷ וְלוֹ יִקְהָ עַמִּים, three senses are ascribed to this passage, according to the different origin which is assigned to the term יִקְהָ. Those who trace this term to the root קָה, *to expect*, render it, 'and to him shall be *the expectation* of the nations;' such is the force which it is assigned in the Syriac, ܟܠܬܝܢ ܒܝܝܢܝܢ ܕܝܗ ܗܘ ܠܗ, 'and him shall the nations *expect*;' in the Greek, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἔσται, 'and he shall be *the desire* of the Gentiles;' the Latin, 'et ipse erit *expectatio gentium*,' and he shall be *the expectation* of the nations;' and the Spanish, 'y él será *la expectacion* de las gentes.' Those who take the same root in the sense, *to collect*, render it *congregation, gathering together*: such is the force which it is ascribed by Aquila, καὶ αὐτῷ σύστημα λαῶν, 'and to him shall be *the assembly* of the people;' in the Samaritan, וְלוֹ יִקְהָ עַמִּים, and to him the nations shall *be congregated*;' in the Arabic, وإليه تجتمع الشعوب, with the same sense: in the English, 'unto him shall *the gathering* of the people be;' and in the French, 'et c'est à lui qu'appartient *l'assemblée* des peuples.' Those who seek its origin in the Arabic يَقَع *to hear, obey*, give it the force of *obedience*; such is the sense assigned to it in the Chaldee, וְלוֹ יִקְהָ עַמִּים, 'and to him the nations shall *be obedient*;' and the Italic, 'ed inverso lui sarà *l'ubbedienza* de' popoli.' But as the root יִקְהָ is not common to the other dialects of the Semitic; and as they express, in common, the sense which it conveys by the verb שמע, which is adopted by the Chaldee translator in rendering the passage before us; it cannot be safely taken to explain the disputed term. Of the different senses ascribed to the root יִקְהָ, from which it must be of consequence derived; as that which means *expectation* is the natural force, and common to the Syriac, ܟܠܬܝܢ; and as that which means *congregation* is but a figurative signification, adopted from the meeting of waters, and confined to the conjugation Niphal; and as the Syriac, Greek and Latin translators derive the disputed term from the root in the former

Hermes has been already mentioned, as the mythological personage with whom Nebo was identified;²³⁸ and in his fabulous history we clearly discover all the circumstances of this prophecy united. The figures, in which the prophet describes the progenitor of the expected personage, are transferred, as emblems, to his fabulous descendant; the grossest sense being ascribed to the prophecy of which it was susceptible.²³⁹ The term *שִׁלֹה*, *Shiloh*, when traced to different roots, is susceptible of the different signification of *messenger* and *pacificator*;²⁴⁰ we find both characters accor-

sense; I have little hesitation in concluding, that in this sense, it affords the true interpretation of the term, קחה.

²³⁸ Vid. supr. p. 90. n. 198. It is further deserving of remark, that the proper name of Hermes, or Mercury, in Syriac, is *Nebo*. Castel. Lex. sub voc. p. 532. “*ܢܒܘܗ*, 2. Nomen Idoli. . . 3. *Mercurius*: hinc *ܢܒܘܗ*; q. d. *Hermes* locutus est. Abulpharag. Hist. Dyn. 73. *ܢܒܘܗ*, |*Λιο*, imago *Mercurii*. . Bar Bahlul. Conf. Ferar. Nomencl. Syr. col. 370.

²³⁹ Vid. supr. p. 90. n. 197. conf. p. 89. n. 89. Petavius observes on the text before us: Rat. Tem. P. III. Lib. III. xvi. p. 207. “Paululum obscura sunt illa: ‘et dux de femore ejus,’ vel, ut Hebraice concipiuntur, ‘et legislator de inter pedes ejus,’ quibus honeste putant adumbrari *τὰ ἐπιποδίων ἀναμύρια*.” He adds, however, the true interpretation, Ibid. p. 208.

²⁴⁰ The word *שִׁלֹה* (written with n), is naturally derived from

Heb. *שָׁלוּחַ*, Chald. *שְׁלוּחַ*, Syr. *ܫܠܘܚܐ*, Arab. *سَلِّح*, *tranquillus est*: from whence we have the Syriac, *ܫܠܘܚܐ*, the Chaldee, *שְׁלוּחַ* *pacificus*: and according to this derivation, the passage before us is rendered in the Samaritan, *אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלַח אֶת אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלַח*, ‘until the *pacific* (one) shall come.’ But when written with n, as it seems to have been read by St. Jerome, it is naturally derived from

Heb. and Chald. *שָׁלוּחַ*, Syr. *ܫܠܘܚܐ*, Arab. *سَلِّح* *misit*. From hence we have the Syriac, *ܫܠܘܚܐ*, Chaldee, *שְׁלוּחַ*, *nuntius*, *legatus*: and according to this derivation, the passage is rendered in the Latin Vulgate, ‘donec veniat qui *mittendus est*, until *he who is to be sent* shall come.’ As there is a class of verbs in Lamed-aleph having the last radical guttural; vid. Michael. Gram. Syr. § l. p. 113. § lvi. p. 134. it is possible that those

dingly united in the mythological personage,²⁴¹ who was imagined after the divine model conceived by the prophet. And however inobvious and unnatural the connexion of either character may be deemed with that of *thief* and *despoiler*; these qualities were equally ascribed to the fabulous character,²⁴² and may be naturally and obviously deduced from the root to which the prophetic name may be referred, particularly in the Syriac.²⁴³

verbs may have been originally the same. The gradations in their signification may be traced by the following analogy; that a person who is *quiet*, is one who is disposed to *send* rather than to go; and that to *send for* is equivalent to *take away*. If this analogy may be admitted, the original verb must have been שלש , from whence comes שלש ; and its primary sense *tranquillus fuit*, from whence *misit*, *detraxit*, *spoliavit*. vid. infr. n.²⁴³.

²⁴¹ Natal. Comit. Mythol. Lib. V. cap. v. p. 451. "Hunc [Mercurium] *Deorum nuntium* putarunt, &c. Id. Ib. p. 441. "*Jovis mandata per diem circumferebat, et huc illuc cursitabat* . . . ita ut nullo tempore posset quiescere: quidam injunxerunt illi etiam bellicas *caduceatorum legationes, cum foderum et induciarum inventorem fuisse* inquit." Id. ibid. p. 444. . . "Apollo postea *virgam*. . . Mercurio donavit, *illam vim habentem, ut facile pax inter quosvis, ea virga interposita, conciliaretur*. Ejus cum vellet facere experimentum Mercurius, inter *duos angues* acerrime inter se dimicantes conjecit, qui repente facti sunt amici, unde *virga Mercurii fuit postea geminis anguibus circumvolutis insignita*." ²⁴² Lactant. Div. Instit. Lib. I. cap. x. "*Fur ac nebulo Mercurius, quid ad famam sui reliquit, nisi memoriam fraudum suarum*." Nat. Com. ut supr. p. 447. "*Huic, [Mercurio] statuæ pro foribus domorum ab antiquis erigebantur, quia fur credebatur cæteros fures arcere, ut ait Aristophanes*."

²⁴³ The verb, שלש , *misit*, in addition to the sense which it possesses in Hebrew, in common with the other dialects; is assigned the annexed signification, peculiar to the following dialects by Hottinger, Lex. Harm. p. 519. "Chald. שלש : Syr. [ܫܠܫ]; Sam. שלש , [שׁלש]; *exiit, spoliavit*. Arab. سلس , [سلس] *id*." Buxtorf, speaking of the Chaldee, observes of the latter sense, Lex. Chald. col. 2411. "*Hæc significatio ex priorè [misit] nata est, nam extractio vestimenti est ejus a corpore dimissio*." But in Castel's Lexicon the *Syriac verb* is, on the contrary, explained; Lex. Syr. p. 914. ܫܠܫ , (1) *detraxit, spoliavit* . . .

Nor is it less deserving of remark, that מַחֲקֵק, the accompanying term of the prophecy, which I have rendered "ruler," signifies *scribe and legislator*,²⁴⁴ and that, in these characters, the description is completed,²⁴⁵ which antiquity has transmitted of the fictitious personage, whose origin it is my object to investigate.

From the preceding observations, I conceive, it may be safely concluded, that, of the two gods of the Moabites, from whom the heights of Abarim obtained the names of Peor and Nebo, one derived his imaginary existence from a tradition, and the other from a prophecy, which was preserved among that people. On the part of the Moabites, this conclusion may be easily admitted: the ties

(2) *misit, emisit*:" and לְ is explained in nearly the same terms.

²⁴⁴ The gradations of sense, in the root from which the Hebrew term is derived, are accurately traced by Mercer, in Pagnin. Thesaur. col. 783. "קק, *Insculpere, vel scalpere*. .inde et pro *describere* seu *perscribere*. .*decernere* et *statuere* sumitur." And it is assigned the same significations in the Chaldee: vid. Buxt. Lex. col. 817. From each of these senses its derivative קקק acquires its various significations of *scriba*, Ps. cviii. 9. vid. Pagnin. Lex. c. 783. *legislator*, Is. xxxiii. 22. Num. xxi. 18; Ibid. *dux, princeps*, Jud. v. 14. Prov. viii. 15. Ibid. In the first sense the passage before us is rendered in the Chaldee, וְסִפְרָא מִבְּנֵי בְנוֹתָי, 'or a *scribe* from his sons' sons;' and apparently in the Syriac, סִפְרָא מִבְּנֵי בְנוֹתָי, 'and an *expositor* from between his legs.' In the second sense it is rendered

in the Arabic, وَالرَّسْمُ مِنْ تَحْتِ أَمْرِهِ, 'and a *lawgiver* from under his rule;': in the Italian, 'nè l'*leggislatore* d'infra i piedi d'esso;': in the French, 'ni *législateur* d'entre ses pieds;': and in the English, 'nor a *lawgiver* from between his feet.' The last and highest sense of *ruler*, I have already shewn, is adopted in the remaining versions; vid. supr. p. 109. n.²³⁵.

²⁴⁵ Lactant. Div. Instit. Lib. I. cap. vi. Apud Ciceronem, C. Cotta pontifex disputans contra Stoicos de religionibus. .quinque fuisse *Mercurios* ait; et enumeratis per ordinem quatuor, quintam . . in Ægyptum profugisse, atque Ægyptiis *leges* ac *litteras* tradidisse." Conf. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. Lib. III. cap. lvi. Sanchon. ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. Lib. I. cap. ix. p. 36. 40.

of consanguinity by which that people were connected with the Hebrews, at the period when this prophecy was delivered, must have led to a perfect intercommunity of opinions and customs. Isaac and Lot were cousins, and in the next degree to them stood Jacob and Moab. As their immediate posterity were neither numerous, nor widely dispersed; whatever occurred in one branch of a race so connected, must have passed, by direct communication, to the other. They consequently who admit the transmission of a prophecy, or tradition, among the posterity of Jacob, cannot consistently dispute its preservation, among the descendants of Moab.

It may be, however, believed, that the difficulty on the part of the Assyrians will not admit of so easy a solution. But a short inquiry will enable us to perceive, that whatever difference is conceived to exist between the two cases is really groundless and imaginary. The objection must proceed upon the supposition, that the Hebrews formed a distinct race from the Assyrians, when Jacob delivered his prophecy on the coming of Shiloh. But such a supposition, as grounded on preconceived and erroneous notions, scarcely deserves a refutation. Until long subsequently to that time, the line of separation had not been drawn, by the institution of a religious polity among the Jews, which rendered that people obnoxious to the Gentiles;²⁴⁶ and so remote is it from fact, that the Hebrews and Assyrians were a distinct race, that they were equally native Mesopotamians.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ As a circumstance, not yet occurring, but future, it was foretold of the Jews, by Balaam, in the last year of the Exod, that "the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be numbered with the nations." Num xxiii. 9.

²⁴⁷ Vid. *infr.* n.²⁴⁸; comp. Acts. vii. 2. 3.

Abraham, the founder of the race, declared that his native land was Mesopotamia.²⁴⁸ To that province of Assyria, he sent²⁴⁹ "unto *his country* and to *his kindred*, to take a wife unto Isaac :". . . "and Isaac, when he was forty years old, took the daughter of Bethuel *the Syrian* of Padan-aram, and sister to Laban *the Syrian*."²⁵⁰ Retaining the hereditary attachment of his forefathers,²⁵¹ "Isaac sent away Jacob, and he went to Padan-aram unto Laban,

²⁴⁸ From a collation of Gen. xxiv. 4. 10. it appears that the native country of Abraham was ארם נהרים, 'Mesopotamian Syria,' Gen. xxiv. 10. for those terms are assigned, by the translators, the same force, as in determining the country of Balaam : vid. supr. p. 36. n. 87. In addition to what has been there observed, it is necessary only to add, that the Syriac version in employing ארם נהרים, 'Syria of the rivers;' and the Samaritan, ארם נהרים ארם, with the same sense; conspire with the Chaldee, Greek and Latin. In this sentence the modern versions may be included, as the Spanish, the Italian and English adopt 'Mesopotamia,' the French, 'Mesopotamie,' and the German, 'Mesopotamien.'

²⁴⁹ Gen xxiv. 4. It seems to have been collected from a collation of this text, with Gen. ib. 10. lately cited, that ארם נהרים, *Padan-aram*, is synonymous with ארם נהרים, *Aram Naharaim*, or Mesopotamia; so those terms are rendered in the Greek, *Μεσοποταμία*; the Latin, 'Mesopotamia;' with which the Spanish and German agree. The original terms are however retained in the Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, and Arabic, with which the Italian, French and English coincide. From a collation of the same texts, I am inclined rather to conclude, that ארם נהרים, 'Padan of Syria' was ארם נהרים (נחור), 'the city (of Nahor,) of Mesopotamian Syria,' Ib. xxiv. 10. In Syriac, ארם נהרים, and in Chaldee, ארם נהרים signifies a pair or yoke; which would not have been an unsuitable name to a city composed of separate collections of houses, connected by a street, bridge, or causeway.

²⁵⁰ Gen. xxviii. 5. the terms לבן הארמי . . . בתואל הארמי are rendered, here and Gen. xxv. 20. in the Greek, Βαθυελ τῆ Σύρου . . . Δαβὴν τῆ Σύρου, and in the Latin, 'Bathuelis Syri. . . Laban Syri,' with which the versions, ancient and modern, coincide.

²⁵¹ Gen. xxv. 5.

the son of Bethuel *the Syrian*." Such are the terms in which the first founders of this people are generally recognised in their national history. Even by the ordinances of their religious code, it was required of every Israelite, in offering his first fruits, that he should make a like avowal of his original. The form prescribed for him to use, on this occasion, was expressed in the following terms; ²⁵² "a Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went

²⁵² Deut. xxvi. 5. "ארמי אבר אבי וירד מצרימה וגו' : It must be however acknowledged, that the suffrage of the versions, in which אבר is rendered as a verb, is opposed to the signification ascribed to this passage in the English translation. It is accordingly rendered in the Greek, Συρίαν ἀπίβαλον ὁ πατήρ μου, καὶ κατέβη εἰς Αἴγυπτον, 'my father rejected Syria, and descended into Egypt;' but some of the Hexaplar translators displeased with this sense substituted, Συρίαν ἀπίδωκεν, 'left Syria,' which is contrary to fact. The Latin, rendering אבר in the Indefinite Kal, has 'Syrus persequeretur patrem meum,' persecuted my father;' this signification, however, required some qualification; the Chaldee accordingly supplies it, לבן ארמאה בעא לאוברא ית אבא, 'Laban the Syrian sought to destroy my father;' which is equally opposed to fact, with the Greek version; yet it is servilely adopted in the Arabic, اربع لابان الارمني كاد يبيد ابي, 'truly Laban the Syrian would have destroyed my father.' The Samaritan possesses every ambiguity which may be imputed to the original, מרצא ארמא אבר אבי, 'a Syrian perishing (was) my father,' or 'persecuted my father;' and the Syriac, לזכר אבי וירד מצרים, 'my father was led into Syria, and descended into Egypt;' where to preserve the natural order of the phrase, the sense of the verb is altered. Of the modern versions, the Spanish, as usual, conforms to the Latin, 'el Siro persequia á mi padre;' with which the German nearly conspires, 'die Syrer wollten meinen Vater umbringen, the Syrians would kill my father.' The Italian indeed renders the phrase, 'il padre mio (era) un misero Siro;' and the French, 'mon père étoit un pauvre Syrien;' both of which correspond with the English. And it would be evident, that in these versions, the proper sense of the passage was conveyed, as they follow the natural order of this text, which, if אבר were taken as a verb, would require the phrase to be inverted; were it not obvious, from the vague and loose manner, in

down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation great, mighty and populous." In a word, the national appellation of Hebrew, which began to supersede the paternal name of Syrian, as early as the times of Abraham,²⁵³ is an implicit admission of the foreign extraction of this people; nor did the patriarchal founders of their race express themselves in very different language, but confessed that they were mere "strangers and settlers,"²⁵⁴ in Canaan. Whatever, therefore, might have been the national or hereditary antipathies of the Assyrians, or their repugnance to adopt any rite or prophecy from the Jews; it is obvious, that, in the age of the patriarchs, no greater prejudice could have operated against the reception of the prediction of Jacob, than of Balaam, by that people. Nor can any objection be fra-

which it is rendered in the preceding versions, with the palpable view of disposing of the difficulty of applying the name of *Syrian* to the Hebrews. In the former sense, it is accordingly pointed by the Masorets, who employ אֲבִיר Benoni, not אֲבִיר indef. Piel.

²⁵³ Gen. xiv. 13. לאברם העברי, in the translation of these words, which are rendered in the English version, "to Abram the Hebrew;" the Greek and German, depart from the other versions; the one rendering them, Ἀβράμ τῷ πειράτη, 'to Abram the emigrant:' which is followed by Aquila; and the other, 'Abram dem Ausländer, 'Abram the foreigner:' to which may be probably added, the Chaldee עברא, and the Syriac, אֲבִיר, with the same sense as the Greek. The different authorities, on the derivation of the word עברי, *Hebrew*, are cited by Walton. Prolegom. Bibl. Polygl. III. § 1. p. 15. who gives his suffrage in favor of those who considered it a common name, with the sense of *transitor, transfluvialis*; and not a patronymic, derived from *Heber*.

²⁵⁴ Gen. xxiii. 5. גר ותושב אנכי עמכם, 'I am a stranger and a settler with you,' thus the passage is rendered in the versions, ancient and modern, without any important variation. The same language nearly is applied by Isaac to Jacob; Ib. xxviii. 4. comp. Heb. xi. 13.

med to meet the one case, that will not apply against the other; and equally decide against the reception, among the Jews themselves, of a prophecy of Isaiah or Daniel.

The possibility being admitted, that a prophecy of Jacob might have made its way among his compatriots, the Assyrians; it may be at once raised to a moral certainty, without adducing further proof but that which presents itself in the document before us. Balaam, it has been observed, was of that nation:²⁵⁵ his prophecy, however, bears internal evidence, that its author was well acquainted with Jacob's prediction. He not only introduces the patriarch expressly by name,²⁵⁶ but he imitates his prophecy,²⁵⁷ in its scope, language and images. As Jacob professes to inform his sons, of what²⁵⁸ "shall befall them in *the last days*;" Balaam undertakes²⁵⁹ "to advertise Balak what this people should do to his people, in *the latter days*." As the one declares that²⁶⁰ "*the sceptre* should not depart from Judah;" the other declares, that²⁶¹ "*a sceptre* should rise out of Israel." In the prediction of each of them, Judah is not only compared to a *lion*; but their respective descriptions exhibit a circumstantial coincidence, in the imagery and diction, which places the imitation of the pro-

²⁵⁵ Vid. supr. p. 36.

²⁵⁶ Vid. infr. p. 119.

²⁵⁷ The similarity between Jacob and Balaam's prophecy is so obvious, that it has not escaped observation. Eusebius after tracing the resemblance, between them, closes the comparison, with the following observation: Dem. Evan. Lib. IX. cap. iii. p. 425. d. πάντα δ' ἐν τὰ εἰς τὴν τῷ Ἰακώβ προῤῥησιν τεθειρωμένα ἀρμόσειεν ἂν καὶ εἰς τὴν τῷ Βαλαάμ, τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῶν λεγομένων ἕνεκα: 'every thing which has been observed of Jacob's prediction would agree with that of Balaam, on account of the similarity of their sayings.'

²⁵⁸ Gen. xlix. 1.

²⁵⁹ Num. xxiv. 14.

²⁶⁰ Gen. ibid. 10.

²⁶¹ Num. ibid. 17.

phet beyond controversion. In the patriarch's description,²⁶² "Judah is a lion's whelp. . . he stooped down, he couched as a lion and as an old lion, who shall rouse him up;" in the prophet's,²⁶³ "he couched, he lay down, as a lion, and as a great lion, who shall rouse him up?" In fine, the bold figure, in which Balaam opens his prediction, does not merely intimate, that he was acquainted with the prediction of Jacob; but presupposes, that his auditors were familiar with the subject. In mentioning Jacob's name, and particularising "the latter days," and "the sceptre of Judah;" the prophecy of the patriarch was brought as unequivocally before his hearers, as if it had been expressly quoted. Nor could it admit of any doubt, who the Personage was to whom the prophet alluded, in declaring,

*I shall see Him, but not now,
I shall behold him, but not near:
A star shall proceed out of Jacob,
A sceptre shall rise out of Israel.*

• That it could be Him only, of whom *Jacob himself* had declared,

*The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor a ruler from between his feet,
Until the *Pacificator* shall come.*

Nor let me be told, that this knowledge was confined to the seer of Mesopotamia; and merely delivered in the prophetic spirit by which he was moved, in predicting the great revolutions which

²⁶² Gen. *ibid.* 9.

²⁶³ Num. *ibid.* 9. It may be further observed, that the words which directly follow, 'Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee' are literally adopted from *the benediction of Jacob*, pronounced upon him, by his father Isaac; Gen. *xxvi.* 29.

should precede the advent of the expected Personage. The popular superstitions of Balaam's age, bear internal evidence of their traditional descent, by which the fabulous accounts of the person, conceived after the description of those prophecies, may be identified with the history of Jacob. The terminal monuments erected to Mercury or Nebo, the names by which they were known to the ethnics, the rites by which that divinity was revered, bear a clear and consistent testimony to their original.

Nebo, or his substitute Mercury, was represented by a plain pillar, consecrated by an unction and sacrifice;²⁶⁴ he was worshipped by erecting a sacred mound of stones, in his honor;²⁶⁵ and the common appellation, by which these monuments were known, was Bethulia.²⁶⁶ Beyond the following brief extracts from the patriarchal history, I cannot think, it will be necessary to look for the origin of the Assyrian superstition. After describing the vision seen by the patriarch at Luz, the sacred historian proceeds;²⁶⁷ "And Jacob rose up

²⁶⁴ Vid. supr. p. 96. The ceremony of erecting and dedicating these monuments is described, in the following terms, by Siculus Flaccus; "Cum *Terminos disponerent*, ipsos quidem *lapides* in solidam terram collocabant, proxime ea loca, quibus *fossis factis* defixuri eos erant, et *unguento* velaminibusque, et coronis eos coronabant. In *fossis autem* quibus posituri eos erant, *sacrificio facto*, *hostiaque immaculata cæsa*, facibus ardentibus, in *fossa cooperti sanguine instillabant* eoque fruges et thura jactabant; favos quoque et vinum, aliaque quibus consuetudo erat *Terminis sacrum fieri* in fossa adjiciebant, consumtisque omnibus dapibus igne, super calentes reliquias *lapides collocabant* atque ita diligenti cura confirmabant:" conf. supr. p. 78.

²⁶⁵ Vid. supr. p. 91. n. 199. p. 95. n. 206. &c.

²⁶⁶ Vid. Sanchoniath. ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. Lib. I. cap. ix. p. 37. d. Damas. in Isidor. vit. ap. Phot. Cod. cclxii. Scalig. Animadv. in Euseb. n. MMCL.

²⁶⁷ Gen. xxviii. 18. 19.

early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel.²⁶⁸ “And on a subsequent occasion it is recorded; that²⁶⁹ “Jacob took a stone and set it up for a pillar. And Jacob said unto his brethren gather stones; and they took stones, and made a heap, and they did eat there upon the heap.” The ceremony is then represented as closing with the most solemn religious rite;²⁷⁰ “then Jacob offered sacrifice in the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mount.”

Though it may be deemed superfluous to offer further proof of the origin of the title Nebo, or of the rites by which that deity was honored; one or

²⁶⁸ The learned inquirer into the remains of the Assyrian religion held the following opinion, which is also imputed to the great Scaliger; Seld. de Dis Syr. Synt. I. cap. v. “Bethel autem quod domus dei sonat, Βαιθηλ Græcis interpretibus dicitur, et locus erat ubi lapidem unxit Jacob, ut legitur Gen. xviii. coti. IB. a quo nomine et ritu, Βαιρωδοι et Βαιρωδία apud profanos scriptores manarunt.” The following testimony, on this subject, is so full and apposite, that it merits transcription: Cuper. not. in Lact. de Mort. Persec. cap. x. “Lapides igitur, vel saxa a Gentibus honore divino cultos, id est uctos, coronatos, et adoratos fuisse, ex Arnobii Lib. II, constat. ‘Picturatas veterosis in arboribus tæneas si quando conspexeram, lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivi unguine sordidatum, tanquam inesset vis præsens, adulabar, affabar, et beneficia pœcebam nihil sentiente de truncis;’ ubi videri possunt interpretes. Lucianus in Pseudomante notat Rutilianum, si quando λιθον ἀνελκμύραν ἢ ἰσθρανομίον conspexisset, continuo in genua cecidisse, adorasse, et prospera ab illo postulasse. Et puto, vere notare eruditione præstantes viros, supersticiosos homines imitato esse Jacobum lapidem unguento perfundentem in Bethel, Gen. xxviii. qui tamen, teste Augustino, more idololatricæ lapidem non perfudit oleo, velut faciens illum Deum, neque adoravit illum lapidem, neque illi sacrificavit.”

²⁶⁹ Gen. xxxi. 45. 46.

²⁷⁰ Gen. ibid. 54.

two considerations seem so clearly to establish the connexion existing between his character and the prophecy of Jacob, as well as between the pillars consecrated to his worship, and the anointed stone raised by the patriarch as the memorial of his vision, that they merit specific notice.

If the coincidence be deemed accidental, it must be admitted to be extraordinary, which subsists between the name ascribed by the Assyrians to this deity, and that assigned, by the most learned expositor of prophecy among the ancients, to the Divine Personage to whom Jacob alludes in his prediction. Eusebius, however, conspires with the Assyrians, not merely in rejecting the term Shiloh, and every title into which that term can be explained; but in adopting a name, which is synonymous with Nebo; as literally signifying "the prophesied," or "the foretold."²⁷¹ Nor is it wholly undeserving of remark, that in forming the title of their deity, the Assyrians should have followed the analogy, which is observed in the name of the brother of the prophet: Nabau being a term perfectly similar in its construction to Esau.²⁷² If the prophecy of the patriarch be considered the source from whence they mutually drew; it directly accounts for similarities,²⁷³ which, on any other supposition, seem wholly inexplicable.

²⁷¹ Euseb. Dem. Evan. Lib. III. cap. i. p. 370. "But what is also said after this, 'A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a ruler from between his feet, until he for whom it is reserved shall come, and to him shall be the expectation of the nations,' seems to me to allude to the times of the appearance of the *Prophesied*, (τὸς χρόνους αἰνίτισταί μοι δοκεῖ τῆς τῆ Προφητευομένης παρουσίας). Conf. supr. p. 108. n. ²⁸².

²⁷² Vid. supr. p. 85. n. ¹⁸⁷. conf. p. 108. n. ²³³.

²⁷³ Of the Babylonian monarchs, who adopted titles from the national gods, Syncellus, who derived his information from the original works of Berosus, declares of the prince who was prin-

Another circumstance is not less deserving of remark, as illustrating the source from whence the pagan custom of anointing and dedicating pillars originated. In the prohibition given in the Mosaic Law, against the erection of groves and pillars in the vicinity of an altar dedicated to the Lord;²⁷⁴ the term under which the latter are proscribed²⁷⁵ is identical with that applied by Jacob to the monument, which was erected at Bethel; where the patriarch by the divine appointment subsequently raised an altar.²⁷⁶ As God himself mentioned this

principally instrumental in overthrowing the kingdom of Israel, Chronogr. p. 208. c. Ναβονάσσαρος, ὁ καὶ Σαλμανασάρ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ λεγόμενος. If the preceding deductions be admitted, they afford a solution of the difficulty which has been found, in indentifying the same prince under such different titles: Salmanaser having the same reference to the prophetic name of the Assyrian god, which Nabonassar bears to the mythological. If this solution be objected to as strained, it should be remembered, in its defence, that by the signification of the term Nabo we are directed to *prophecy* for explanation; and that Salmanaser is confessedly compounded with a word which signifies *pacific*. On the signification of this name, Des-Vignolles has observed; Chronol. Tom. II. p. 300. “Les etymologistes pourront remarquer, sur ce sujet, que les trois premières lettres du nom de שלמנאסר, *Salmanasar*, que les Juifs appellent *radicales* sont les mêmes, que celles de *Salomon*, à qui ce nom fut donné, parce qu’il devoit être *un homme paisible*.”

²⁷⁴ Deut. xvi. 21. 22.

²⁷⁵ Deut. ib. 22. ולא תקים לך מצבה, ‘and thou shalt not raise a pillar:’ Gen. xxviii. 17. וישם את האבן... וישם את האבן, ‘and (Jacob) took the stone, and set it for a pillar.’ The term מצבה, which the LXX properly render, in both places, *στάλη*, has obviously a reference to a remarkable circumstance in the patriarch’s vision, which is expressed by the verb נצב, from whence the original מצבה is derived; Gen. ibid. 12, 13. והנה סלם מצב ארצה... והנה יהוה נצב עליו. ‘and, behold a ladder stood upon the earth... and, behold, Jehovah stood above it.’ From whence it would appear, that the name of those monuments originated with Jacob, and was applied by him, in consequence of his vision at Bethel.

²⁷⁶ Gen. xxxv. 1,

monument with commendation, in terming himself the God of Bethel;²⁷⁷ it seems not easy to account for the change which occurred, between the vision of Jacob and the legation of Moses, on any grounds, but that those monuments, in the intermediate period, were perverted to idolatrous purposes. This supposition will receive direct confirmation, from the remains of the history of the Phenicians, in prosecuting our inquiries into the superstitions of that people; and the plainest allusions will be traced between the mysteries of Mithras and the vision of Jacob, in pursuing the same subject, with reference to the Persians.

From the various circumstances brought to light in the preceding induction, we seem justified in deducing some important conclusions. Of the gods who were common to the Moabites and Assyrians, the principal²⁷⁸ were Bel and Nebo; in whose

²⁷⁷ Ib. xxxi. 13.

²⁷⁸ Bel and Nabo are specified as the principal gods of Babylon by Isaiah. xlvi. 1. The term *Δαγγυ* which occurs in the Greek version of the prophet is obviously a corruption of *Ναβου*; we consequently find the latter reading not only confirmed by the common consent of the versions, but by Aquila, who read *Ναβω*, and Symmachus, who read, *Νεβύς*: vid. Montf. Hexapl. in loc. The honor in which those deities were held may be collected from the names of their monarchs, which were chiefly composed of the titles of their gods. On this subject it is observed by Beyer, Addit. in Seld. de Dis Syr. p. 319. "All the names of the Assyrians and Chaldees, are composed of simple names, which are almost all the names of the *Babylonian gods*, as Bel, Nebo, Mero.... They are therefore either composed of two terms; as, *נבו נאצר*, *Nabo-nassar*, a Chaldee title composed of the simple names Nabo and Netzar, and *נבו לאצר*, *Nabulassar*, in Josephus; the same name, which composed of three, is termed *Nabo-pul-letzar*, *Ναβοπολλάσαρος*, in Ptolemy and Eusebius. Or they are composed of three, as *Nobopollasar*, which has been just mentioned, and *נבו נאצר*, *Nebuchodonosor*, *Ναβουχονδύσαρος*, *נבו נאצר*, in Jeremiah,

honour, festivals were held, to a late period, at the commencement of spring and autumn.²¹⁹ To Baal they ascribed a prophecy which predicted the successive destruction of the world by fire and water;²²⁰ and their notions of Nebo were founded on a prediction, which held out the expectation of a great deliverance to the nations.²²¹ In determining the period of those festivals of their gods, and in anticipating the great catastrophe of nature, their opinions acquired a peculiar cast from their astronomical knowledge, which was obviously of a latter origin. In fixing the anniversaries of their religion to the period of the sun's entrance into *aries* and *libra*; and determining the time of the world's destruction by his entrance into *cancer* and *capricorn*; they superinduced the refinements of comparatively modern science on their ancient traditions. Without embarrassing the subject with the difficulties of the question, when the zodiac was dis-

Ναβυχοδονόσορος, in Magasthenes, and his follower Strabo, composed of נב, נד, נז, נח. But they are rarely composed of four, as נב, נד, נז, נח, *Merodachtenpad*, in Ptolemy *Μηροδαχτηνπαδ*, from Mero, Dach, Chen, Pad. It appears likewise, that the letters in these names, are changed with one another; *Letzar*; *Retzar*, *Netzar*; so *Nabu* and *Labu*; so that the one who is called *Labunitus* in Herodotus, becomes *Nabunitus* in Berosus. All these simple terms are the proper names of the gods." The permutation of letters, in the orthography of these names, has partly proceeded from the disposition of the ancients to pervert foreign titles into ludicrous or contemptuous senses; and partly from the affectation or inadvertence of the Greeks, and their followers, by whom all exotic names were notoriously corrupted. The elementary terms used in the composition of those names were the terms נב, נד, נז, נח, *Bel*, *Nebo*, and the titles נד, נז, נח, *Obad*, *Adon*, signifying *only Lord*, which were variously compounded with נב, signifying *bound*, and expressing the devotion and subserviency of the proselyte, who adopted the title.

²¹⁹ Vid. *supr.* p. 91. n. 109. ²²⁰ Vid. *ibid.* p. 84. n. 82.

²²¹ Vid. *ibid.* p. 108. seq.

tributed into twelve portions ; it is on all sides agreed, that *libra* was admitted into the number of the signs, at a late period ; and that the position of the colures, which determine the seasons of the year, was fixed in the cardinal signs, but 745 years before the vulgar Christian era.²⁸² On separating the adscititious circumstances, which were thus incorporated on the traditionary prophecy of Baal or Belus, respecting the destruction of the world, and which were employed by his followers in fixing the time of the festivals at which he was worshipped ; we may be enabled to arrive at a just estimate of the subject.

Of the personages who were revered under the title Bel or Baal, two were acknowledged by the Babylonians. They seem to have recognised in the first, the common progenitor of mankind ; from whom a second was descended, whom they considered the father of Ninus, the founder of their empire.²⁸³ The identity of the personage, from

²⁸² The time when the position of the colures was fixed in *Aries, Libra, Cancer and Capricorn* is determined with great probability, from the testimony of Hipparchus and the ancients, to have been about the first year of the æra of Nabonassar, 745 years before the Christian æra. Vid. Petav. Uranolog. Lib. II. p. 78. The period when the Israelites were initiated in the mysteries of *Baal*, and when Balaam delivered his prophecy from Mount *Nebo*, according to the common computations, was 711 years previously.

²⁸³ Alexander Polyhistor, who had written "on the Chaldee antiquities," quoting Eupolemus, observes ; ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. IX. xvii. p. 419. c. Βαβυλωνίαις γὰρ λέγειν πρῶτον γενέσθαι Βῆλον, ὃν εἶναι Κρόνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον καὶ, 'that the Babylonians say, that Belus was first born who was Cronus ; and from him Belus and Canaan were descended, but this Canaan was the father of the Phenicians.' With this statement the remains of Phenician history agree in acknowledging two Cronuses : vid. Sanchon. ap. Euseb. ib. I. x. 37. d. Who the first Belus was, has been already shewn ; supr. p. 92. n. ²⁰⁰. On the second Belus, the following brief testimony may be quoted,

whom they supposed the prophecy derived, with the first Belus, is not merely apparent in his remote antiquity, which proves him to have been the same as our common parent. It is rendered still more evident by a tradition, derived from a higher and purer source, which positively ascribes a prophecy on the same subject, to our great progenitor.²⁸⁴

When the tradition preserved by the Chaldees on the destruction of the earth, is divested of its astronomical peculiarities, and taken in conjunction with that perpetuated among the Hebrews; they form a conspiring testimony, to the existence of a prophecy, in the earliest part of the history of mankind, which foretold the destruction of the world by a deluge and conflagration. In determining the period of the festivals, held in honor of their great national gods, at spring and autumn, a reference seems to have been likewise made to the primitive history of our species. With the circumstances of the fall of man, which formed the most striking incident in that portion of the human annals, the vicissitude of the seasons had a necessary connexion. The curse of barrenness to which the earth then became periodically subject, at the close of the year, was the fatal consequence of the original transgression.²⁸⁵ And by such considerations, the festival, in which the remembrance of that event was preserved, was naturally determined. To commemorate at a period of the year when nature languishes and decays, the change, which then

Hier. in Oseam, cap. ii. Tom. V. p. 41. Primum omni Asiæ regnasse Ninum, *Beli filium*, omnes et Græcæ et Barbaræ narrant historiæ, qui apud Assyrios Ninum sui nominis condidit civitatem."

²⁸⁴ Vid. Joseph. uti supr. p. 30. n. 73. conf. p. 34. n. 62.

²⁸⁵ Gen. iii. 17, 18.

took place, from perennial fertility to periodical barrenness, was obvious and natural. The dreary and sterile season was accordingly chosen for the festival instituted in honor of Baal, who was confessedly the most ancient of the national deities. As these considerations derive illustration from the Saturnalia, which were fixed to the same period of the year, and which, from the identity of Saturn and Baal,²⁸⁶ had a necessary connexion with the oriental festival; they at once solve a difficulty in the institution of those rites, of which antiquity has avowed itself unequal to the solution. For while it was acknowledged, that the freedom from restraint and unrestricted indulgence, which distinguished that festival, was commemorative of the equality and profuseness which prevailed in the first and golden age;²⁸⁷ no adequate reason was found to explain why the period of celebrating the anniversary had been fixed in winter:²⁸⁸ of which difficulty, we have just seen, the history of the fall affords a simple and satisfactory solution, in the curse pronounced on the earth, which occasioned the inclemency of the seasons.

²⁸⁶ Vid. supr. p. 92. n. 200.

²⁸⁷ A native Assyrian, in describing the origin of the Saturnalia, introduces Saturn, expressing himself in the following terms; Lucian. Saturnal. Tom. II. p. 813. ed. Bened. "I have deemed it fit, to choose these few days, to resume the government, that I may remind mankind, what was the mode of life under me, (ὡς ὑπομνήσασμαι τὰς ἀνθρώπους οἷος ἦν ὁ ἐπ' ἐμῆ βίος), when all things sprang up unsown and unlabored; when there were no sheaves, but bread ready and meat prepared; when wine flowed in rivers, and there were fountains of milk and honey: for all were good and golden, (ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ χρυσοῖ ἀπαλίς). Such is the cause of this my short-lived government; and on this account, there is every where noise and music and play, and equal honor among all, as well free as servants."

²⁸⁸ This difficulty is stated in Lucian, *ibid.* p. 815. but it is wholly evaded; Saturn, to whom it is proposed, declaring that he has no time to waste in such discussions.

On the same principle, the time appointed for the festival of Nebo admits of an easy explanation. The promise of a blessing having been given, by which the effects of the curse, incurred at the fall, would be remedied; the time appointed to preserve the remembrance of the expected benefit was naturally fixed to the spring; as from this season the year had declined into the dreariness of winter at the time of the fall, and in it the recovery would again take place, when spring would once more be rendered perennial. As the time of the vernal equinox has been mentioned, as that appointed for the anniversary instituted in honor of Hermes;²⁸⁹ a period nearly coincident with it is marked, as the festival of the same god, in the calendar of the Sabians. On the twenty eighth day of their month, which corresponds with March, they offered a bull and seven lambs;²⁹⁰ and of this sacrifice, it is remarkable, that it corresponds with that offered, at the consecration of the idolatrous priests, in the earliest period of the apostacy of the kings of Israel.²⁹¹

The remains of the ceremonies, performed on

²⁸⁹ Vid. supr. p. 91. n. 199.

²⁹⁰ Stanl. Hist. Philos. Or. Lib. III. cap. iv. "Vigesimo octavo die [mensis Nisan, Sabæi] ibant ad templum, quod eis erat in civitate Saba, ad certam portam Charanis, Assarab dictam, et *Hermæ Deo suo ingentem taurum, ut et septenos agnos septem Diis . . . mactabant. Festum celebrabant conviviiis, sed nullum pecudum partem eo die adolebant.*" Allowance being made for the commencement of the year, according to the Jewish and Julian method of computing time; Nisan, which is the first month of the year, corresponds with March. According to the Gregorian from of year, which we now use the vernal equinox occurs on the 21st of this month; to which day it likewise adhered, in the Julian year, for 131 years, from the time of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325.

²⁹¹ 2 Chron. xiii. 9.

these festivals, bore evidence of their original. They appeared naked before the statue of Baal, and gathered stones in a heap, before the image of Nebo.²⁹² On the origin of either custom, I conceive it must be superfluous to enlarge, after the very full explanation into which I formerly entered on the subject.²⁹³ Nor can it be deemed necessary to engage in a formal refutation of the unsatisfactory conjectures,²⁹⁴ which have been advanced to account for either custom. The cause which has been assigned from the patriarchal history for the erection of those mounds, that they were intended to mark the scene, and preserve the remembrance, of remarkable occurrences; is so simple and adequate, as to preclude the necessity of tracing it to more artificial causes. Of the extraordinary rite by which it was believed that Baal was honored, the native writer, to whom I formerly referred, has in effect admitted the ori-

²⁹² Vid. supr. p. 91. n.¹⁹⁹

²⁹³ Vid. supr. p. 105. 120.

²⁹⁴ Phurautus, and Eustathius on Homer, as quoted, supr. p. 91. n.¹⁹⁹ assign various reasons for the custom of collecting stones in honor of Mercury. They generally trace it to the cause assigned by the commentator on the Odyssey: 'Ερμῆς γὰρ φασὶ πρῶτος, οἷα κήρυξ καὶ διάκλιτος, καὶ', 'Hermes, they say, as a herald and messenger, cleared the high-ways, if he found stones any where, casting them out of it; from whence, they who followed his example, and cleared the roads, as if for Hermes the messenger, called those heaps, raised in honor of him, Hermean mounds, or Hermæa." By the same writer it is likewise supposed, that those monuments served, like sign-posts, to mark particular roads, or like mile-stones, to measure distances; while Phurnutus observes, that the custom was observed on the public ground of utility, and to express respect to Mercury, particularly by rendering the site of his statues more evident to travellers. Whatever may be thought of the religious cause, in which the ancient custom is here supposed to have originated; it may be readily granted, that the public grounds, on which it was long practised, carry with them some show of probability.

gin. In referring it to the golden age, in his description of the Saturnalia, he gives it a connexion with the state of innocence,²⁹⁵ “*when they were naked and were not ashamed;*” which so adequately solves the difficulties of the case, that it leaves us nothing further to inquire on the subject.

Besides the two great festivals, occurring at the most remarkable times of the year : it appears that the votarists of those gods possessed not only a knowledge of the division of the month into weeks, but that they distinguished that particular day above the rest, which corresponded with the Sabbath. As the sanctification of this day was as early as the state of innocence,²⁹⁶ the remembrance

²⁹⁵ Lucian in his account of the customs observed in keeping the Saturnalia, mentions in the number, *uti supr.* p. 808. γυμνὸν ἄδου, and p. 810. γυμνὸν ἀρχήσασθαι. *Comp.* Gen. ii. 25.

²⁹⁶ Dr. Burnet, *Epist. II. de Archæol. Philos.* has labored, at great length, to prove, that the Sabbath was not observed, previously to its injunction, on the delivery of the Law, by Moses. His arguments, however, go merely to prove, that the strict observance of the day, by a total cessation from labor, was then first enjoined on the Israelites. As the sanctification of the Sabbath, as a day of rest, was expressly declared at the time of the Creation, Gen. ii. 1, 2, 3 : nothing can be more express than the testimony of Scripture, that it was observed, as a day of rest, previously to its strict injunction by Moses. The Law, including the fourth commandment, was not delivered before the 3rd day of the *third month*, from the departure from Egypt; *comp.* Exod. xix. 1. 16. xx. 1. 8. nothing, however, is more plain, than that the Israelites gathered manna, from the 15th day of the *second month*, refraining every seventh day, because it was the Sabbath; *comp.* *ibid.* xvi. 1. 8. 13. 22. So convinced, indeed, was the great Scaliger, that the order of the days of the week was observed, at this early period; that on the last cited texts, he founds his demonstration, that the year of the Exod began upon Thursday; *vid.* Scal. *Emend. Temp. Lib. V.* p. 374. *Can. Isag.* p. 281. f. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromat. V.* p. 600. has shown that the seventh day was accounted sacred by the Greeks, and some other nations; and Hesiod,

of which was preserved in the history and worship of Baal; very slender presumptions would justify us in concluding, that the knowledge of it was not lost among those people, who observed an anniversary in honor of that deity. How it could have been lost seems perfectly inexplicable, while the remembrance of that day is admitted to have been preserved among the Sabians, who received their theological system traditionally from the Assyrians.²⁹⁷ It is, however, manifest, that the worship of that people contained a weekly, not less than a monthly service; and that they divided their week into days in every respect similar to those, which the Saxons have transmitted to us from the Romans.²⁹⁸ Beyond the identity of our Saturday with the Jewish Sabbath, it seems needless to seek for a proof, that this day was identical with that termed by the Romans from Saturn,²⁹⁹ and by the Chaldees from his prototype

delivering himself to the same purpose, uses the remarkable phrase, uti. infr. p. 135. n. ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα ἡμέρα.

²⁹⁷ Vid. Stanl. Hist. uti supr. cap. iv. ad init.

²⁹⁸ Stanl. ubi supr. cap. iv. p. 311. "Duplici ritu Deos [Sabæi] colebant *quotidiano* et *menstruo*. Quotidianum ita describit Ali Sahai, 'Primum diem consecrant Soli, secundum Lunæ, tertium Marti, quartum Mercurio, quintum Jovi, sextum Belthæ Veneri, *septimum Saturno*.' Of Belthis, Le Clerc justly observes that it was the name of an Assyrian goddess, and the feminine of Bel, or Baal: Ind. in Stanl. sub. voc. "*Belthis, Dea Assyria*. . . Hebraice בעלה, *Baalath, domina*; aut cum Jod, בעלה, *Baalthis, domina mea*." Analogous to which we find בעלי, Hos. ii. 16. and ארני, in almost every page of the Old Testament.

²⁹⁹ The following authority may be quoted, on the identity of the Sabbath with Saturday, even at the period of its institution on Sinai: Spenc. de Leg. Hebr. Lib. II. iv. 9. "For it was provided by the Law, not only that a Sabbath, but השבת *the Sabbath*, namely *the day already denominated from Saturn*, (diem nempe jam a Saturno denominatum) should be solemnly kept. The LXX interpreters render אה יום השבת, in a para-

Baal. And it follows from the rank which this deity held among the Assyrian gods, that the day which was dedicated to his worship was peculiarly revered by his votarists. Nor should it be forgotten, in this deduction, that a week was allotted to the celebration of the Saturnalia, and that the festival was kept, by a general cessation from labor, and indulgence in revelry and excess;³⁰⁰ in which there is but too much reason to believe, that not merely the Jubilee, kept after a week of

phrase, τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην, 'the seventh day.' To the same purpose is the explanation in Suidas, Σάββατον ἑβδόμη ἡμέρα ἐτύχχανε τῷ κυκλικῷ διασημαίος, 'the Sabbath was the seventh day in the hebdomidal cycle.' It was not lawful for the Jewish Church to exercise that authority over the Sabbath, that *they might transfer it to any other day*, and celebrate the first in place of the seventh. For they were bound by the express terms of the Law, *to the seventh day*; 'Remember the Sabbath-day.. six days shalt thou labor, but *the seventh* is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.' For it is immediately added, 'the Lord rested the seventh day, and blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.' From whence it appears that God used 'the seventh day' and the 'sabbath-day' as synonymous terms." From these words I would, however, deduce a different conclusion. For it should be observed, as a corrective to the peculiar views of this writer, that the terms, שבת היום, which he renders 'the sabbath-day,' literally mean 'the day of the rest;' i. e. of God; as they are generally rendered, Exod xxxi. 15. That day, not "the day denominated from Saturn," is alluded to in the commandment, as the context, which the commentator quotes, puts out of dispute; 'Remember the day of the rest, to keep it holy.. For the Lord..rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the day of rest and hallowed it.' It may be also observed, that the terms, 'the seventh day,' are wholly unintelligible, unless on the supposition, that the order of days in the week was observed, when the commandment was given.

³⁰⁰ Lucian, uti supr. p. 808. d. *in αὐταῖς δι ταῖς [ἡμέραις] ἑπτὰ, σπαδαῖον μὲν, ἐδὲ ἀγοραῖον διοικήσασθαι μαι συγκαίχρηται, πίνουσι δὲ καὶ βοᾶν καὶ παίζουσιν, καὶ* 'but in these seven days, it is permitted me to perform nothing important or public, but to drink and revel, to shout and play' &c,

sabbatical years, but every other sabbatism of the Jews, in some measure participated.³⁰¹

If I have thus far succeeded in carrying the reader along with me, it will be admitted, that in the rites of Bel and Nebo, the Assyrians not only preserved a knowledge of the fall and recovery, but that the anniversaries, observed in honor of those great national gods, were intended to commemorate those cardinal events in the great scheme of man's redemption. Nor can the claims of that people to some knowledge and observance of the sabbath be reasonably disputed, when it is considered, that the sanctification of that day was as early as the creation, and a knowledge of the division of the week into days was nearly commensurate with the civilization of mankind: that the Sabaists, who derived their knowledge only through the Assyrians, gave the very names to the days, which the hereditary tyranny of custom has still imposed on ourselves.³⁰²

³⁰¹ Schleusn. Lex. N. T. voc. σαββατισμός. "Jam quia Judæi" &c. "Now because the Jews on the sabbath, ceased from all labor and work, and entirely resigned themselves to mirth and leisure; hence σαββατισμός means rest, leisure and a cessation from labor, and metaphorically, happiness of every kind, as ἱερασμαός."

³⁰² Few readers require to be informed, that the names by which the days of the week are termed, not only by ourselves, but by the European and Asiatic nations, are those which they possessed among the Romans. But it is not known, that *Wednesday*, the *dies Mercurii* of the Romans, and *Saturday*, the *dies Saturni*, of the same people, still retain their oriental names, and in conformity with the religious system of the Assyrians, obtained some degree of reverence above the other days of the week. The Woden of the Saxons, from whom *Wednesday* takes its name, was unquestionably the Oden of the Northern nations, a god of whom these nations confessedly derived their knowledge from the East, and the name of whom has been identified with the oriental אָדוֹן, *Adon*, which was incorporated in the titles

That suitably to these festivals, this ancient people possessed a religious service, which preserved a general conformity to the patriarchal worship might be inferred from their observance of sacrifice; in which is implied not only the existence of a priesthood, but the observation of ceremonies suitable to the rite which they administered. The sacrifices offered "on the high places of Baal," when Balaam delivered his first prophecy to Balak, are expressly said to have been offered by the king and prophet;³⁰³ and there is evidence much stronger than mere presumption, that, even

of the eastern monarchs. The Saturn of the Romans, from whom the name of Saturday is derived has been already traced to an oriental original, *supr.* p. 107. n. ²²⁹. The testimony in favor of the reverence paid to the fourth and seventh days, is that of one of the oldest pagan writers; the words of Hesiod are

Αἱ γὰρ ἡμέραι εἰσι Διὸς πάρα μνησίετος,
Πρῶτος ἔτη, τέταρτος τε καὶ ἑβδόμη, ἱερὰ ἡμᾶρ. *Op. et Dier.* 769.

In which remarkable distich, it is observable, the distribution of the days into months, and the reverence ascribed particularly to the fourth and seventh, is traced by this early writer to the authority of Jove himself, of whom Selden observes, *De Dis Syr.* II. i. p. 202. "*Jovis enim ex Tetragrammati Europæorum pronunciatione corrupta fiebat; nec Jupiter aliud sane quam Jovispiter, id est Ἰαὺ πατήρ, seu Ἰαὺ πατήρ, JEHOVAH PATER.*" On this subject, however, a more convenient opportunity will occur hereafter to express myself at large. I have at present touched upon it, merely on account of the light which it throws on the Assyrian theology; in asserting a precedence to Saturn and Mercury, among the deities, and in referring the division of the week, and the sanctification of the seventh day, to its true source, as ascribing it to Him whom the Heathens accounted the Supreme God.

³⁰³ Num. xxvi. 2. "And Balak and Balaam offered, on every altar, a bullock and a ram." On collating this passage with Num. xxii. 41. it will appear, that this sacrifice was offered on "the high places of Baal." The sabbatical character of the rite, as offered on seven altars, is particularly worthy of notice.

from this early period, the sacerdotal character was combined with the regal and prophetic.³⁰⁴ Positive evidence has been already adduced to prove not only the consecration of priests to Baal, but by a sacrifice of the same kind as the Sabians offered to Hermes.³⁰⁵ Had there been, in fact, no other evidence of the general prevalence of the patriarchal religion; the high places consecrated to the one divinity, and the pillars dedicated to the other,³⁰⁶ would form lasting memorials, that their worship, however lamentably perverted, was diffused as widely as the idolatry of the East. For at whatever period the profane and abandoned service was established, which finally superseded the pure patriarchal worship, through that tract of country; no doubt can be reasonably entertained that it was derived from a divine original.³⁰⁷ Any other supposition being admitted, it becomes wholly inexplicable, how the inhabitants of those regions

³⁰⁴ As early as the times of Abraham, we find these characters united; Melchizedek is represented as being not only "king of Salem," but "priest of the most high God:" Gen. xiv. 18. Of the Assyrian hierarchy all knowledge has perished in the wreck of ancient history. But as far as the knowledge of the sacred order may be recovered from the accounts transmitted to us of the Persian priesthood, the union of the sacred function with the prophetic and regal character may be satisfactorily established. It is stated by Apuleius, *Apol.* I. p. 32. "Magian, in the Persian language is the same as *priest* in ours;" and it is observed by Cicero, *De Div.* I. xli. that "no one could be king of the Persians who was not informed in the knowledge and discipline of the Magians."

³⁰⁵ Vid. *supr.* p. 129. et not.

³⁰⁶ Vid. *supr.* p. 82. n. 184. p. 91. n. 199 &c.

³⁰⁷ Vid. *supr.* p. 120. et seq. The testimony of a learned Platonist on this subject was therefore, not very remote from the truth, as stated by Stanley, *Hist. Or. Phil.* uti. *supr.* p. 321. "Cum Proclus "in Timæum" adserat, *Assyriam Theologiam a Deo revelatam fuisse,*"—"that the *Assyrian Theology* was revealed by God."

should have retained their superstitions, with such stubborn pertinacity, and have succeeded in seducing proselytes to their errors, from among the chosen people of God.

In proportion as this subject is more closely examined, we shall find reason to rise in our opinions of the religious system, embraced by the nations which composed the Assyrian empire. Although it cannot be admitted, that the Deity was originally acknowledged by them, under the term Baal;³⁰⁸ it may be readily conceded to high authority, that the Supreme Being was subsequently recognised, under that title, through the vast continent of Asia.³⁰⁹ Independent of the arguments on which this conclusion rests,³¹⁰ it remains to be observed, that in the best authenticated systems of the Assyrian cosmogony, the Creator is introduced under the term Bel;³¹¹ where it is wholly inconceivable, that any human being, recognised under that title, can be intended. The same inference may be deduced from the reciprocal manner, in which the titles applied to the Divinity are respectively adopted by the As-

³⁰⁸ Seld. de Dis Syr. Synt. II. cap. i. p. 195.

³⁰⁹ Id. Ibid.

³¹⁰ Stanl. Philos. Orient. I. II. xxxii. p. 260. "*Summo Numeni nomen et imaginem Beli tribuebant* [Chaldæi], ut liquet ex prohibitione Dei quæ exstat Hos. ii. 16. 'Non vocabis me amplius Bahali.' Belus enim Chaldæorum idem est ac *Bahal* Phœnicum, qua voce Hebræi *dominum* significant. To account for the application of the term *Baal* to the Supreme Being, we need not pass the reason assigned by Le Clerc, Index. in Stanl. voc. Belus.—"quod [nomen], cum *Dominum* significaret, potuit tribui numinibus, et præsertim summo." This I believe to be the case in almost all languages, as is obvious in the English word Lord; which, though it is applied to the Almighty, is used as a title of nobility, and even as a proper name.

³¹¹ Beros. citante Alex. Polyhist. ap. Syncel. Chronogr. p. 29. et Euseb. Chron. Græc. Scaligeri, p. 29.

syrians and Hebrews ;³¹² which could have scarcely occurred, had not the same Divine Being been recognised, under the proper titles which each nation adopted. By the ethnics themselves, who cite the highest authority acknowledged by their religion, in appealing to the oracles, a purer worship is ascribed to the Assyrians, in common with the Hebrews, whom they represented as adoring a God, supreme and unbegotten.³¹³ They afford even ground for concluding, that they not only regarded both people, as having the same object of religious worship ; but have identified him with the Supreme God, by the incommunicable name

³¹² Selden in reference to the Assyrian gods, observes, de Dis Syr. Synt. II. cap. i.—“ vocibus ejusdem fere significatio- nis, et ab Ebræis, Arabibus et Græcis, id quod proprium Dei Opt. Max. nomen habetur antiquitus data opera explicatum sæpissime legamus. Tetragrammatum enim nomen יהוה redditur a LXX. Ἀδωναι, aut Κύριος, hoc est dominus : et substitu- unt Arabes الله *alrab*, quod idem sonat. *Et quam conve- nire potuerit τῷ Baal nomen DEO VERO cap. ii. Hoseæ satis monstrat* comm. 16. ‘ Et erit in die illa dicit Domi- nus, vocabis [me] Ishi,’ id est maritus meus, ‘ et non voca- bis me ultra BAALI,’ id est בעלי, nimirum Baal meus, &c. The learned author might have literally interpreted, ‘ Dominus meus ;’ in the original sense of the term בעל : vid. supr. p. 102. n.²²⁰ He subsequently observes on the adoption of the term יהוה by the Heathen ; ibid. p. 208. “ *Nonne enim Aramæis ido- lolatris non solum cognitum verum etiam et prolatum legimus ? Rabsake apud Jesaiam cap. xxxvi. com. 15. ‘ Neque confidere vos faciat Hizkijau in יהוה, dicens, eruendo eruet nos יהוה,’ sæpiusque repetit.*”

³¹³ Porphyry in his work on “ the Philosophy of the Ora- cles,” cited by Euseb. Præp. Ev. IX. x. p. 413. b. quotes the following distich of Apollo ; which is also cited by Justin Mar- tyr ; Cohort. ad Græc. p. 12. b.

Μῆνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἢδ’ ἄρ’ Ἑβραῖοι,
 Αὐτογένητον ἀνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἀγνώως.

In the context of Porphyry’s observation, we find Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις, Ἀσσυριοὶ γὰρ ἔσσι ; thus identifying the Chaldeans as Assyrians.

Jehovah.³¹⁴ Nor will this deduction appear improbable or forced, when it is remembered, that those nations respectively referred their origin to the patriarch Shem; in whose line, the knowledge of the true God was preserved, however his worship became depraved and perverted.

Admitting what cannot be reasonably denied, that any traditionary knowledge derived from prophetic sources, was preserved among the Assyrians; it may seem superfluous to insist further on a point, which is yielded in this concession. That they attained some light, in this respect, may be collected from the prophecy which they ascribed to their great progenitor, which declared that the world would be successively destroyed by a deluge and conflagration. But it may be inferred from records of the highest authority, that they possessed information derived from other sources than tradition, and that much of this knowledge was derived from the predictions of Balaam. Express intimation had been given, by the Mesopotamian diviner, of the great national revolutions which should precede the establishment of an universal empire under an expected Deliverer.³¹⁵ In his prediction, the part was not

³¹⁴ Selden closes his induction of authorities, on the identity of the terms Jehovah and Jove, with the following oracle of the Clarian Apollo; Dis Syr. uti supr. p. 202. "Nec Jupiter aliud sane est quam Jovispiter, id est Ἰαὺ πατὴρ, seu Ἰαὺ πατὴρ, Jehovah pater. Notum illud Apollinis Clarii oraculum,

Φράζο τὸν πάντων ὑπατοῦ Θεοῦ ἔμμεν Ἰαῶ.

Cornelius Labeo habet apud Macrobius Sat. I. cap. xviii." Had the nature of the digamma been investigated, when this observation was made by its learned author, the identity would have been rendered more striking, by writing the last title in the improved orthography, Ἰαῤῶ.

³¹⁵ Lactantius details, at considerable length, the opinions held by the Christians and Heathens, of his own age, respect-

less plainly indicated which the Assyrians would perform in effecting those grand revolutions: and it specified the reverses to which their empire would be subjected by the invasions of the western nations. In such intimations, it may with the highest probability be inferred, that expectation originated, which we have unquestionable authority for believing universally prevalent throughout the East; that out of Judea should come those who would attain universal dominion.³¹⁶ As the announcement of the expected person's appearance, was coupled with the prediction of those great national revolutions, which would make way for his empire; it was not unnaturally, though most erroneously conceived, that he would

ing the revolutions of empires, and the decline of secular power which should precede the advent of the Messiah, and the establishment of his kingdom; *Divin. Instit. Lib. VII. cap. xv. seq.* His fifteenth chapter which is preceded by the title, "*De mundi vastatione, et mutatione imperiorum,*" contains the following passage, which forms no inapposite commentary on the close of Balaam's prophecy; "*Nam et Ægyptios, et Persas, et Græcos, et Assyrios proditum est regimen habuisse terrarum; quibus omnibus destructis, ad Romanos quoque rerum summa pervenit. Qui quanto cæteris omnibus regnis magnitudine antestant, tanto majore decident lapsu, quia plus habent ponderis ad ruinam, quæ sunt cæteris altiora.*" He proceeds to state, that this consummation was announced by the prophets; and in his eighteenth chapter adduces the testimony of the ethnic prophets, on this subject; quoting Hystaspis, Hermes and the Sibyl, which disclose the views entertained on these subjects, by the Persians, Egyptians and Romans.

³¹⁶ Suetonius *Vit. Vespasian. cap. iv.* "*Precrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur.*" Tacitus *Hist. Lib. V.* "*Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, fore ut claresceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur.*" A more convenient opportunity will occur, for entering into the subject of these extraordinary testimonies, when the expectations of a Deliverer held by the Romans are investigated.

appear as a great military conqueror. For this supposition receives no countenance in the prediction of Balaam, which represents the advent of the divine person, as distant, and postponed to those great revolutions; and is directly opposed to the prophecy of Jacob, which designated him by a title which signified pacific.

If it be allowed, that those notions had any influence on the religious belief of the Assyrians, they will satisfactorily account for some innovations which appear to have arisen in the national religion of that people. And should it even be supposed that these changes proceeded from the operation of different causes; they will still serve to illustrate and confirm the deductions which have been previously made, on the subject of their popular superstitions.

At the remarkable period, when the divine denunciations against the kingdoms of Israel and Assyria were carried into effect, the prophets, who gave intimation of their approach, in passing sentence on the gentile superstitions, have specified the principal objects of their worship. By Isaiah, whose warning voice was chiefly raised to prepare the Israelites for the judgments which awaited their apostacy, the great gods of Assyria are marked out for destruction:³¹⁷ “ *Bel* boweth down, *Nebo*, stoopeth: their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle. . . they stoop, they bow down together, they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity.” By Jeremiah who was deputed to menace the house of Judah with a repetition of the judgments, which had been visited on their captive brethren of Israel, the same subject is thus renewed,³¹⁸ “ How

³¹⁷ Is. xlvi. 1, 2.

³¹⁸ Jer. li. 41. 44. 47.

is *Sheshach* taken, and how is the praise of the whole earth surprised. . . I will punish *Bel* in Babylon, . . . the nations shall not flow together any more unto him : yea the wall of Babylon shall fall. . . . Therefore behold the days come, that I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon."

In proceeding to identify, in the two gods who are the objects of both prophets' denunciations, the great national divinities of the Assyrians ; it is merely necessary to state, that *Hermes* or *Mercury* was revered by the Babylonians under a name which immaterially differs from *Sesach*,³¹⁹ used by *Jeremiah*. When it is remembered, that the Assyrian *Nebo* whom *Isaiah* notices, has been proved identical with the same god ;³²⁰ we possess, in the affinity of those names, and the identity of the subject which engages both prophets, sufficient authority for concluding, that the same god is intended by them, under different titles. Nor is it undeserving of remark, that the difference in the designation of those gods by the inspired writers, corresponds with the diversity of their subject ;³²¹ the one prophet adopting the common

³¹⁹ Selden in the doubts which he expresses on the Babylonian divinity *Sesach*, and his festival, admits the identity of *Seches* with *Hermes*, or *Mercury* : de *Dīs Syr.* ubi supr. p. 347. " Utrum cum diebus *Saceis* quid fuerit τῷ Σεχῆς, nempe *Babyloniorum Mercurio*, commune, statuere nequeo. Certe vocabulorum soni satis adfines sunt. Et liberum esto cuique suum heic iudicium. *Hesychius* : Σεχῆς τῷ Ἑρμῶ ἁστῆρ, βαβυλωνιοί." *Vossius* observes on this subject, De *Idol.* Lib. II. cap. xxiii. " Itidem quæri possit, quod numen sit *Sesach*? Sane valde ei affine *Seches*, de quo *Hesychius*. . . . Atque in *Sesach* et *Seches* easdem habes radicales, sed posteriores, ut sæpe fit, trajectas."

³²⁰ Vid. supr. p. 111. n. 238.

³²¹ *Jerome*, Com. in *Jer.* xxv. 26. Tom. III. p. 286, a. enters into a long Rabbinical illustration, founded on the permutation of letters, to account for the designation of *Babylon*, under

name, while expressing himself on the general subject of the Assyrian superstitions; the other selecting the local appellation, while delivering himself on the particular subject of the Babylonian. The antecedent conclusion, however, derives additional support, from a festival which was observed by the Babylonians, and appears from its name, to have been instituted in honor of their god Sesach or Hermes.

The anniversary of this festival, which the Greeks termed the Sakean days: or (if we may be allowed to substitute the pure oriental for the corrupt western orthography,) which were probably termed the Sesachean days;³²² was celebrated for five days, commencing from the 16th day of the month Löus. On this occasion, the lord and his slaves changed their respective stations; the servant assuming the place and authority of his master. One, selected from their number, was

the term Sesach. The refutation of his labored hypothesis may be found in Vossius, uti supr. p. 211. who solves the imaginary difficulty created by the learned father, thus simply and satisfactorily: "Quanto igitur verisimilius, quod dicebamus, μετὰ μίλωνμίαν Deum tutelarem sumi pro urbe, quam tutaretur. Ut si *Beli* dicatur cecidisse pro civitate *Beli*."

³²² The learned writer to whom we are indebted for the recovery of the remains of the Assyrian superstition gives the following account of this festival, which he deduces from the Babylonian god Sesach: Seld. de Dis Syr. ubi supr. "Sesach numen est apud Jeremiam c. xxv. com. 26. et li. com. 41. *Ab eo*, sic volunt viri doctissimi, *Sacea, Festum Babyloniorum*, dicta, seu ἡμίρας Σακίας, uti apud Romanos Saturnalia a Saturno. *Atque ut Saturnalibus*, servis epulantibus famulabantur domini, ita et in diebus Saceis; qui quinque erant continui quorum primus erat xvi. mēnsis Loi. . . . De festo autem et mēnsis, quo celebrabatur, die, testimonium Berosi Chaldæi ab injuria temporis servavit Athenæus Dipnosoph. XIV." He subjoins the testimony of the Chaldæan historian, as preserved by this writer, the substance of which is given in the preceding observations.

its institution. Of the prepossessions of the vulgar, whom hereditary prejudice, or superstitious credulity might have led to expect such a deliverer, an ambitious and politic conqueror may be naturally supposed to have taken advantage. In Sesac, a person presented himself, who was answerable to the character, which they were disposed to identify in the prophecy of Balaam. He was a great conqueror, the invader of Judea, and the avenger of its idolatry:³²⁷ he would be thus readily received, as the personage who was foretold by the prophet. As the great end of the appearance of this personage was the restitution of the golden age; or, as it was expected, that at that period he would make his appearance; there could be no mode of realising these prospects different from that of introducing some rites or customs, similar to those which were observed in the Sesachean days, or Roman Saturnalia. Nor is the confirmation slight, which this hypothesis, offered to account the origin of the Babylonian festival, receives from the testimony of the Jewish historian, that pillars, similar to those raised in honor of Hermes, were erected by Sesac, as the bounds of his Asiatic conquests,³²⁸ and that Sesostris with whom he is identified, was made the pupil of the same

³²⁷ 1 King xiv. 25. seq. 2 Chron. xii. 2. seq.

³²⁸ Vid. Joseph. uti supr. n. ²³⁰. Nor is this conclusion invalidated by the testimony of Herodotus, as cited by the Jewish historian, who declares that he saw in Palestine, pillars with emblems of a contrary character to those generally affixed to the Hermean statues. These monuments were raised in derision of a weak and pusilanimous population; nor can any reason be assigned for their erection more obvious, than that they were intended to reproach that people with worshipping a divinity of different sex from him who was generally revered by the eastern nations.

god;³²⁹ in such a prince, we might naturally expect to find the founder of the festival of Seches.

But, in Sálmanasar, who filled the Assyrian throne, in the most eventful period of Jewish history, most of the circumstances which had been predicted by Balaam, and erroneously associated with the character of Sesac, were really united. This monarch, as I have already intimated, provoked by the revolt of Hosea, who sought an alliance with the king of Egypt, came up against Samaria; and having besieged it three years, he took it in the fourth year of Hezekiah, and led away the remainder of the tribes of Israel, in captivity to Media; whither the two tribes and a half, which were settled beyond Jordan, had been carried, eleven years previously by Tiglath Belasar.³³¹ As that prince had carried the denunciations of Balaam against Moab, and the idolaters of Palestine,³³² into effect; and as the extirpation of their images was the great boast of the Assyrian monarchs,³³³ he was not unnaturally conceived, to be the personage marked out in the prediction of the Mesopotamian prophet.

In the history of this prince, it might be reasonably presumed, some of the circumstances would be discoverable, which the Asiatics were accustomed to associate, with the appearance of that expected personage, to whom their views had been immemorially directed. And this supposition is singularly verified by fact. Besides the anniversaries, which were held at the time of the equinoxes, or at the commencement and close of

³²⁹ Ælian. Var. Hist. XII. iv.

³³⁰ 2 King. xvii. 3 seq. ³³¹ Vid. supr. p. 58. seq. p. 95. seq.

³³² 2 King. xix. 12, 13. 2 Chron xxxii. 13, 14, 19.

³³³ 2 King. xix. 17, 18. comp. Is. x. 10, 11.

the natural year; they had a period consisting of many centuries, to which they gave the name of the Great Year, and at the end of which they expected a great restitution.³⁵⁴ The commencement of one such period they have fixed in the reign of Salmanasar, or made it coincident with the accession of this prince, who had effected those great political changes in the western region of Asia, by which it was believed, the expected restitution would be preceded. In this period the celebrated epoch is placed, which is so much used by the ancient astronomers, and termed from its supposed founder the era of Nabonasar,³⁵⁵ who has been already mentioned, as identical with the Salmanasar of Scripture.

The first circumstance, deserving of remark, in this celebrated era, is that of its constituting the

³⁵⁴ Vid. supr. p. 94. n.³⁰⁴. On the the subject of this period, Dr. Burnet thus expresses himself: *Sacr. Theor. B. III. ch. iii. Vol. II. p. 42.* "But the difficulty is to find out the true notion of this Great Year, what is to be understood by it, and then of what length it is. They all agree that it is a time of some great instauration of all things, or a *Restitution of the heavens and the earth to their former state*; that is, to the state and posture they had at the beginning of the world, such therefore as will reduce the Golden Age, and that happy state of nature, wherein things were at first."

³⁵⁵ After having described the Egyptian Great Year, uti infr. n.³⁵⁶. Petavius gives the following succinct account of the era of Nabonasar: *Ration. Temp. P. II. Lib. I. cap. xii. p. 31.* "Ægyptiacus et vagus iste" &c. "This Egyptian and ambulatory year may have several epochs; of which the most celebrated, and that used by the ancient astronomers, was the era of Nabonasar, which the Egyptians received from the Babylonians. For Nabonassar was King of the Chaldeans from whose accession the Babylonians instituted a new era.. Hence the era of Nabonasar had its origin; the beginning of which falls, in the year 3967 of the Julian Period, on Wednesday, February 26, (Per. Jul. 3967. Februarii 26. feria 4.) before Christ 747."

epoch of a Great Year, as calculated by the Egyptians.³³⁶ It is a singular fact, that for such a period, consisting of 1460 years, the old Assyrian monarchy had lasted, from the time of its foundation by Belus; and that according to the calculations of some chronologists, this empire terminated as the era of Nabonassar commenced: it is at least generally allowed, that this era was introduced, as the epoch of the restitution of the Assyrian monarchy.³³⁷ The period of a Great

³³⁶ The Great Year of the Egyptians is thus described by Petavius, *uti supr.* p. 37. "Horum annorum ea conditio est" &c. "The circumstance of these [Egyptian] years is, that at the close of every fourth year, the beginning of the year falls back and anticipates one day: and at length after 1460 Julian years, or 1461 Egyptian, the new-year's day returns to the same day of the year, from whence it set out." In fact, as the year exceeds 365 days, by nearly a quarter of a day; the Egyptians having neglected to intercalate, lost a day every 4th year, and a whole year in 1460 years, or four times 365 years. Of course the first day of their year fell back 1 day in four years; and 365 days, or a year, in 1460 years: when, having regained its original place, one Great Year terminated, and another commenced.

³³⁷ After a laborious investigation of the opinions of the ancients on the duration of the Assyrian Empire, M. des Vignolles comes to the conclusion, *Chronol.* Tom. II. p. 210. "*Depuis Bélus premier roi des Assyriens, cette monarchie dura, 1459. ans, suivant nôtre catalogue.*" For the establishment of the era of Nabonassar, he assigns the following reason, *Ibid.* p. 372. "Tenons nous y donc. 'Sic enim,' comme M. Perizonius le souhaitoit, 'aliam habebimus rationem Epochæ novæ ab illius regno potissimum derivandæ.' C'étoit une nouvelle monarchie: et pour mieux dire, *le renouvellement d'une ancienne monarchie, éteinte depuis un tems immémorial; si on remonte jusqu' à la coquête de Ninus: ou interrompue durant 150 ans; si on la regarde comme la même, que celle des anciens Assyriens. Voilà une raison historique de l' Ere de Nabonassar.*" Though the interruption in the duration of this empire, is thus immaterial to my argument; it is curious to observe, that Abp. Ussher makes *the termination of the Assyrian empire, correspond with the beginning of the era of Nabonassar:* Vignolles,

Year, for which this empire lasted, and in which the notion of a restitution was implied, we thus find commencing under a monarch named Bel, and restored under one who was termed from Nebo: these being the titles of those deified personages, under whom it was believed the fall had taken place, and the recovery would be effected.³³⁸ This circumstance, though curious in itself, would probably not merit remark, did it not appear, that in the change introduced by the establishment of this era, the new year's day, which gave its proper character to the whole period, was shifted from Saturday, to Wednesday; the Egyptian Great Year having commenced on the former day,³³⁹ and the era of Nabonassar on the lat-

ibid. p. 173. "Usserius met le commencement de Ninus, et de l'Empire des Assyriens, à l'an P. J. 3447. A quoi ajoutant les 520 ans, dont parle Herodote, *on aura pour la fin de l'empire des Assyriens, l'an P. J. 3967. qui fut l'an premier de l'Ere de Nabonassar, et du royaume des Babyloniens.* Vid. supr. p. 9. n. 16.

³³⁸ The great Restitution held by the Orientalists was supposed to bring a return of the Saturnian or golden age; vid. supr. p. 10. n. 19 and p. 147. n. 334. As the identity of Bel and Saturn has been admitted, supr. p. 92. n. 200: according to the notions of the Orientalists, the person who would be restored, at the time of the Grand Restitution, would be Belus, the founder of the Assyrian empire.

³³⁹ The character of the Great Canicular year of the Egyptians is thus stated by the learned chronologist, who has been lately quoted on the era of Nabonassar; Vignolles, *ibid.* p. 693. "Le Grand Cycle Caniculaire commença, comme je l'ai dit, le 20 de Juillet, l'An 3389 de la Période Julienne. Cette année fut la première du Cycle Solaire; dont 121 étoient déjà écoulés; et eut par conséquent, pour lettres dominicales G. F. dont la dernière servit, depuis le commencement de Mars. Or le 20 de Juillet a la lettre E, pour caractère invariable. Il s'ensuit de là, que le 20 du Juillet, de cette année, fut le dernier jour de notre Semaine, que nous appelons Samedi. *Ce fut donc par un Samedi, que commença la nouvelle forme d'année des Egyptiens; et une nouvelle période, trois fois plus longue, que les précédentes, puisqu'elle ne devoit finir qu'au bout*

ter.³⁴⁰ Of the days of the week, as Saturday was sacred to Bel, and Wednesday to Nebo;³⁴¹ the Great Year, by this innovation, passed from under the tutelage of the one divinity to that of the other; having undergone a change similar to that which it has experienced under the Christians and Mohammedans, who have respectively substituted, for the Sabbath of the Jews, a day of religious rest, in Sunday and Friday.

If the observations formerly made on the origin of the Assyrian gods, be admitted to be well founded, that they derived their imaginary existence from tradition and prophecy; they will adequately account for the change thus introduced in the Great Year, by the establishment of a new epoch. In a word, as the period of which such years were composed was conceived to bring about a great conversion; the year, which originally commenced with the day of Saturn or Bel, under whom the fall had occurred, was naturally replaced by a new-year, which commenced with the day of Hermes or Nebo, under whom the re-

de 1461 ans. *Ainsi le Grand Cycle Caniculaire a pour caractere le Samedi.*"

³⁴⁰ I have already stated, on the authority of Petavius, that the characteristic of the era of Nabonasar was *Wednesday*. I shall here add the proof of it, constructed similarly to that given by des Vignolles, in the preceding note, on the great Canicular year of the Egyptians. It is uniformly allowed by chronologists that the era of Nabonasar commenced, as I have stated from Petavius, on February 26th in the year 3967 of the Julian Period. This year was the 19th of the Solar Cycle, of which 141 had expired, and consequently had E for its dominical letter. But February 26 has A for its invariable characteristic; which being the third from E, the *Sunday* letter in this year, was necessarily *Wednesday*. It was with *Wednesday* of course, that the era of Nabonasar commenced, which thus has *Wednesday* for its characteristic, or new-year's day.

Vid. supr. p. 132. n. ²⁹⁶, p. 134. n. ³⁰².

covery was expected : for thus it was supposed that great restitution, which was implied in the nature of such a year, would be finally effected.

Whether the establishment of this new era, correspondent to which we shall behold similar changes introduced in the calendar of the Persians and Romans, is to be imputed to Nabonasar, or to one of his successors ; the epoch from which it is calculated is dated from the time of his accession, and precedes, but by a few years, the period of the captivity and dispersion of the Israelites, by Salmanasar king of Assyria. Assuming that the same prince is intended under these different titles,³⁴² as this prince had been the great instru-

³⁴² The objections which appear to lie against considering Nabonasar and Salmanasar the same king, in consequence of a difference in these names, have been already considered ; *supr.* p. 122 n.²⁷⁹. The supposed dissimilarity between them, (which is opposed to the express testimony of the ἐκκλησιαστικὴ σοιχειώσις given by Syncellus,) seems to rest on a very insecure foundation ; as bottomed on the Canon of Ptolemy, which was first published by Scaliger. From this document, a succession of *Babylonian* kings, at the head of whom stands Nabonasar, has been extracted, and opposed to the succession of *Assyrian* kings, mentioned in Scripture, among whom occurs Salmanasar. This distinction, however, unfortunately derives no countenance from the document on which it is founded ; as in it, the successions of *Babylonian* kings, *different* from the kings of *Assyria*, are expressly termed, βασιλείων Ασσυρίων καὶ Μήδων ; *vid.* Scal. Euseb. Chron. Græc. p. 38. Can. Isagog. p. 285. Petav. Rat. Temp. II. p. 283. seq. The chronologists who maintain this difference between the succession of *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* kings, and place Salmanasar among the former, and Nabonasar among the latter, are notwithstanding obliged to admit, that Nabonasar was governor of *Babylon*, and that Asaradon was king of *Assyria*, before they respectively became king of *Babylon*. As those kingdoms thus interchanged their rulers, it is obvious, that the different accounts which make the former king of *Babylon*, under the name of Nabonasar, and king of *Assyria*, under the name of Salmanasar, may be both true ; as having risen from the government to the throne of *Babylon*, he

ment, by which the prophecies uttered against the captive nation had been carried into effect, and particularly, as he had succeeded in subverting their idolatrous worship, he might, by no unnatural mistake, be supposed the person intended in those predictions. This supposition, which derives no inconsiderable support from the names which he assumed, on which I formerly hazarded a conjecture;³⁴³ receives still stronger confirmation, from the remains of his history which have escaped the ravages of time; in which a character is ascribed to him conformable to the title *pacific*, which has been mentioned, as implied in the name Salmanasar. In a passage, purporting to be extracted from the annals of Tyre, and in which he was ex-

might have thence ascended the throne of Assyria. And this view of the subject receives authority from Scripture, which while it makes Salmanasar "king of Assyria," 2 King. xvii. 3, assigns him that authority over Babylon, Ibid 24, 30. in transporting its inhabitants to the countries which he had depopulated by his conquests, which is irreconcilable with the supposition, that the latter kingdom was governed at the time by an independent sovereign. Taking a view thus comprehensive of the subject, the apparently contradictory accounts of this prince are easily reconciled. As it appears, from the Ecclesiastical Catalogue of Syncellus, that one prince was designated by both names, who reigned twenty-five years; and from the Canon of Ptolemy, that the first fourteen years of his government were spent at Babylon, while Tiglath Belasar filled the Assyrian throne: to which he succeeded after that time, having deputed Nadius to the government of Babylon, over which he still retained a controul.

³⁴³ Vid. supr. p. 122. n. 273 It is remarkable, that correspondent to the origination which has been ascribed to the names Salmanasar and Nabonasar, both of which have a relation to prophecy; the former, which is deducible from a sacred term, is that exclusively used by the inspired writers; and that the latter, which is derived from an idolatrous title, is that generally adopted by the profane.

pressly introduced by name, it is recorded,³⁴⁴ that “having employed his forces in reducing the Citians, against whom in consequence of their revolt, the Tyrians employed a naval armament; and having rendered himself master of Phenicia, and made peace with all, he returned into his own country.” The dissemination of those prophecies, which appear to have extended their influence as far as Rome, being admitted; it can be little wonderful to find the natives of a spot so inconsiderable as Citium, inspired with confidence, not merely to resist the authority of Tyre, but the power of Assyria. For in those predictions it was declared, though with a different sense, and in allusion to a different period, that “ships would come from the side of Citium, and would afflict the Assyrians and afflict the Hebrews, who were reserved for destruction.”

In the institution of the era termed from Nabonasar, I conceive, there is an indirect proof³⁴⁵ of

³⁴⁴ Menand. ap. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. p. 325.

³⁴⁵ To the observations offered on the Babylonian era termed from Nabonasar, much might be added; the following particulars, if considered unfounded, will atleast be admitted to be curious. From what has been already intimated, supr. p. 126. n.²⁸². it appears, that at the epoch, in which this era commenced, the vernal equinoctial point was identified with a particular part of the heavens, from whence the motions of the heavenly bodies in longitude have been calculated, from that time to the present day. Thus J. Cappel, whose testimony bears immediately on our subject, in enumerating from Adam to Christ 4000 years, describes the equinox, which occurred at the time of the Creation; observing “4000mo ante Christi æram anno, solem Aprilis 21mo, feria 4ta fuisse in *Arietis* 1mo, circa meridianum *Babylonis*.” Where the equinoctial point, conformably to the preceding observation, is identified with “the first degree of *Aries*,” though situated at the time, in the sign *Taurus*. The observation of Cappel will be subject of future consideration; the reader cannot fail to be struck with the occurrence of the equinox on *Wednesday*, at the beginning of

the expectations formed by the Assyrians of a great restitution, and of the connexion of those notions with the prophecy of Balaam, which *expressly referred* to the period at which the era was established, if not *to the conquests of the prince from whom it was termed*. In this single consideration, the communication of his predictions to the Assyrians, who subdued, and led captive, the nation by whom they were unquestionably preserved, is sufficiently accounted for; without having recourse to the conjecture, that his prophecies were preserved in the archives of some college of Chaldeans or Magians.³¹⁶ Even in the enlightened and sceptical age in which we live,

the Great Sabbatical Year, by which the Millenium has been calculated by the primitive christians, vid. Burnet. uti supr. B. IV. ch. vi. p. 246. On the antecedent subject, it remains to be observed, that by identifying the equinoctial point with a particular degree of the Zodiac; a place of appulse was determined, by which the great period, in which the precession was performed, might be calculated. And by identifying it with that particular degree, which it reached at *the vernal season*; it was contrived, that in this season, that period which they termed the Great Year should begin and end. Such objects perfectly corresponded with the views entertained of the Great Year. The opinions held by the ancients, respecting this period of the equinoctial precession, are thus stated by Dr. Burnet, uti supr. p. 41. "When they [the fixed stars] have finished the circle of this retrogradation and *come up again to the same place* from whence they started at the beginning of the world, then the course of nature will *be at an end*; and either the heavens will cease from all motion, or a new set of motions will be set afoot, *and the world begin again*." He subsequently observes, in reference to the Great Year; *ibid.* p. 43. that "at the beginning of the world there was *an equinox* throughout all the earth" and in consequence of the posture of the earth, "*a perpetual spring*." To this description the preceding observations, may be easily applied.

³¹⁶ Such was the opinion of Origen; Hom. xiii. in Num. contr. Cels. Lib. I. cap. lx. in which the generality of the christian fathers concur.

were a prediction, describing our successes in the East, discovered in the sacred books of any of the oriental nations, who have submitted to our arms : it could not fail to excite our interest and attention. But the Assyrians, who found such a prophecy among the Israelites whom they subdued, were neither enlightened nor incredulous, but superstitious and barbarous ; and in this prophecy, preserved in the sacred books of their captives, they discovered the production of a native prophet : how it could have been disregarded by his compatriots, I confess myself unable to conceive.

But without reasoning merely from moral probabilities, there arises very strong presumptive proofs, not merely in the conduct of Salmanasar, during his expedition against Israel, but in the form of year which was adopted in the era dated from his accession, that evinces the light in which the prophet's predictions were regarded, and that monarch's character was viewed.

Though the provocation which Salmanasar received from the king of Judah who revolted against him, was greater than that which excited the enmity of his son Senacherib, or drew down the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar ;³⁴⁷ he left the Jewish territory unmolested, while he subverted the throne of Israel, and led its tribes into captivity.³⁴⁸ When we remember that Assyria was then in the plenitude of its power, and consider the proud confidence in his superiority, with which the son of Salmanasar defied the same king of Judah,³⁴⁹ who had revolted with impunity

³⁴⁷ 2 King. xviii. 7. 13. xxiv. 1.

³⁴⁸ Ibid. xvii. 4, 5, 6. xviii. 9. 11.

³⁴⁹ Ibid. xxii. 10. seq. Is. xxxvi. 4. seq.

against his father: to whatever causes the forbearance of the elder monarch may be attributed, such as are adequate to account for his conduct, are deducible from the prediction of Balaam. The prophet had asserted the permanent sway of "the sceptre which should rise out of Jacob," in an express reference to the patriarch's words, who had declared, "that the sceptre *should not depart from Judah*, until Shiloh should come." Without supposing that Salmanasar, was influenced by the authority of the prophet,³⁵⁰ if we believe that he aspired to be thought the personage, whose appearance was foretold; the effect on his conduct would be unavoidable: he would respect the throne of Judah, as inviolable, while he subverted that of Israel, which at the time, was implicated in a conspiracy, with the Syrians, against the royal tribe and its king.³⁵¹ So far, at least, by his forbearance, he would evince his respect to the authority, of prophecy; and thus strengthen his claims to a character, in which every eastern conqueror, from Sésac to Vespasian, seems to have been ambitious of appearing; and by which there is apparently sufficient justification, in the name and history of Salmanasar, for believing this monarch influenced.³⁵²

³⁵⁰ The notice, which even the Hebrew prophets excited among the ethnics may be collected from the attention bestowed on Jeremiah by the Babylonians, which is asserted not merely by the sacred writers, but admitted by profane: vid. Jer. xxxix. 11. seq. Alex. Polyhist. ap. Eus. Præp. Ev. Lib. I. cap. ix. If the Assyrians received the prophecy of Balaam, as preserved by the Hebrews: it is difficult to conceive how they could have rejected that of Jacob, as he was by descent a Mesopotamian, and was quoted by Balaam.

³⁵¹ 2 King. xvi. 5. Is. vii. 1, 2.

³⁵² Vid. supr. p. 122. n.²⁷³. p. 153. The term Nabo with which Nabonasar is compounded, sufficiently marks the devo-

But there is something in the particular form of year, from which the epoch of this monarch's accession is calculated, which appears equally unaccountable, unless we have recourse to the same principles, for the solution. The Chaldeans not less than the Egyptians, possessed a cycle, which embraced 1440 years,³⁵³ while the Egyptian extend-

tion of the monarch to the god of his forefathers. It was agreeable to the spirit of the oriental superstitions, in which the doctrine of transmigration was held, to suppose that the souls of former heroes reanimated living persons. Though the Assyrians ranked Belus among their departed monarchs, and considered Nebo as an expected personage, it was perfectly consistent with their doctrine to believe, that Belus would reappear, upon earth, in the character of Nebo, and even of Sesac and Salmanasar. Under the influence of such opinions, the Pharisees conceived that it was Elias who reappeared in the person of John the Baptist: John i. 21. and the Sethites conceived the antediluvian prophet had appeared in the person of our Lord: vid. supr. p. 22. n.⁵⁶. Independent of his title, derived from Nabo, it appears that the prince from whom the Babylonian era takes its name, was so far ambitious of placing himself at the head of a new order of things, that he engaged in a vain attempt to destroy all the annals of his predecessors: vid. Syncei. uti supr. p. 122. n.²⁷³. Under the deliverer who would come at the beginning of the new age, a new order of things was expected; vid. infr. p. 159. n. ³⁵⁶.

³⁵³ The Great Year of the Chaldees and Persians, which was also used by the Hebrews, is thus described by Petavius: *Doctr. Temp.* III. xix. p. 297. "Annus Hebræorum ante Exodum" &c. "The year of the Hebrews, before the Exod, was not lunar but equable, and of the same kind as among the Chaldees and Persians; that is consisting of 12 months of thirty days, with 5 supernumerary days. Thus after 4 years, the beginning of the year fell back, until after 120 years, when it retrograded 30 days, by intercalating 1 month, they reinstated it in its ancient place. This space they called Cheled." I shall complete from Scaliger, who has furnished this statement, on the authority of a Patriarch of Antioch, the description of this period: *Canon. Isagog. Lib. III.* p. 252. "Si cxx anni civiles" &c. "If 120 civil years are one month, 12 of such months, which constitute 1440 years, will be an *Annus Maximus*, that

ed to 1460. And though I am willing to admit, that from a people who, like the Chaldeans, were occupied in laying the foundation of their empire anew, some degree of preference was due to the longer year, particularly as their ancient monarchy had lasted for that period; I can scarcely think this accidental circumstance sufficient to account for the sacrifice which must have been made of national and hereditary prejudice, by a people jealous of their scientific pre-eminence, in rejecting that form of year, which was of native invention, for one which was of foreign extraction. Powerful however, as their hereditary prejudice was, it would easily yield to superstitious credulity. In proclaiming the appearance of that Great Deliverer, whose power would revolutionise the East, the Assyrian prophet had associated with the description of his advent, the appearance of a star, and had joined in the declaration the name of the patriarch Seth. I have already had occasion to observe, the Great Year of the Egyptians differed from that of the Chaldees, and every eastern nation, in having its beginning determined by the rising of a star,³⁵⁴ to which that people gave the name of Sothis and Seth.³⁵⁵ As in the idea of such a year, the notion was implied,

is an *Ἔτος Θεῶν*. In Virgil, as I have observed, it is termed 'magnus saeculorum ordo.' This form of Great Year differed of course essentially from the Egyptian, in which every species of intercalation was neglected.

³⁵⁴ Vid. Censorin. uti supr. p. 94. n.²⁰⁴. Porphyry observes, in reference to the Great Year of the Egyptians; De Antr. Nymph. *Νεμηνία δ' αὐτοῖς [τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις] ἡ Σώθεις ἀνατολή, γενέσεως κατάρχουσα, τῆς εἰς τὸν κόσμον, 'the rising of Sothis is their new-year's day, ruling the nativity of the world.'*

³⁵⁵ Vid. Hyd. Comment. in Ulug Beigh. p. 50. who mentions *Σώθεις, Σῆθ, Σιῶτ, Σόλευα*, as the Egyptian names of Sirius.

that after having performed its stated revolution, it would again open with the revelation from heaven of the Divine Person, on whose advent the expectations of the East had been immemorably fixed:³⁵⁶—what supposition could be more natural, than that Balaam intended to mark, by the revolution of that period, the immediate time of his advent? Such, as we have authority, for concluding in the particular case of the Magians, was the impression which his prophecy made, upon some nations, which if not incorporated with the Assyrian empire, lay atleast conterminous to the borders of Assyria. The fact being admitted that such was the impression made upon the Persians; the presumption cannot be deemed light, that it exerted equal power over the Babylonians; which will sufficiently account for their adopting the Egyptian form of year, in forming the Babylonian era.

If the institution of this era, was intended to fix an epoch, and devise a method, for determining the period of the Great Restitution; it can be no matter of surprise, that the result should have

³⁵⁶ The patriarch of Antioch, quoted *supr.* p. 157. n. ³⁵². observes, in reference to the great epoch of the Persians, after describing their years;—“*Quorum annorum, &c. ‘Of which years, the beginning commences from Gemshid. For it was their custom to innovate as often as any Great King arose among them, as was the custom of the Romans.’* The language of Virgil, in the Eclogue, referred to in the note just cited, furnishes the best comment on this subject; the flattery of that sacred pastoral being prepared for the intended nephew of Augustus, —an expected son of Octavia; by whose marriage with Anthony, the peace of the world, as the Romans termed their empire, was set on the most permanent basis. The rulers of the West, not less than the East, found among their followers, flatterers who hailed them as the restorers of that golden and peaceful age, the return of which was generally expected, throughout Asia. *vid. supr.* p. 140. n. ³¹⁶.

proved illusory and abortive. Whatever adepts its contrivers may be deemed in science; it is obvious, that in prophecy, they were but indifferent proficient. The era which they instituted, has consequently served the purposes of the ancient astronomers in registering their eclipses; and in verifying and ascertaining dates, has been occasionally of use to modern chronologists. But the empire of which it professed to measure the duration, by an era extending to fourteen hundred and sixty years, scarcely outlasted the thirty third year from the time of its institution:³⁵⁷ nor were they less grievously deceived in the character of the divine person for whose advent they looked, than in the period of his appearance. Instead of

³⁵⁷ With the destruction of Senacherib's army in the year 33 of the era of Nabonasar, the glory of the Assyrian nation seems to have set; for Asaraddon, son and successor of that prince, is chiefly known as king of the Babylonians: which people, after that event, took the lead in the politics of Asia. Helvicus observes, on the last named prince: Tab. Chron. p. 54. E. "Plures in hac dynastia Assyriorum Reges non invenio. Nec dubium quin progressu temporis, hæc dynastia ab altera Babyloniorum absorpta fuerit. Unde quidam hic referunt Ezech. xxxi. 11." The destruction of Senacherib's army, is attested by profane writers, as well as sacred: vid. 2 King. xix. 35. Beros. ap. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. X. ii. Herodot. Lib. II. cxx. The Chaldee historian's account corresponds, in an extraordinary degree, with Scripture; the Greek's, as derived from an Egyptian source, is mixed up according to the fabulous taste of that people. Herodotus, however, though he apparently confounds the facts of Senacherib's history, with the hieroglyphical representation of it; bears implicit testimony to that prince's impiety, which was sufficiently attested in the inscription, engraved on his statue, εἰς ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἄρτων εὐσεβῆς ἦσαν. His character was strikingly contrasted with that of his father; the one having spared Jerusalem, while he subdued the western part of his empire; the other, in an attempt on the Holy City, having lost his army, and eventually his kingdom, with his life.

dating the epoch of the Great Restitution, from the accession of their monarch, had they taken up the calculation from the time of the subjugation of Israel, the result to which they might have been led would have been more certain. For the period nearly of a Great Year intervened between the delivery of Balaam's prophecy and the appearance of the Great Deliverer, whose advent it predicted. And as the captivity of the Israelites under Salmanasar occurred when one half of that period had elapsed; the division of the Great Year by this remarkable occurrence, suggested a measure of time, by which the calculation of the entire period was greatly facilitated:³⁵⁸ and from which it is possible the Magians might have derived assistance, in calculating the period of the nativity.

The observations which have been recently made, on the period of Nabonasar's accession, as chosen by the Chaldeans for the epoch of a Great Year, might be extended with very inconsiderable modifications to the case of Sesac, from whose reign, a like period was apparently dated by the Egyptians. The discussion of this subject must be, however, reserved for a more suitable oppor-

³⁵⁸ In investigating the expectations of a Great Deliverer, formed by the Persians, it will be shewn, that the period of 1440 years, of which I have already spoken *supr.* p. 157. n. ³⁵⁹, as constituting the Chaldee and Persian Great Year, occurred between the first Sabbatical Year, observed by the Israelites, on their settlement under Joshua, in the land of promise, and *the nativity of our Lord*, A. M. 4000. the first year of the fifth millenium from the Creation. From what has been already stated from Abp. Ussher's chronology, *supr.* p. 58. n. ¹⁴⁰, according to whose calculations, the present statement is made; the captivity and deportation of the Israelites from the promised land occurred *in the middle of that period*, A. M. 3280. in the 720th year before the nativity.

tunity, when the expectations which this people formed of a Great Deliverer will receive a particular investigation. It will be then rendered apparent, that while the period of the Great Restitution was represented by the Egyptians under the symbol of a phenix; an opinion was propagated by that people, and acquired not a little credit in the heathen world, that such a bird had appeared, for the first time, in the reign of Sesostris; and had been seen, for the last, in the reign of Tiberius.³⁵⁹ What adds greater interest, if not importance, to this account, for which we are indebted to a historian, who yields in reputation for gravity and attachment to truth, to none of the ancients, is the identity nearly of the year which he assigns to the appearance of the phenix, with that which succeeded our Lord's resurrection; of which change from death to life, it is deserving of remark, the primitive christians considered that fabulous bird emblematical.³⁶⁰

In conformity to the testimony of the historian, who has been just cited, and who declares that the expectation of a Deliverer, prevailed immem-

³⁵⁹ The words of Tacitus, on whose authority this statement is made, are as follows: *Annal. VI. xxviii.* "*Paulo Fabio et L. Vitellio Coss. post longum sæculorum ambitum, avis Phœnix in Ægyptum venit, præbuitque materiam doctissimis Græcorum, multa super eo miraculo disserendi.*" he adds, "*Prioresque alites Sesostride primum, post Amaside dominantibus.... visæ sunt.*" With Sesostris, Sesac has been already identified; the consulate of Paulus Fabius and L. Vitellius, occurred in the twenty first year of the reign of Tiberius; the year following that in which the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord took place, according to the calculation of Scaliger.

³⁶⁰ Such was the opinion of the Apostolical Father, St. Clement, 1 Ep. ad Cor. cap. xxv. who terms it τὸ παράδοξον σημεῖον, and deduces from the notions held respecting it, an argument in favor of the resurrection.

orally in the East;³⁶¹ it may be now summarily concluded that the Assyrians participated in the common expectation entertained by the Asiatics. And the knowledge which they attained of this personage reveals the source from which it descended; the character of the superstition to which they were addicted, the titles and worship which they ascribed to their national divinities, declaring their idolatry to have been derived from the patriarchal religion.³⁶² But from the opinions which they entertained of the Divine Personage, to whose advent they looked forward, it would be my object particularly to prove, that he was expected to appear in the character of a Deliverer; and that in the great national revolutions which it was believed would precede his coming, and in the great convulsion of nature, in which the world would be destroyed to be again renovated, on him alone they rested their hope of security.

As this was information which was alone attainable through prophecy: through this medium it passed to the heathens, as plainly appears upon their own confession. From a prediction of one of the patriarchs, the origin of a principal divinity of the Assyrians has been deduced;³⁶³ and in that prediction, it was declared, that the Personage whose honors the national deity had usurped, "would be the expectation of the nations." Of the judgments, from which they hoped to obtain deliverance, through the promised Personage, their information was derived from sources which laid equal claim to inspired authority. Their knowledge that the world would be destroyed by

³⁶¹ Vid. supr. p. 140. n.³¹⁶.

³⁶² Conf. supr. p. 105. seq. p. 120. seq.

³⁶³ Vid. supr. p. 108.

fire, as it had once perished by water, they confessedly derived from a prediction ascribed to their great progenitor Belus;³⁶⁴ whom circumstances contribute to identify with Adam, to whom a like prophecy has been assigned by the Hebrews.³⁶⁵ While possessed of greater opportunities of knowledge than the Sethites, as standing nearer the source of information; if we suppose them equally informed, we cannot conceive them ignorant of the prediction of Enoch, which not only foretold the advent of the Lord, but his coming to judgment.³⁶⁶ And in the prophecy of Balaam, sufficient intimations were given of those great national revolutions, which would precede the appearance of the expected Deliverer,³⁶⁷ to account for the peculiar notions which they formed of the decline and mutation of empires.

But the most secure as well as satisfactory mode of inquiry appears to lie in an investigation of the terms in which they have expressed themselves upon these subjects. In prosecuting this object, the testimony of a different order of documents may be taken into the calculation; which, though clearly not entitled to the implicit respect, which they once commanded, retain these un-

³⁶⁴ Vid. *supr.* p. 34. n.⁸².

³⁶⁵ Conf. *ibid.* p. 30. With this statement not only the account of Berosus agrees, but of Abydenus the Assyrian historian; in his account of the Deluge, he declares that Cronus, who was identical with Bel and Adam; *vid. supr.* p. 92. n. ²⁰⁰, p. 102. n.²⁰⁹, forewarned Sisithrus, as he terms Noah, of the coming of the flood of waters; Ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev. IX.* xii. καὶ Σίσιθρος ᾧ δὴ Κρόνος προσημαίνει μὲν εἰσσεῖναι πλῆθος ὑμβρων καὶ. It is observable that he acknowledges another Cronus subsequent to the deluge, whom he places after the destruction of the tower of Babel, near the time that Nineveh was founded by Ninus, the son of Belus; Euseb. *ibid.* xiv.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 29.

³⁶⁷ *Vid. supr.* p. 68. p. 139. n.³¹⁵.

questionable marks of an oriental descent, which claims for them a high degree of attention.

The traditionary remains of several prophecies, which were long current in the East, were preserved in some metrical compositions which passed under the name of the Sibyls : a term, which, however disputable in its derivation, was confessedly used with the signification of prophetess.³⁶⁸ On the origin and authority of these compositions, a more convenient opportunity will occur to express myself at large ; when I have occasion to discuss the subject of the sacred books, which were preserved, with a religious veneration by the Romans. To justify an appeal to their authority, on the present occasion, it will not be requisite to offer much more than a single observation. As the name Sibyl, according to the highest authority, is a term of Chaldaic origin ;³⁶⁹ and the most celebrated prophetess of the order is expressly referred to Babylonia ;³⁷⁰ and, as much

³⁶⁸ Lactant. Div. Instit. Lib. I. vi. " M. Varro, quo nemo unquam doctior, ne apud Græcos quidem, nedum apud Latinos, in libris rerum divinarum, quos ad C. Cæsarem, Pontificem Maximum scripsit.... Sibyllinos libros ait non fuisse unius Sibyllæ, sed appellari uno nomine Sibyllinos, quod omnes fæminæ vates Sibyllæ sunt a veteribus nuncupatæ."

³⁶⁹ Such is the origination ascribed to the term Sibyl by a learned orientalist, Hyd. de Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. xxxii. p. 391. " A Phœnicibus itaque et Chaldæis, in zodiacalium animalium seriem inserta est Virginis spicilegæ spica erecta, eis dicta שְׂבוּלָה, seu שְׂבוּלָה, Σιβυλλὰ ; melius rescribendum Σιββυλλὰ : sub quo tamen nomine (ut dictum) totum Virginis signum intelligi solebant.... In posterum ergo non Sibylla Cumana, nec Erythræa &c. nostræ aures perstrepat, sed Sibylla cælestis, eaque unica et sola audiatur et consulatur. *Hinc inquam Sibyllinæ fabulæ origo.*"

³⁷⁰ The concurrent testimony of Greek and Latin writers, as well Christian as Pagan, attests the oriental origin of the principal Sibyl, whom they refer to Babylon ; Lactant. uti supr. p. 15. " Et sunt singularum singuli libri ; qui quia Si-

of the verses which are extant under their name, possess unquestionable marks of an oriental original, they may be legitimately ranked as Chaldean traditions. In the primitive age of the Christian Church,³⁷¹ when their reputation was at the highest, they obviously existed in a purer state than they have descended to our times. As we learn from the references and citations of the writers of that period, they contained, as then circulated, the plainest allusions to those sub-

byllæ nomine inscribuntur, unius esse creduntur; suntque confusi, nec discerni, ac suum cuique assignari potest, nisi Erythrææ, quæ et nomen suum verum carmini inseruit, et Erythræam se nominatum iri prælocuta est, cum esset orta *Babyloniæ*." Id. De Ira. Dei cap. xxii. "Sibyllas multas fuisse plurimi et maximi auctores tradiderunt; Græcorum, Aristochius et Apollodorus Erythræus; nostrorum, Varro et Fenestella. *Hi omnes præcipuam et nobilem præter ceteras Erythræam fuisse commemorant.*" To the same purpose, Pausanias "in Phocleis," and Justin Martyr "in Parænesi ad Gentes," deliver themselves; the former observing, Βηρωσσῶ δὲ εἶναι πατρὸς . . . φασὶ Σάββην· οἱ δὲ αὐτὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Σίβυλλαν καλεῖσιν Αἰγυπτίαν. and the latter, Ταυτὴν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς Βαβυλωνίως ἀφικέσθαι φασὶν· Βηρωσσῶ δὲ Συγαλίρα ἕσαν.

³⁷¹ The Sibylline verses became the subject of great interest and curiosity, from the 72nd year before the Christian era, when a search was made for them, throughout Greece; after the original works, which had been deposited in the Capitol, in the times of the Roman monarchy, were consumed with that building. At that period they had been translated and circulated in Greek; which was then becoming the language not only of literature and commerce, but of general intercourse. Of the Sibylline remains which have been quoted by the Christian Fathers, a solid and triumphant defence has been given, by the learned Bp. Beverege, Vindic. Can. Apost. cap. xiv. He fully vindicates them from the objections of MM. Blondel and Daillé, who formed an absurd opinion, that they were the forgeries of the primitive christians; an opinion perfectly worthy, if not of the exquisite taste, of the solid judgment, of the insane Jesuit, Hardouin; who discovered, not merely in the "Pollio," but the "Eneid" of Virgil, the production of some illiterate monks of the barbarous ages.

jects, which have been considered, as transmitted among the Assyrians, and incorporated in their national superstitions. In them it accordingly appears, that explicit mention was made of a Deluge and Conflagration,³⁷² of the Revolutions which should precede the appearance of the expected Deliverer,³⁷³ of the Resurrection and Judgment,³⁷⁴ and of the final Restitution which would be established by his appearance.³⁷⁵

In this diversity of subjects, each of which would afford ample matter for discussion,³⁷⁶ my immediate purpose confines my attention to the expectations formed by the Orientalists of a Great Deliverer. The justest conception which can be acquired on this subject, from the remains of the prophecies ascribed to the Sibyls, seems to be attainable from the impression which they made upon an ancient writer, by whom the originals were viewed and extracted, in a state of comparative purity. In laying the extracts which he has made from them, before the reader, it seems necessary to premise, that the comment with which they are attended has imbibed some tincture of the author's religious views, who regarded the text on which he remarks, with the prepossessions natural to a christian.

While occupied expressly on the subject of the testimony, borne by the ethnic prophets, on the

³⁷² Lactant. de Ira. Dei cap. xxiii.

³⁷³ Id. Div. Instit. Lib. VII. xv.

³⁷⁴ Id. ibid. xx. xxiii.

³⁷⁵ Id. ibid, xxiv.

³⁷⁶ These subjects, in which the Persians, as will be made evident in due time, held the opinions here ascribed to the Assyrians, have been discussed with great force of genius and variety of learned illustration, by the ingenious author of "the Sacred Theory of the Earth," whose testimony has been already adduced, on the universal prevalence of the doctrine of a Deluge and Conflagration; *supr.* p. 10.

great consummation which would be effected “in the last age;” the writer before us expresses himself, in the following terms, after having stated the expectations of a Deliverer, which were propagated among the Persians and the Egyptians.
³⁷⁷“The Sibyls also shew, that it would not be otherwise, but that the Son of God would be sent from the supreme Father, to *deliver the just* out of the hands of the impious, and to destroy the wicked with the cruel tyrants. For one of them declares;”

“While saints her bulwarks from the foe defend,
 Heav’n shall unfold, and Sion’s king descend :
 Whose vengeance ev’n on kings and heroes hurl’d,
 Shall cite to judgment an assembled world.”

“Likewise another Sibyl;”

“God from the solar orb a king shall send,
 And bid the wasted world her warfare end.”

“And again another;”

———“the captive he shall free,
 The yoke unbind, the impious law restrain,
 The burden ease, and break th’ oppressor’s chain.”

³⁷⁷ Lactant. *ibid.* cap. xviii. “Sibyllæ quoque non aliter fore ostendunt, quam ut Dei filius à summo patre mittatur; qui et *justos liberet* de manibus impiorum; et *injustos cum tyrannis sævientibus deleat*; è quibus una sic tradidit;

Ἡξει καὶ μακάρων ἰδίων πόλιν ἐξαλαπαξάσαι,
 Καὶ κείν τις θεόθεν βασιλεὺς πεμφθεὶς ἐπ’ ἰδίων
 Πάντας ὀλεῖ βασιλεὺς μεγάλως καὶ φῶτας ἀρίστους,
 Εἰθ’ ἔτιως κρινεῖται ὑπ’ ἀφθίτου ἀνθρώποισι.

Item alia Sibylla;

Καὶ τότε ἀπ’ ἡελίου πέμψει Θεὸς βασιλῆα,
 Ὃς πᾶσαν γαίαν σωήσει πολέμοιο κακοῦ.

Et rursus alia:

——— ἡμετέρας δουλείας
 Ζυγὸν δυσβάρακτον ἐπ’ ἀνχένοι κείμενον ἀρεῖ,
 Καὶ θρισμὸς ἀθίως λύσει δεζυμὸς τε βιαίως.

“The terraqueous globe being thus oppressed, when human force shall prove ineffectual to subdue the tyranny of immense power, as the world, seized upon by lawless bands, shall succumb; so great will be the calamity, that it will need the divine assistance. God therefore moved with the ambiguous danger and complaints of the just, *will immediately send the Deliverer*. Then in the dreary darkness of midnight, the heavens shall unfold, that the light of the descending God may appear, like lightning, to the whole world: which the Sibyl has described in these words.”

“But as he comes, his pathway midnight shrouds,
While fire, at awful pauses, rends the clouds.”

“This is the night which is celebrated in vigils, by us, on account of the advent of our King and God; the occasion of which is twofold, because, in it he returned to life, after he suffered, and will hereafter receive in it the dominion of the earth. *Such is the Deliverer*, the judge and avenger, the king and God, whom we call Christ.”

Oppresso igitur orbe terræ, cum ad destruendam immensarum virium tyrannidem humanæ opes defecerint; siquidem capto mundo cum magnis latronum exercitibus incubabit; divino auxilio tanta illa calamitas indigebit. Commotus igitur Deus et periculo anticipi, et miseranda comploratione justorum, *mittet protinus Liberatorem*. Tunc aperiatur cælum medium in tempesta, et tenebrosa nocte; ut in orbe toto lumen descendenti Dei tanquam fulgur appareat; quod Sibylla his versibus locuta est:

Ἰσπότη' ἀν' ἔλθη
Ἦξ' ἔσται σκῆτος ἐν τῇ μέσση νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ.

Hæc est nox, quæ nobis propter adyentum regis, ac Dei nostri pervigilio celebratur: ejus noctis duplex ratio est. quod in ea et vitam tum recepit, cum passus est; et postea orbis terræ regnum recepturus est. *Hæc est enim Liberator* et judex, et ultor, et rex; et Deus, quem nos Christum vocamus.”

In the whole of the quotations here extracted by an early christian writer, with a view to the illustration of the subject which engages our attention: there is but one passage which may not be fairly deduced from the induction of inspired authorities, to which I have traced the prophetic knowledge of the Orientalists, from the times of Adam to those of Balaam. With scarcely another exception, the whole of them may be applied, in illustration of the previous inductions, on the character of Sesac and Salmanasar. In these curious extracts, the expected Deliverer is represented, as appearing in the character of a great military conqueror, yet affecting those measures which were mild and pacific. It is unnecessary to insist at large how far the observations hazarded on the title of the Assyrian monarch and the conduct which he pursued, towards the nations of Judea and Palestine, derive confirmation from the views which are thus given by the Sibyl. But on the peculiar rites which the Egyptian conqueror established at Babylon, in instituting the Sesachean days, an extraordinary light is shed by them: as in that festival, the slaves were freed, for the short period of five days while it lasted, from the restraints and degradation of servitude, and elevated to an equal rank with their lords.

An exception from these remarks must be made in favor of the second passage cited from Lactantius; which is indeed the most remarkable of his citations from the Sibylline books, and which, as preserved by him in Greek, may be literally rendered as follows;

“Then God, from out the sun, a king shall send,
And cause dire war in all the world to end.”

The doctrine expressed in this distich might be traced through Virgil to the Erythræan Sibyl, of whom it has been already stated, that she was remotely descended from Chaldea. But, without anticipating a subject, which I shall hereafter find a more suitable opportunity to discuss at large; we may carry up our inquiries directly to the source, and trace to the Assyrians themselves the doctrine, which was very generally received throughout the East, and was not without its partisans, even among Jews and Christians.

In a passage, which possesses traditionary authority, to which but a small portion of the oriental knowledge that has been transmitted by antiquity can lay claim, we are informed,³⁷⁸ that “the Assyrians had not only made observations for 27000 years, but had noted down the entire conversions and Restitutions of the seven planetary rulers of the world.” The terms used in this curious fragment are adopted from the doctrine maintained respecting the Great Year, of which it contains a just description.³⁷⁹ In con-

³⁷⁸ Proclus in Timæum, p. 31. ed Basil. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ Φησιν Ἰάμβλιχος, ἔχ' ἑπτά κ' εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐτῶν μόνας ἐτήρησαν, ὡς Φησιν Ἰππαρχος, ἀλλὰ κ' ὅλας Ἀποκαλίσεις κ' περιόδους τῶν ἑπτὰ κοσμοκρατῶν μνήμη παρέδσαν.

³⁷⁹ The force of these terms and the substance of this doctrine may be collected from the following passages of two writers who profess an intimate acquaintance with the Chaldee Astrology; Cicer. de Nat. Deor. II. li. “Quarum [stellarum] ex disparibus motionibus *Magnum Annum* mathematici nominaverunt; qui tum efficitur cum *solis et lunæ et quinque errantium* ad eandem inter se compositionem, confectis omnium spatiis, *est facta conversio.*” Conf. et Beros. ap. Senec. supr. p. 34. n.⁸² J. Firmic. Mathem. Lib. III. i.—“trecentorum *millium* annorum Major Ἀποκαλίσεις, hoc est *Redintegratio*, per *ἐκπύρωσιν*, aut per *κατακλυσμόν*, spatio perficiatur. *His autem duobus generibus*, Ἀποκαλίσεις *fieri consuevit*; namque *Exustionem Diluvium*, hoc est, *ἐκπύρωσιν κατακλυσμός sequitur*, nulla enim re alia exustæ res poterant *renasci*, &c.” This writer pro-

formity to the opinions, which were formerly ascribed to a learned Chaldean;³⁸⁰ the Great Restitution of nature is accordingly described in it, as depending on the conversions of the planets.

As conducive, however, to the perfect understanding of this curious fragment, it remains to be observed, that a much more pure and ancient doctrine, respecting the Great Restitution, was inculcated by the elder Sibyls, who limited the period of the great Conversion to four ages, and taught, that by it, the Regeneration of the world would be effected.³⁸¹ We consequently find, that the astrological embellishments which the early doctrine received from the ingenuity of later improvers were proscribed, by the writers who have transmitted an account of them, as the pure figments of the speculative, or the scientific.³⁸² Some of those

fesses to give, in his work, the astrology of the Egyptians and Babylonians, which Trismegistus and Anubius taught and transmitted to Esculapius, and which was explained by Petosiris and Necepsos. Conf. ib. Lib. II. Præf. p. 15.

³⁸⁰ Vid. supr. p. 34. n. 82.

³⁸¹ Schol. Probi Grammat. in Virg. Eclog. iv. "Cumæi] Vel a Sibylla, quæ Cumana fuit, et post quatuor secula Παλληγενεσίαν futuram cecinit" &c. Schol. Pompon. Sabin. ibid. "Ergo nunc Virgilius vel de Cumæa Sibylla, quæ post quatuor secula, futuram dixit Novam Generationem; vel intelligit, quod melius est, de Hesiodo poeta, cujus pater fuit Dius, natione Cumæus. Hesiodus autem libris suis quatuor seculorum facit mentionem. Plato dixit, ut meminit M. Tullius in Hortensio, finito Magno Anno, qui est nostrorum xii millium, rursus redire, et creari omnia a principio, quemadmodum fuerunt. Primum seculum fuit aureum, in quo mortales habitabant mixti cœlestibus, et omnia libera fuerunt, sine insidiis, sine latrociniiis, sine invidia, sine homicidiis. Hoc seculum, tanquam finito Magno Anno, scilicet aureum, Virgilius in tam felicissimo consulatu Asinii Pollionis prædicat redire."

³⁸² In conformity to the declaration of Cicero, supr. p. 170. n. 379. Firmicus shows that the astronomical refinements of the doctrine were pure figments intended for the benefit of

novelties indeed exhibit, in their meanness and puerility, the marks of a recent and spurious origin: such was the device, which from the term golden, applied to the first happy age, assigned correspondent epithets to the succeeding ages of silver, brass and iron: and thence proceeded to supply with appropriate metals the different planets, which presided over the long succession of ages,³⁸³ according to the primitive Assyrian tradition.

the astrologers. In continuation of the passage quoted, *supr.* p. 170. n. 379. he observes, —“*nec ulla re alia ad pristinam faciem formamque [exusta res poterant] revocari, nisi admixtiones atque concretus pulvis favillarum omnium genitalium seminum collectam conciperet fecunditatem; sed ut esset quod mathematici in genituris hominum sequerentur exemplum, ideo hanc, quasi genituram mundi, divini viri prudenti ratione fixerunt.*” Seneca, as quoted, *supr.* p. 34. n. 82. seems, in like manner, to give the credit of divising *the astrological part* of the doctrine of a Conflagration and Deluge, to Berosus.

³⁸³ It is obvious that Servius, when dictating the following comment, on ‘the Pollio,’ had Ovid in view, while he remarked upon Virgil, Schol. in *Ecl.* iv. “*Sibylla, quæ Cumana fuit, et secula per metalla divisit; dixit etiam, quis quoque seculo imperaret, et Solem ultimum, id est decimum, voluit.*” Yet this may be tolerated, when compared with the puerilities introduced into the primitive doctrine by later triflers. However peremptory the decision of I. Vossius, who presents us with the following specimen of those innovations; such, I doubt not, will be the convictions of every reflecting reader; *De Sibyl. Orac.* cap. v. “*In versibus, itaque, quæ,*” &c. “*In the verses, therefore which were formerly ascribed to the Cumean Sibyl, the whole age of the world was not distinguished, as in Hesiod and Ovid, into four but into ten parts, which were equally called ages. But as it was commonly received, that there were seven planets; attributing to each its proper metal, they feigned also, that there were seven metals.*” He thus proceeds to the application of the principle: “*the first age of the world, according to the Sibyl, called golden (prima itaque mundi ætas, apud Sibyllam dicta aurea), was attributed to the sun; the second, called silver, to the moon. The third, denominated from amber, so far considered a metal, was sacred to Jupiter, and so*

If rejecting those novelties of modern triflers, we follow the old Cumean Sibyl's authority, in explanation of the ancient Assyrian doctrine, which represented the seven planets as presiding over the periodical Restitutions of the world; they afford each other a reciprocal and extraordinary confirmation. If the whole period assigned to their collective reigns is distributed, according to their number, into seven portions;³⁸⁴ it ascribes an age amounting nearly to 4000 years to the

of the others; so that iron was assigned to Mars, brass to Venus, tin to Mercury, and lead to Saturn." He concludes on the ninth age; "this period being accomplished, at length the golden age arrives, and then reigns Sol or Apollo." In this very solemn deduction, it will be observed, that the authority of the Sibyl is cited for the single epithet 'golden;' and that the division of ten is expressly opposed to the testimony of Hesiod; whose authority on these subjects, I have already shewn, there are good reasons for not rating too lightly: vid. *supr.* p. 134. n. ³⁰².

³⁸⁴ The product of 4000 years, multiplied by 7, the number of the planets, amounts to 28000; whereas the great period of the planetary restitutions, ascribed by Hipparchus to the Assyrians amounts to 27000. But it must be observed, that the period is implicitly offered by Hipparchus as unexpired; he neither represents it as being a perfect cycle, nor could the Assyrians pretend, that in bringing down their calculations to the age in which he wrote, they had reached the great planetary restitution. The account being palpably a gross exaggeration, intended to magnify the great antiquity of their science; it is probable, that they assumed the greatest possible latitude, and thus representing themselves, as in the last millennium, gave the sum 27000, as the period of their calculations expressed in round numbers. Living in the 19th century, we might in like manner say, that 1800 years had expired from the epoch of the nativity. But if the calculation is even made by the number which he has expressed; the period of 27000 years, divided into 4 portions, will ascribe a length sufficiently near 4 millenniums to each of the planetary reigns, of which one must have been necessarily unexpired, to justify the allegation of the testimony of the Greek astronomer, on the present subject.

reign of each ; and thus admirably accords with the doctrine of the Sibylline oracles. Or if instituting the calculation from the statement of the latter, we assign the period of four ages, of 1000 years each, respectively to the reigns of the planetary rulers of the world ; the sum of their joint reigns will amount to 28000 years, and thus accord with the great period of the mundane restitutions, asserted by the Assyrians. Whatever may be thought of this coincidence, it must be atleast allowed, that whatever was the term ascribed to these mundane conversions ; it was on all sides acknowledged, that the world would experience a great Restitution ; that the period of this consummation was to be measured by ages of a thousand years, the calculation of which depended in some manner on the planets ; and that in the oldest and highest authorities, the fourth age, or millennium, was considered as the period of the great change, which was termed a Regeneration. When it is considered, that the best digested systems of chronology, founded upon a review of the succession of events from the time of the creation, have fixed the epoch of our Lord's nativity to the beginning of the year 4000 of the world :³⁸⁵ will the assertion be thought too bold, without further appeal to historical fact,³⁸⁶ that the ethnics, who form-

³⁸⁵ In this year the epoch of the nativity has been fixed by Ussher, Cappel, Simson &c. after the elaborate and successful demonstration of its truth, by the sagacious Kepler, in his controversy with the disciples of Scaliger. And in his decisions, the Jesuit Petavius virtually admits himself to have been prevented from acquiescing, solely by his respect to the authority of his Mother Church ; which had adopted, in its infallibility, the vulgar era, which, according to his own admission, advances by atleast three years, the time of the nativity.

³⁸⁶ It is asserted by the patient and laborious Lardner, Col-

ed such notions, on the nature and period of the Great Restitution, had not only formed the expectation of a Deliverer, but had attained some knowledge of the true time of his advent?

By what process this knowledge was acquired, is a subject the perfect developement of which, must be reserved for a future opportunity. On the different conjectures which have been formed on this subject, it will be sufficient at present merely to observe, that a solution of the difficulty has been deduced from a traditional prediction, by the Jews, and is supposed to have emanated from the prophetic school of Elijah.³⁸⁷ But this conjecture seems exposed to the strong negative objection, that such a prophecy was unknown to the primitive christians; a solution

lect of Test. on Christian. p. 69. that "*the expectation of the coming of the Messiah, about the time of the appearance of Jesus, was universal, and had been so for some while!*" he adds, *ibid. n.** "Proofs of this together with divers remarks may be seen in Credib. P. I. B. 1. ch. v. p. 289. &c."

³⁸⁷ Of this prophecy the following account is given by Dr. Burnet, *Sacr. Theor. B. III. ch. v.* "The Jews have a remarkable prophecy, which expresseth both the whole and the parts of the World's duration. The world, they say, will stand 6000 years: 2000 before the Law, 2000 under the Law, and 2000 under the Messiah. This prophecy they derive from Elias; but there were two of the name; Elias the Thisbite, and Elias the Rabbin or Cabbalist: and it is supposed to belong immediately to the last." This objection he does not directly controvert, but endeavors to invalidate it, by the counter-supposition, that "this prophecy might come originally from the former Elias, and was preserved in the school of Elias, the Rabbin;" assigning as a reason, that "he cannot easily imagine, that a Doctor that lived two hundred years, or thereabouts before Christ, when prophecy had ceased for ages among the Jews, should take upon him to dictate a prophecy, unless he had been supported by some antecedent cabbalistical tradition."

which is adequate to meet all the difficulties of the case, while it is supported by their positive assertions, seems deducible from the nature of the sabbatical system,³⁸⁸ of which the preceding prophecy appears to be nothing more than a deduction, made by some sagacious Rabbin, and applied to the principal incidents of the scripture chronology.

My immediate concern is with the systems devised by the Assyrians, for estimating the age and duration of the world; and in order to render any probable or consistent account of them, it is necessary they should be perfectly comprehend-

³⁸⁸ On the subject of the tradition, which divided the age of the world by millenniums, it has been generally, and I may be allowed to add, superficially observed, by the learned writer quoted in the last note: *Sacr. Theor. B. IV. iii.* "Neither can I believe, that those constitutions of Moses, that proceed so much upon a *septenary*, or the number *seven*, and have no ground or reason in the nature of the thing, for that particular number: I cannot easily believe, I say, that they are either accidental or humorsome, without design or signification; but that they are typical, or representative of some *septenary state*, that does most eminently deserve and bear that character. Moses in the history of the Creation makes *six days* work and then a *sabbath*; then after *six years*, he makes a *sabbath-year*; and after a *sabbath of years*, a year of *Jubilee*; *Levit. xxv.* All these lesser revolutions seem to me to point to the Grand Revolution, the Great Sabbath, or Jubilee, *after six millenniums*; which as it answers the type in point of time, so likewise in the nature and contents of it, being a *state of rest from all labor, and trouble and servitude*, a state of joy and triumph, and a *state of Renovation*, when things are to return to their first condition, and pristine order." I shall only observe, on this subject, that in such a manner, precisely might the Rabbin Elias have reasoned. In such a manner, in fact, the primitive Christians, have expressly reasoned; among whom were many proselytes, who could not have been ignorant of a prophecy of Elias, had any such been ascribed to him by the Jews; particularly as it was believed, that he would return, at the end of the world.

ed. I have already particularly insisted on the circumstance of their being made dependent in some measure on the periods of the planets: the concurrent testimony of those writers, who have decribed the Great Year, having represented the period of its conversion, as depending upon grand planetary conjunctions, happening in the same point of the heavens, where they had previously occurred.³⁹⁹ As the principles by which the ancients calculated the periods of these restitutions, have been investigated, by an astronomer of the most unbaffled sagacity, who was not only qualified for the undertaking, by his pre-eminent skill in the practical, but by his singular attachment to the judicial part of the science; the difficulties which embarrass this part of the subject, may be soon made to disappear. He assigns the period of 800 years to those grand conjunctions, occurring in nearly the same degree of the zodiac; and having distributed the whole period of 4000 years, intervening between the Creation and the Nativity, into five portions of 800 years each: he not only represents both extremes of the four millenniums, as distinguished by great planetary conjunctions, but assigns one to the epoch of the

³⁹⁹ To the opinions of the Chaldeans, according to Berosus, and of the Romans, according to Cicero, as noticed *supr.* p. 34. n. ⁸² p. 171. n. ³⁷⁹, those of the Greeks, according to Aristotle, may be added, on the testimony of Censorinus; *De Die Nat.* cap. xviii. “Et præterea Annus, quem Aristoteles Maximum, potius quam Magnum appellat, quem *solis, lune vagarumque quinque stellarum* orbes conficiunt, cum *ad idem signum*, ubi quondam semel fuerunt, *una referuntur*; cujus Anni hyems summa est *κατακλυσμός*, quam nostri *Diluvionem*, ætas autem *επιύρωσις*, quod est *mundi incendium*. Nam his alternis temporibus, mundus tum exignescere, tum exaquescere videtur.” Conf. *Aristot. de Meteor. Lib. I. xiv.*

Deluge.³⁰⁰ It is of little importance to the validity of the conclusion which it is my object to establish, whether his calculations will bear the nicer tests of the art, as applied by its present professors: though it may be observed in their favor, that at the close of the eighth cycle from the Creation, he observed one such conjunction, of which he has given a minute description; and was at considerable pains to verify that, which he asserted to have taken place, at the Nativity of our Lord. It is sufficient to my purpose, that he has pointed out the course, which was pursued by the ancient astrologers, and has determined the positive results to which they were conducted by their calculations; while he possessed not the most distant anticipation of the consequences to which they are now pursued. He has thus furnished a clue, by which we may be guided to a tolerably just notion of the views by which they were directed, in attributing to the influence of

³⁰⁰ Vid. Kepler de Stel. Nov. et Trigon. Ign. ed Prag. 1606. The following is the result to which the sagacious author is led: Ib. cap. vii. "Itaque quatuor triplicitates, quibus omnis continetur zodiacus, in ducentos annos ductæ, *periodam* creant *annorum octingentorum*, paulo minus: quo temporis spatio, *totus zodiacus quadraginta congressibus*, in totidem partes pæne æquales, dividitur; *eoque tempore exacto, redditur ad initium.*" Having drawn an illustration, from the grand conjunction, which he beheld, at Christmas, in the year 1604, he observes; Ibid. "Ex hoc igitur loco, *comparatione facta cum ætate Mundi*, patet successio trigonorum, et repetitio ignei. Cum enim a *conditio rerum* numerentur anni plus minus 5600: hi divisi per 800, *septem constituunt Magnas Periodos*, reditusque ignei trigoni. Memorabile vero est, in ipsos fere *periodorum articulos* incidere *præcipuas epochas.*" He adds a small table, in which the first, third and sixth epochs, are noted as follows; "Ante Christ. 4000. Adam, *Creatio Mundi.*" . . . "A. C. 2400. A. M. 1600. Noah, *Diluvium.*" . . . "A. M. 4000. Christus Dominus, *Reformatio Orbis.*"

grand conjunctions of the planets, the deluges and conflagrations, by which they declared the world would be destroyed, to be again renewed.

In a country like Chaldea, which possessed a climate not subject to sudden variations, the regularity of the effects produced by the vicissitude of the year, was not unnaturally, attributed to the influences of the planets; by which its periods were measured, and on which its regularity was supposed in a great measure to depend. As the investigation of physical causes was wholly neglected, and a superstitious devotion directed to the heavenly bodies; they were regarded as the divine authors of the effects wrought, not merely on the earth and atmosphere, but on the human constitution: the vicissitude of the seasons and the fecundity of nature having been attributed, to their influence, with no less certainty, than the epidemic diseases, to which the inhabitants were periodically exposed.³⁹¹ To these causes, aided by the natural advantages of a country, calculated for astronomical observations, in having a serene sky, and open horizon; and improved on by that avidity with which the human mind is impelled, to inquire into the future, and to derive prognostications of distant events, from vulgar signs and superstitious associations; judicial astrology is indebted for an original, which may be traced to the remotest antiquity.³⁹²

³⁹¹ See Censorinus, *uti supr.* p. 94. n. 204. who implicitly acknowledges, that the period of 12 years, to which the Chaldeans gave the name of their Great Year, owed its institution to such causes.

³⁹² To such causes, Cicero, who describes the Great Year of the astrologers, *uti supr.* p. 171. n. 379. virtually attributes the cultivation of astronomy by the Assyrians; *De Div. I. i.* "Gentem quidem nullam video" &c. "I see no nation, nei-

From these principles, it may be easily concluded, how the Grand Conjunctions of the planets, (the knowledge of which, if not transmitted by tradition, might be discovered by calculation,) from being associated with the epochs of the Creation and Deluge, were ultimately regarded as the causes of the periodical changes to which the frame of nature was subject. For the influence of one of the planetary bodies upon the objects of the creation being acknowledged; this influence was necessarily conceived to be infinitely encreased, when they acted in concert, from being congregated in a particular point of the heavens.³⁹³

ther so cultivated and learned, nor so fierce and barbarous, which does not conceive *that future things are prognosticated*, and their signs may *be understood* and predicted. In the beginning, the Assyrians, that *I may deduce my authorities from the remotest antiquity, on account of the openness and extent of the regions* which they inhabited, as the heavens were open and unobstructed on all sides, observed the motions and revolutions of the stars: having taken notices of which, they transmitted accounts of what was prognosticated by them to every one. In which nation, the Chaldees, who derived their name not from their art but their country, by the continual observation of the stars, are conceived to have carried their science to such a height, that every event which could happen to any one, and the fate to which he was born, might be predicted."

³⁹³ Such are the terms in which Kepler describes the influence attributed to those conjunctions, which occurred in points of the Zodiac distant a trine, or 120°; where they periodically happen: De Stel. Nov. cap. vi. "*Saturnus enim et Jupiter, altissimi planetæ, binos proximos congressus mutuos sic ordinant, ut tertia fere Zodiaci parte distent. Qua ratione efficitur ut quolibet sæculo, tria Zodiaci signa, ab authoribus sub unum Trigonum redacta, ex Conjunctionibus Superiorum præceptuam vim obtineant, in commovenda (non dico in cogenda) natura rerum sublunarium.*" Of these trines the following account is given by Stanley, from Ptolemy; De Orient. Phil. Lib. I. sect. II. cap. xix. "Trigona sunt quatuor, primum est Arietis, Leonis et Sagittarii; secundum Tauri, Virginis et Capricorni: tertium Geminorum, Libræ et Aquarii: quartum Cancri, Scor-

And as this influence was rendered more intense, at particular conjunctures of season, and operated in the crisis of nature; the effect produced upon the earth would be a conflagration or deluge, as the conversion took place in summer or winter.³⁹⁴

In the Chaldean science, however, the planets were supposed to exercise a different influence over the world, besides that exerted in its destruction and renovation. The term of its existence, which was extended to immense periods, was divided into lesser intervals, over each of which, the different planets were supposed to exercise, in their order, a paramount influence. The precedence in this succession, belonging to the sun, the second place was assigned to the moon; the five remaining planets having been supposed to reign, in the order, in which we find their names applied to the days of the week; until the circle returning into itself, the succession again commenced, with the reign of the sun.³⁹⁵ As the greater cycles were constructed after the model of the less, by taking years, centuries or millenniums, for days;³⁹⁶ a substitution which

pii et Piscium. A Chaldæis autem divisum fuisse Zodiacum in hæc Trigona, ex ratione colligendi terminos planetarum, a Ptolemæo descripta, satis liquet."

³⁹⁴ Vid. Beros. ap. Senec. uti supr. p. 34. n.⁸². Aristot. ap. Censorin. ibid. p. 178. n.³⁸⁹.

³⁹⁵ Vid. supr. p. 173. n. ³⁸³. comp. p. 170.

³⁹⁶ Scaliger has observed, on this subject, with his usual penetration, Canon. Isagog. III. 243. "Quemadmodum *Quadriennium* Ægyptiacum est *dierum* 1460, ita *Magna Periodus* est *annorum* Julianorum 1460. Rursus, quemadmodum *Lustrum* Julianum est *dierum* 1461, ita *Maxima Periodus* Canicularis est *annorum* Ægypticorum 1461. *Quadriennium* autem vocabant ἔτος ἡλιακὸν μικρόν." &c. Manetho, as quoted in an old chronologist, cited by Salmasius, Plin. Exerc. I. 551. mentions an *Annus Maximus*, to which he ascribes 36525 years, which has

was facilitated, and possibly suggested, by the equivocal sense of the word day, in the oriental languages;³⁹⁷ it is thus easily conceived how those

been absurdly taken for the period of the equinoctial precession; it contains precisely as many years as there are days in a century, according to the Julian computation. A learned chronologist, whom I have had frequent occasion to quote, following up a suggestion of two monks, who are cited in Syncellus, reduces to moderate lengths the great periods, which are mentioned by the ancients, by substituting days for years. Vign. Dissert. de l'An. Anc. In the coincidences which he has elicited there is nothing striking; but for the semblance of probability which he has given to his deductions, the artifice of the above mentioned substitution will sufficiently account.

³⁹⁷ The Hebrew term יום signifying a day, is so frequently used with the signification of a year, that it may appear superfluous, to support it by any authority, or exemplification. But as this idiom may appear unaccountable to those who are unacquainted with that language; it may not be inexpedient to bestow some attention on the subject. The term is explained by Pagnini, Thes. Ling. Sanct. col. 924. "יום, est dies tam artificialis, quam naturalis viginti quatuor horarum. Interdum enim significat tempus quo sol est super terram." Ib. col. 926. "Et plurale significat dies, et annos;" To which Mercier adds, "Annum integrum, vel etiam annos; proprie annum singulariter, tot scilicet dies quot annum efficiunt." One of the most striking examples by which this sense is illustrated, occurs in Exod. xiii. 10. where, Moses speaking of the Passover, which was an annual festival, declares, that it was to be kept, מִיָּמִים יָמִים: 'from days to days.' The literal sense occurs in the Greek, ἀφ' ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας, in the Latin 'a diebus in dies;' to which the Samaritan may be added, ܘܡܝܢ ܘܡܝܢ, with the same sense. The Chaldee indeed paraphrases, מִזְּמַן לְזְמַן 'from time to time,' or rather 'from term to term;' to which the Syriac conforms, ܘܡܝܢ ܘܡܝܢ; which will however bear the sense from 'year to year;' which is given in the Arabic, من حول الي حول. Of the modern versions, the English has 'from year to year;' the German, with the same sense, 'jährlich;' as also the Italian, 'd'anno in anno;' and the French, 'tous les ans;' but the Spanish, conforming to the Hebrew and Latin, 'de dias in dias.' Though the term יום, is preserved in the Syriac ܘܡܝܢ, Chaldee יומא, Arabic أيام, pl.

almost interminable periods, which were ascribed to the planetary conversions of the universe, were imagined: an instance of which has been noticed in the term of 27000 years, during which the Assyrians pretended they had observed their restitutions.

Were the order which has been followed in naming the days of the week, that which the planets possess in any known or conceivable system of the universe; it would be nugatory to look beyond the consideration of that order, for the elementary principles, in which these complicated systems have originated. It would be then vain to dispute, that according to that order, the days of the week had been respectively assigned the names of the planets, and had been placed under their influence; and that, by a simple and obvious analogy, the greater cycles were deduced from the less, the week being the model, according to which the whole system was framed. It is, however, as indisputable, that the days have been assigned their planetary names, according to an artificial principle, that shall be soon unfolded, which directly betrays itself to be of a comparatively modern date: as it is demonstrable, that after the form of the week, the whole scheme has been constructed, having obviously originated in the Sabbatical system, which, I have already offered some reasons to prove, was not wholly unknown to the Assyrians.³⁹⁸

For the exhibition of this system in its most

يوم, Samaritan ܫܝܡ: it seems limited in these languages, to the sense of *day*; in the Syriac, however, with which we are principally concerned, ܫܝܡ is used in a manner, nearly as indefinite, as יום, in the Hebrew.

³⁹⁸ Vid. supr. p. 131. seq.

perfect state, we must direct our attention to the Mosaical dispensation; which had the entire course of its festivals ordered according to the sabbatical system. But the origin and character of the Assyrian superstitions, and the great end to which my inquiries are directed, require that its descent should be traced to a higher source, and immediately deduced from the patriarchal religion. And this object may be at once accomplished, by directing our attention to that point, where the connexion between the true and the corrupted religion, has been proved to exist: the history of the patriarch who declared, in the prophetic spirit with which he addressed his son Joseph;³⁹⁹ “the blessings of thy father have prevailed, above the blessings of my progenitors, unto the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills.” In fact, the double servitude which Jacob performed under Laban, had all the characters of the sabbatical year. It was a term of seven years labor, succeeded by a recovery of freedom, and a restoration to a state of rest and rejoicing.⁴⁰⁰ Its descent, as conceived after the form of the week, is implicitly admitted in the language in which the patriarch is addressed by Laban. When the first period of his servitude had expired, and was recompensed with the hand of Leah; on his claiming the hand of Rachael also, the term of service by which it was to be earned, is denominated “a week,” and defined as “seven years,” in the stipulated terms of her father;⁴⁰¹ “fulfil her

³⁹⁹ Gen. xlix. 26.

⁴⁰⁰ See Gen. xxix. 18. 21. 27, 28. Lev. xxv. 2, 3, 4. Deut. xv. 1, 2. comp. supr. p. 177. n.³⁸⁸.

⁴⁰¹ Gen. xxix. 27. In this sense the passage is rendered with scarcely any variation in the versions. Of the phrase... מלא

week, and we will give thee this also, for the service which thou wilt serve with me, yet *seven other years*."

In fine, the first measure of time, instituted in the state of innocence, when applied to the year, naturally led to the sabbatical cycle; and introduced a progressive principle, which as naturally led to the greater cycles. For, as the year, when divided into weeks, leaves a supernumerary day, above the fifty two weeks, which compose it; this day, being included in the old year, causes the beginning of the new to fall upon the following day; and the same process taking place in each successive year, the beginning of the year progressively advances through the days of the week: until after seven years, when it has circulated through the seven days, the first day of the week and year again coincide, as at the beginning of the cycle.

שבע וזאת עוד שבע שנים אחרות... which is alone of importance, the following are the principal renderings. The Chaldee, אשלים שבועתא דא... עוד שבע שנים אחרתין, 'complete the *week* of this...yet seven other years:' the Samaritan, אכל אסבוע החד, with the same sense; as also the Arabic, اكن اكمل اسبوع هذد. The Syriac, with a slight variation, reads, مکمل شعاع... |...|, "complete the *feast* of this, &c." which is explained in the context: *ibid.* 22. |...|, 'and he made a *feast*;' which words are applied to the marriage feast of Leah. Conformably to the Oriental versions, the Greek reads, συνίλεσον ἔν τῷ ἑβδομα ταύτης... ἔτι ἐστὶ ἕτερα; and the Latin, though more paraphrastic, 'imple *hebdomadum* dierum hujus copulæ... septem annis aliis.' The modern versions agree in expressing the same sense, the Italian rendering the passage, 'fornisci pure la *settimana* di questa... altri sett' anni; the French, 'achève la *semaine* de celle-ci... sept autres années;' the German, 'halte mit dieser die *Woche* aus... noch andere sieben Jahre:' but the Spanish, adhering to the Latin, 'cuple la *semana* de dias de este... otros siete años.'

Though the sabbatism was thus far completed, at the close of seven years; yet the progressive principle introduced into the year did not thus come to an end; but led to circles of revolving periods, which were almost interminable. From the neglect of the intercalation, a period of 1460 years was found necessary, to make the beginning of the artificial or civil year coincide with that of the natural or tropical.⁴⁰² Yet even then the cycle was incomplete,⁴⁰³ nor would seven times that period, though amounting to 10220 years⁴⁰⁴ pro-

⁴⁰² This period constitutes the Egyptian Great Year, which has been described, *supr.* p. 148. n. ³³⁶. p. 102. n. ³⁰⁶. It arises on multiplying 365, the number of days in the year, by 4, the number of the intercalated year; in it, of course the sabbatical system was wholly neglected. It was accordingly termed, from the sun, whose course it measured, the Solar Year; or from the star, by which its beginning was calculated, the Canicular Year. *Vid. ibid.* p. 94. n. ²⁰⁴. p. 158. n. ³⁵⁴.

⁴⁰³ On the subject of the Egyptian Great Year, M. la Lande observes, *Astronom. Tom. I. p. 284. § 1605.* “*Les anciens étoient en erreur dans ce calcul de plus de 36 ans, parce-qu’ils ne connoissent point l’année sydérale ou astrale, qui devoit régler le Cycle Sothiaque; ils croyoient que 1460 années solaires étoient égales à 1461 années vagues ou civiles: mais comme l’année tropique est moindre que les anciens le croient, et l’année sydérale plus grande, la période n’étoit point telle qu’on le croyoit; l’année civile ne concouroit, au bout de 1460 ans, ni avec l’année tropique, ni avec l’année sydérale.*” Which sad concession leads to some curious consequences, of which more anon. After shewing the relative proportions which the civil, tropical and sidereal year bear to each other, he concludes; *Ibid.* “*Ainsi la période de 1460 ans, ne ramenoit point au même jour les levers des étoiles, qui n’exigeoient que 1425, ni les saisons, qui en exigeoient 1508.*” Whatever may be thought of this slight error of merely 83 years in these learned observers’ calculations; it will be atleast admitted, that it would have made a moderate chasm in their lives.

⁴⁰⁴ This period is given, as arising from the multiplication either of 1460, by 7; or of 365, 4, and 7, into each other; in order to form a product, which, when divided, by any of the

duce a year but the first, in which the beginning of the week, and of the civil and tropical year would be coincident, so as to produce a perfect cycle.

It may be thus collected, how the ancients were led to the conception of those immense periods, which they accounted great years, and to which they ascribed various terms of duration.⁴⁰⁵ I am aware, however, it may be objected, that the septenary principle is not more applicable to the sabbatical system, as held by the Patriarchs, than to the planetary, as maintained by the Assyrians. This point may be readily conceded. The question is thus brought fairly to an issue:⁴⁰⁶ and I apprehend, it will not require

latter numbers, will leave no remainder, as in the Julian period of 7980 years.

⁴⁰⁵ Censorinus closes his description of the Great Year, with an account of several periods of this kind, all of which he makes dependant on the terms of the planets; *De Die Nat.* xviii. p. 107. "Hunc [Annum Maximum] Aristarchus putavit esse annorum vertentium duum [f. decem] millium CCCCLXXXIV." &c. After adding the various periods assigned by Orpheus, Linus, Aretes Dyrachinus, Heraclitus, Dion, Cassandrus, he concludes, "Alii vero infinitum esse, nec unquam in se reverti existimârunt." Plutarch, or the author *De Placitis*, after mentioning the lunar cycle of 18 and 19 years, gives the calculations of Heraclitus and Diogenes: *Plut.* II. p. 892. ed. Xyland. Ἡράκλειτος ἐκ μυρίων ὑπτακισχιλίων ἡλιαυῶν. Διογένης, ἐκ πέντε ἢ ἐξήκοντα τριακοσίων ἑνιαυτῶν, τούτων ὅσον ὁ κατὰ Ἡράκλειτον ἑνιαυτός· ἄλλοι δὲ δι' ἑπτακισχιλίων ψοζ'. Where it is observable, Diogenes assigns the *Annus Maximus* as many years as there were days in the solar year; as it is remarkable, the period 10000 predominates in the various lengths assigned to it in Censorinus.

⁴⁰⁶ Without bringing the question to this issue, it was atonce decided by Dr. Spencer, that the priority was due to the pagan division of the week: and that the Sabbath itself, previously to its dedication to God, was consecrated to Saturn: *vid. supr.* p. 132. n. ²⁹⁹. In a subsequent part of his work he delivers his sentence on this point more decidedly: *De Leg. Hebr. Lib. I. iv. § 11.* "Gentes autem dies hosce feriatos in

much time to decide, whether, adopting the astrological views of the Chaldees, we are to trace the septenary division of the week, to natural causes; or receiving the historical accounts of the Hebrews, must refer it to preternatural.

It has been already intimated, that the names of the planets, as given to the days of the week, have been applied upon an artificial principle. If they be viewed in the regular order, which they are assigned, in the ancient system ascribed to the Egyptians, and generally known as the Ptolemaic; or in that which they are assigned, by the Chaldeans themselves, in disposing them in their exaltations in the different signs:⁴⁰⁷ it will be evident, that they have been applied in a progression by fourths. This indeed is expressly asserted by the ancients: who have both stated the difficulty of accounting for the interruption of their order and given its solution. An hour, as they state, ha-

honorem Deorum, *prius quam Deus diem sabbaticum instituisset, observasse censeantur. Rationes meas statim in medium afferam, ne sententiam illam temeritate credula, (forsan et profana) tueri videar.*" Having exhibited his success, in evading this charge, by two quotations from Pythagoras and Apollo, reported at second hand, on the faith of Iamblichus and Porphyry, he concludes after his way; "A ratione itaque minime dissentit, Deum etiam diem aliquem sibi consecrari voluisse, *quod hæc institutio moribus olim receptis conveniret, et nihil in se haberet, quod nimia sua insolentia rudem populum irritare posset. Quin et par erat, ut Deus*" &c. The gross presumption of which decision would merit rebuke, did not its extreme folly deserve our pity.

⁴⁰⁷ Vid. Hyd. de Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. v. p. 126. This order differs from the New or Copernican System, but in putting the sun in place of the earth, which, in the Egyptian, was considered the centre, and at rest; from it, the order of course was taken, which accordingly commenced with the Moon, and was followed by Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.

having been assigned to the reign of each planet, and the name of that one given to the whole day, which governed the first hour; their names were thus assigned, *in the regular order, to the hours*, and so fell, *as regularly*, upon the days of the week, at intervals distant a fourth.⁴⁰⁸ As there is no division of the day into hours, but that in which it is distributed into twenty four, in which this account can be verified; such must have been the division of the days, when they were assigned their planetary names.

Now as it admits of little controversy, that the distribution of the days into *twenty four* hours, was *of a late introduction*; such consequently must have been the designation of them, by the names of the planets.⁴⁰⁹ The earliest of

⁴⁰⁸ Dion Cassius, as quoted by Selden de Jur. Nat. p. 430. assigns two reasons, for the disposition of the planets by fourths. On the first, as deduced from the music of the spheres, I must be pardoned for declining to offer any observation; as I candidly own, I have never heard it. I shall give the second, with the comment of a learned chronologist, as he admits, it would give the best and most natural solution of the difficulty, if one objection were removed, of which we shall soon perceive the value; Vignolles Chron. II. p. 689. "La seconde raison est prise" &c. "the second reason is taken from astrology, which was not less cultivated" than music "by the Egyptians. It made *each of the planets rule an hour*; and the one to whose lot the first hour of the day fell, gave its name to the day. Take the trouble to count: Saturn having the first hour of Saturday, the 25th, which will be the first of the day following, falls to Sunday, for the Sun: and so of the others. If one was assured that the Egyptians divided the day into 24 hours, this second reason would be preferable to the first." He however rejects it equally with the first; for reasons which are specified in the next note.

⁴⁰⁹ The learned chronologist, quoted in the last note, having a nostrum of his own to propose, finds, in the same objection, a reason, not for rejecting the antiquity of the planetary names, but the express testimony of the ancient writer, who has given

timony, which acquaints us with the state of Chaldean science, as low atleast as four hundred and forty years before the christian era, less consistent than it is explicit. While the most ancient of those writers expressly allude to the distribution of the days into weeks; they are not only silent on the subject of their planetary names, but term them in the manner, in which they are mentioned in the patriarchal history, and were long subsequently termed by the Hebrews.⁴¹¹ Nor can the silence either of the western or eastern nations, respecting those names, be imputed to inadvertence, as they have evinced great curiosity on the subject of the oriental science, have accurately described it according to the state it had attained in their age, and have respectively noticed the planetary names of the days.⁴¹²

nox primi diei, xii horas duravit. From the account, which a writer, who was of Jewish descent gives of two ancient cycles used by the Hebrews in ascertaining the time of the passover, it incontestably appears, that the entire period of night and day was divided by them also into *twelve hours*. Vid. Epiphan. II. p. 825. c.

⁴¹¹ Vid. Hesiod. uti supr. p. 134. n. ³⁰². Herod. uti supr. n. ⁴¹⁰. Herodotus, according to the common suffrage of chronologists, flourished Olymp. lxxxiv. in the reign of Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, B. C. 443. Hesiod's age cannot be ascertained with equal certainty; Eusebius, after Porphyry, refers him to the time of Uzziah, king of Judah, B. C. 800. nor can he be brought lower. Jacob's marriage into the family of Laban is placed about the year B. C. 1758.

⁴¹² Dr. Spencer, in justification of his strange hypothesis on the planetary names of the days, produces the testimony of Pythagoras in a prayer preserved by his biographer Iamblichus; Vit. cap. xxviii. Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ Δουσιάζειν τῇ ἕκτῃ; in which the denomination of the sixth day from Venus is sufficiently admitted; Spenc. de Leg. Heb. I. iv. § 11. Selden, in a work to which Spencer refers in his context, to shew that the Saracens transmitted their veneration for the same day to the Mohammedans,

With the modern adoption of the division of the days into twenty four hours, the notion of the early application of their planetary names must be abandoned ; and with those names, the entire planetary hypothesis, by which the Assyrians pretended to measure the duration of the world, must be resigned ; as a mere astrological figment, of a comparatively modern date.⁴¹³ As in this hypothesis, however, the division of the days into weeks is necessarily implied ; whatever weight it possesses, hence naturally falls, on the side of the sabbatical system. For thus evincing the existence of a septenary principle, in dividing the days of the year, previously to the application of their planetary denominations : it adds the most striking confirmation, to the testimony of the sacred writings, from which, so forcible an example of that system has been adduced, from the history of Jacob and Laban. Without claiming, however, the benefit of an appeal to inspired authority ; the evidence of one of the oldest heathen writers is adequate to prove its antiquity. Nothing, indeed, can be more explicit than the testimony of Hesiod, that the institution of the days was preternatural.⁴¹⁴

has likewise quoted the testimony of the Rabbin Eliezer, on the subject of the order of days, as termed from the planets : Seld. de Jur. Nat. III. p. 423. Pythagoras visited Italy in the reign of Servius Tullius, about the time the Sibylline books were brought to Rome, by their supposed author ; he flourished, Olymp. xlvi. B. C. 490. From which date, I am disposed to believe, his Egyptian biographer, who flourished A. D. 322. has, in compliment to his national science, gratuitously bestowed the knowledge of it upon his hero.

⁴¹³ Vid. supr. p. 172. n. 382.

⁴¹⁴ Ἄι γὰρ ἡμέραι εἰσι Διὸς πᾶρα μιλίοντος·
Πρῶτον ἔτη, τέτρας τε, καὶ ἑβδόμη, ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ.

Conf. supr. p. 135. n. 302.

“Devis'd by Jove, the days his pow'r display;
The thirtieth, fourth and seventh, a sacred day,

Works and Days, v. 769.

Independent of the venerable antiquity, from which this testimony proceeds, it comes recommended by the internal evidence of circumstantial accuracy. Not to dwell on the original which it ascribes to the division of the days, in tracing it to Jove, and in distinguishing “the seventh,” as “the sacred day;” the preference shewn in it to “the fourth,” is indicative of the pure and original source, from whence the author received his information. The preference by which this day and the seventh are distinguished, is inexplicable, on the principles of the planetary hypothesis; for Mercury and Saturn, to whom they are dedicated, were not distinguished above the other luminaries, among whom the sun and moon had engrossed a supremacy.⁴¹⁵ But whether the Greek poet is supposed to have drawn from sacred or profane sources; the grounds of his preference for those days are equally manifest. For, the Assyrians had distinguished Bel, and Nebo, to whom they are consecrated, above all their national divinities; and the Hebrews had not only set

⁴¹⁵ Stanl. Or. Philos. I. II. xviii. “Præter ea quæ ex Didoro protulimus...*de opinione Chaldæorum*, circa planetas, Sextus Empiricus testatur, eos credidisse, ‘τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὴν Σελήνην,’ septem planetarum præcipuos esse Solem et Lunam, minorem autem his vim habere...quinque reliquos. Ex quinque aliis, cum Sole consentire, eidemque opem ferre Saturnum, Jovem et Mercurium, quos vocant ἡμερινὲς, diurnos; propterea quod Sol, cui ferunt auxilium, iis dominetur, quæ gignuntur interdū. Ex stellis autem, alias esse beneficas, alias maleficas...maleficas autem Martis et Saturni, communem Mercurii; quoniam cum beneficis sit benefica, cum maleficis malefica.” Conf. Sext. Empir. adv. Mathem. p. 114. seq.

apart "the seventh day," as peculiarly "sacred," but had distinguished "the fourth," as contesting with the first, the right of precedence.⁴¹⁶ And this consideration, among others, induces me to conclude, that the planets were rather indebted to the days for their names, than the days to the planets.⁴¹⁷

The early doctrine of the Assyrians, as far as it is founded on the successive reigns of the planets, whatever be the sense in which they are supposed to rule, must be therefore abandoned, as the mere figment of the later astrologers. Nor are the marks of a modern hand less evident in the scientific embellishments which have been superinduced on the early tradition of a conflagration and deluge: in which, some interpreters have sought to account for the great conversion, on physical principles. The precision with which they have af-

⁴¹⁶ Vignolles, in reference to the denomination of the fourth day, from Mercury, observes; Chron. Liv. IV. iv. § 10. p. 714. "Moïse nous a appris," &c. "Moses has taught us, that on *the fourth day* of the week, which was *the first Wednesday*, (le premier Mercredi, the first day of Mercury) God made the sun, the moon and the stars, to rule over the seasons, the days and the years. Might not the tradition of this event, have been preserved among the Egyptians, in whose sciences Moses was learned? It is atleast preserved among some ancient Jews. 'For,' says, Selden 'there are some among them, who *seeking the order of the days*, from the beginning of all things, assign *the first day to Mercury*.' He cites on this subject, the Rabin Eliezer, who arranges the days of the week, in two manners.... of which, *one commences with Wednesday*, and the other with Sunday." Conf. Seld. de Jur. Nat. III. xxiii. p. 423.

⁴¹⁷ Such virtually appears to have been the opinion of the learned chronologist quoted in the last note; who remarks of the Egyptian Hermes; Chron. *ibid.* 'Ce fut peut-être, ou par son ordre, ou en son honneur, qu'on donna son nom au Moïse, qui devoit commencer l'année: et au *jour de la planète*, qui commence l'ancien cycle." He might have added, gave his name to the planet itself: *vid. supr.* p. 92. n. ²⁰¹.

fect to determine the period of the change, from the occurrence of a grand conjunction, at the time of the solstices, in Cancer and Capricorn,⁴¹⁸ directly betrays the conceit to be of a comparatively recent date. The rudest calculation, founded on the rate of the equinoctial precession, is sufficient to expose the absurdity of referring the doctrine, with any such modification, to Belus; as leading to an anachronism of nearly one thousand years.⁴¹⁹ And on comparing the age of the sophisticator, by whom it has been thus embellished, with the place of the solstices, at

⁴¹⁸ Vid. supr. p. 34. n. ⁸². Berosus, having mentioned the grand conjunction of the Stars in *Cancer and Capricorn*, as the causes of the deluge and conflagration; further adds, on the authority of Seneca; “*Illic solstitium, hic bruma conficitur. Magnæ potentia signa, quando in ipsa mutatione anni momenta sunt.*” Conf. supr. p. 178. n. ³⁸⁹.

⁴¹⁹ It clearly appears, that the Chaldees divided the Zodiac into twelve equal signs, which they calculated from the star marked Aries γ ; without regarding the form or extent of the constellations. Conf. Stanl. et Petav. uti infr. And it is equally evident, from the doctrine which they held on the exaltation of the planets, that the great epoch of their astrology coincided with the time when the equinox occurred in the 8th degree of the sign. Vid. Stanl. Or. Phil. I. II. xix. This epoch, however, is found, from the rate of the equinoctial precession, to be coincident with that of Nabonasar, B. C. 747. Vid. Petav. Uranolog. Var. Dis. II. iv. p. 78. As it appears however, that they placed the exaltation of the sun in the 15^o of Aries; and as the occurrence of the equinox, in this point, coincides with a remarkable epoch, B. C. 1263; Vid. Stanl. et Petav. *ibid.* it may be conceived, that Berosus is entitled to the benefit of any advantage accruing from the latter date: as the solstitial point at that time, had entered the sign Cancer, From what has been observed, on the foundation of the Assyrian empire under Belus, supr. p. 149. n. ³³⁷, atleast 1460 years before the era of Nabonasar B. C. 747. it is manifest that monarch cannot be brought lower than B. C. 2207. nearly 1000 years before the solstite had taken place in the 15^o of Cancer, and long before the summer had occurred, with the sun in that sign.

the time when he wrote; his comment on Belus bears internal marks of being deduced from the state of science at the time of its author.⁴²⁰

The false light with which this subject has been invested, having dispersed, we are now enabled to behold it, in its native colors. Those astrological refinements, with which the Assyrians encumbered the primitive doctrine of the mundanerestitution, must be consequently abandoned; as the essays of a spurious science, to explain the causes, and determine the period, of the great conversion of nature, by tracing it to natural principles. The early tradition, on this subject, thus divested of later corruptions, atonce resolves itself into the doctrine, which we discover, pure and unmixed, in the works of Hesiod and the elder Sibyls.⁴²¹ As the seven planetary reigns prove to be nothing more, than the expansion of the first principle of an astrological theory, which, from assigning the planets the government of hours, proceeded from hours to days, from days to years, and from years to interminable ages.⁴²² they thus necessarily re-

⁴²⁰ Berosus, as appears from the statement of Abydenus, flourished in the reign of Alexander the Great, B. C. 325: about 421 years after the era of Nabonasar; and 205 before the solstitial point had receded from Cancer, into the antecedent sign; if Riccioli has accurately defined their respective limits; vid. Almag. Lib. VI. iii. 402.

⁴²¹ Vid. supr. p. 172. n. 383.

⁴²² With the aid of the observations, already made, supr. p. 172. n. 383. p. 190. n. 408, the following exposition, extracted from an ancient astrologer, and describing the domination of "the planetary rulers," will be easily understood. Salmas. de Ann. Climact. p. 286. "Idem Valens eodem capite Planetam qui fuerit *dominus anni ortus Caniculæ*, καθολικὸν *anni illius statuit οἰκοδοσιᾶς πύλην* dicit quia annus Ægyptiis ab ortu Caniculæ incipiebat. Ideo totius *primi anni ἡγεμονικῆς* illa stella tenebat, et quidem καθολικὴν, quæ initium anni accipiebat, et domina erit sideris a quo annus exordium sumeret. Idem alio loco,

duce themselves into the more ancient and general doctrine of a planetary reign for four ages,⁴²³ which, if it did not owe its origin, was indebted for its preservation, to a knowledge of the periods of the Grand Conjunctions.⁴²⁴ Nor is the deduction from the same principles difficult, which will adequately explain, when those reigns are reduced to one, or conceived to be restored after a succession of revolutions, how the Sun, from having obtained dominion over the first day of the week, was considered the supreme ruler, at the Great Restitution of the world.⁴²⁵ The Sibylline

καθολικῶς ἔν τῷ ἔτους κύριον ἢ κοσμικῶν κινήσεων οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκ τῆς νημηθίας τῷ θ' ἡμέρᾳ κατελάβοιο, εἶπεν γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ ἔτους ἐπισησαίω, φυσικώτερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κυνοῦ ἑπιτολῆς. *Solus igitur erat καθολικὸς anni Dominus a quo annus incipiebat, cæteri planetæ quibus menses aut dies dividebantur κυκλικοὶ τόπων κύριοι* vocabantur. Idem de Domino ortus Caniculæ Planeta, ἕτος καθολικὸς τῷ ἔτους δεσποῖης κριθῆσεται, κυκλικοὶ δὲ οἱ τῶν τόπων κύριοι. *Hoc idem et in majoribus τῶν καθολικῶν χρόνων divisionibus observabant, ut qui primum initium annorum, in temporis dominio, acceperat, diceretur ἀφίτης, et χρονοκράτωρ καθολικὸς, cæteri qui divisiones ejusdem temporis ab eo accipiebant κυκλικοὶ* vocarentur. Adjicit ibidem in omni genesi et antigenesi καθολικὸν esse τὸν τοῦ ἔτους Κύριον, κυκλικὸν vero qui pleniluniorum et synodorum est dominus."

⁴²³ Vid. sup. p. 172. n.³⁸¹. ⁴²⁴ Vid. ibid. p. 81. et ante.

⁴²⁵ Of the astrological dogmas on this subject, the following account is given by the writer, already quoted: Salmas. ibid. p. 285. "*Sol et Luna quodammodo sunt καθολικοὶ χρονοκράτορες vel ἀφίται* respectu eorum quibus tempora dividunt. Et ipse Valens ita plane sensit, in tractatu περὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρηματιστικοῦ, ubi dicit, καθολικῶς μὲν ἔ ἐπὶ πάσης γενέσεως δεήσει ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἢ σελήνης ἢ ὠροσκόπου διεκβάλλειν τὰς ἐνιαυτῶν. Quod est intelligendum de ἀφίσει ἐνιαυτῶν, ut ipse titulus capituli indicat. Et præterea alio loco scripsit, τὰς ἀφίσεις τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν a Sole, Luna et Horoscopo esse maximæ efficientiæ. Διεκβάλλειν autem ἐνιαυτῶν idem est, ut antea docuimus, quod exordium annorum sumere, et ἀφίσεις ἐνιαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. Pro eo etiam dicebant et χρόνος ποιεῖσθαι, ut Valens, et ἐνιαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, ut Ptolemæus; διὸ δεῖ ἀφ' ἡνός

oracles, indeed, to which a higher and purer ori-

ἀφίτην τὸν ἑαυτὸν ποιῆσαι. Etiam didonai ἑαυτὸν, hoc dicebant, ἀπὸ ἡλίου δίδωμος ἑαυτὸς, id est ἀφίτης ἑαυτοῦ quæ *initium a Sole accipit*. Nam ἀφίτης pro spatio temporis quocunque usurpatur, ut supra docuimus." In reply to a pernicious error of Scaliger, Salmasius thus explains the term ἀφίτης: Ibid. p. 383.

"Sed Arabes Astrologi Græcorum ἀφίτην, non verterunt علاج, vel علاج, sed هبلج. Nec nomen id est Arabicum, ut jam notavimus, sed Persicum, vel etiam Indicum, ut alii etiam notarunt, هبلج etiam vocari, ex Lexico Persico Turcico, et اوصا حبي, id est *Dominum domus*, exponi mihi significavit clarissimus et celeberrimus vir, Jacobus Golius. Inde et ab Arabibus passim hoc nomen esse usitatum ريب البيت هبلج pro ريب البيت, id est *Dominædis*, ut dixerunt Latini veteres. Familiare quippe est Arabibus & Persicum in ج mutare. Sed et ipsi Persæ ut multas Arabicas voces usurparunt, non dubitarunt ita scribere. Ergo Hyleg est هبلج: id est *Dominus*. Quod nullam habet de notione nominis affinitatem cum Græco ἀφίτης, sed habet cum voce ἐπικρατήτωρ. Sic enim absolute τὸν ἀφίτην χρονοκράτορα Græci appellarunt, ut videantur ex Arabico vel Persico ita vertisse, et præcipue recentiores. . . . Quod ad *Alchocoden* attinet, quid hoc nomen significet, cum et vitiose etiam scribatur, valide nesciunt nostri astrologi, ideo et disputant quid sit, nec sese extricant. Persicum et hoc est vocabulum كد خدا Cadchoda: quod etiam *Dominus domus* significat. كد خدا enim *dominus*; unde et Deum كد خدا vocarunt, quasi *Dominum omnium*; كد خدا autem *domus* est Persice, ut me idem docuit vir doctissimus Golius. Quod ad nominis proprietatem attinet, idem significat *Cadchoda* et *Hyleg*, cum utraque vox *dominum domus* designet, hoc est οἰκοδισπότην. Sed major dominus *Cadchoda* quam *Hyleg*. Nam et eum cui præfectura pagi totius est demandata hodieque Persæ vocant كد خدا, cum unius domus dominum هبلج significat. Ita major *Cadchoda*, quam *Hyleg*, οἰκοδισπότης τῆς γενέσεως, quam ἐπικρατήτωρ, vel χρονοκράτωρ. Tale inter hos discrimen est, teste Porphyrio, quale est inter ναύκληρον et κυβερνήτην. Genituræ Dominus hoc est *Cadchoda* totius genituræ possidet summam, et universam spatii ejus substantiam.

gin must be ascribed, and in which it was maintained,⁴²⁶

That God *from out the sun* a king would send,
And cause dire war in all the world to end :

exhibit the doctrine, with the modification, which it received, from a branch of the Assyrian population, who possessed the advantages of a later and fuller revelation, than that by which the patriarchal age was enlightened.⁴²⁷ My immediate concern, however, is with the peculiar views of the native Assyrians. The notions which they formed of the author of the mundane restitution, differed but accidentally from those which were inculcated by

At Chronocrator, sive *ἡλιακῶν*, particulam temporis vitæ et laciniam gubernat, et res quisque certas casusque speciales; ut alius nuptias curat, alius parentes, alius facultates, alius actiones et sic de aliis.

⁴²⁶ Vid. supr. p. 170. conf. p. 168.

⁴²⁷ I. Vossius, remarking on "the Pollio" of Virgil, expresses himself with no less justness, than appositeness to the present occasion; De Sibyl. Orac. cap. v. "Jam *nova progenies caelo dimittitur alto.*" Ita hæc sunt interpretata, ac si *e throno Dei, id est ex sole* proditurus esset Christus. Hæc nempe vetus Judæorum opinio profluxit ex eo quod in Psalmis legitur; '*In sole posuit tabernaculum suum.*' After quoting the Sibylline verses now before us, he adds, "Sic quoque complures olim sensisse Gnosticos, colligo ex Theodoti excerptis, apud Clem. Alexandr. Ἐν τῷ Ἡλίῳ ἴδεται τὸ σκῆμα αὐτῶ· ἔμοι μὲν ἔν φασι τὸ σῶμα τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῷ Ἡλίῳ αὐτὸν ἀποτίθεσθαι, ὡς Ἑρμογένους. σῶμα δὲ λέγουσιν, οἱ μὲν τὸ σκῆνος αὐτῶ, οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶν πνευμάτων Ἐκκλησίαν. Nec dubitandum quin Hermogenes et Gnostici opinionem istam, de statione Christi et Christianorum in sole, e Sibyllinis oraculis ad suam transtulerint sectam. Non solos autem Gnosticos, sed et complures etiam Judæos, et præcipue Essenos, eorumque progeniem *Sampsæos, Solem*, tanquam Dei stationem, coluisse, satis docet mos *Essenorum*, antiquius scrobem effodientium, et eundum postea replentium, si quando alvum essent egesturi, ne lucem et radios *Dei* e sole progredientes inquinarent, ὡς μὴ τὰς αὐγάς ὑβρίζοιεν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Nugas agunt qui verba Josephi, vel corrigere, vel aliter interpretari conantur."

the Sibylline oracles ; both referring it to the god, or genius, whom they considered regent of the sun ; and conceiving that with his restauration the age would be once more renewed which they termed golden and Saturnian. In the corruptions introduced into the hereditary faith of the Assyrians, through the innovations of native science, or the fictions of foreign mythology, it is impossible to trace, even to a probable original, many of their superstitious errors.⁴²⁷ It is, however, sufficient to be assured, that, for some mysterious reason, which they were unwilling or unable to unfold, Belus was considered identical with the great planetary Ruler,⁴²⁸ who presided at the regenera-

⁴²⁷ The high authority, however, from whence the following observation is derived, on the confusion of Belus or Baal with Sol or Apollo, renders it deserving of attention : Seld. de Diis. Syr. II. c. 219. “ Atque cum *Saturnus*, Jupiter, Cœlus, Uranus, ita *fabulis sint confusi*, ut nec ipse *Phœbus* eos, aut *ab iis ipsum se* queat satis distinguere, numerosaque illa Divûm turba ad *Apollinis sive Solis numen a mythologis reducat*ur : haut amplius sane adeo hæsitandum est, quin *ex uno Belo, Baale, seu Jove*, (sub quibus vocibus *a veri Dei cultu deficientes Solem imprimis adorabant*), ad morem priscorum ridiculum invocato, *innumeri tituli fuerint propagati*. Coacervatis enim elogiis, titulisque congestis capi Numen putabant, maximoque affici inde honore : ita ut tandem quæ diversa solummodo nomina superstitionis primordio fuerant, grassante errore, diversa numina haberentur, qua de re nos plura in Prolegomenis.” Conf. Cleric. ind. in Stanl. Or. Phil. voc. ‘ Belus,’ et ‘ Sol.’

⁴²⁸ Servius in Æneid. I. 729. “ Assyrios constat *Saturnum* (*quem eundem et Solem dicunt*)...coluisse. Unde et lingua Punica Bal Deus dicitur. *Apud Assyrios autem Bel dicitur, quadam sacrorum ratione, et Saturnus et Sol.*” It appears from the following testimony that Servius was well acquainted with the nature of the Great Year : Id. ibid. I. 273. “ Tria sunt genera annorum ; aut enim Lunarum annus est, 30 dierum ; aut Solstitialis 12 mensium ; aut secundum Tullium, *Magnus*, qui tenet duodecim millia LIV. annos, ut in Hortensio : ‘ Horum annorum, quos in Fastis habemus, *Magnus* duodecim millia quingentos quinquaginta quatuor amplectitur.’” Conf. in Æn. III. 284.

tion of the world. With this clue, the intricacies of the labyrinth may be easily explored.

In the history of him, whom the Assyrians acknowledged as their great progenitor, and to whom the name of Baal, in the original and proper sense of the term, was pre-eminently applicable, as he was *the Father of the family*⁴²⁹ of all mankind; in the history of Adam, in fact, the fiction finds a direct and adequate explanation. For under our common parent, the Fall had taken place; and to him was given the intimation of a Recovery. But as the nature of the restitution was "a mystery, which was hid from ages and generations;" the Assyrians, having engaged in the vain attempt to ascertain it, and having been determined, in their research after it, by the peculiar tendency of their science, naturally fell into the notion of an identical restitution; in which the same persons would be introduced into the scene, and the same incidents be repeated, which had occurred in the first age of the world. In the very nature of the Great Year, by which they professed to calculate the period of this change, the notion of a restitution was implied;⁴³⁰ on

⁴²⁹ Vid. *supr.* p. 103.

⁴³⁰ Vid. *supr.* p. 147. n. 334. Such as we have seen, in the case of the Chaldee term of 12 years, was the notion implied in more limited periods, to which the name of a Great Year was given; vid. *supr.* p. 94. n. 204. Even to the shortest term to which the name was applied, the same observation is applicable: Plin. Nat. Hist. II. xlvii. "Omnium quidem si libeat observare, minimos ambitus, *redire easdem vices, quadriennio exacto*, Eudoxus putat, non ventorum modo, verum et reliquarum tempestatum, et est principium lustris ejus semper intercalari uno die, caniculæ ortu." In honor of Eudoxus, it is to be observed, that he was one of the earliest of the astronomers, who conceived a just estimate of the Chaldean astrology; Cicer. de Div. II lxxxviii. "*Ad Chaldeeorum monstra veniamus: de quibus Eudoxus, Platonis auditor, in astrologia, judi-*

such a notion, as a first principle, the Chaldee Astrology was founded; which was cultivated as a science, that professed to ascertain the course of future events, from a knowledge of previous occurrences; the whole tenor of which, as determined by the influence of the planets, might be divined, from an observance of their revolutions and periods.⁴³¹ Such being the instrument which this people applied to ascertain the nature and determine the period of the Great Restitution; it can be little matter of surprise, that a contemplation of the uniform motions and periods of those luminaries, which they believed to be the causes of the regular returns of the seasons, and constituted the rulers of human characters actions and events,⁴³² should have led them into the notion of an identical restitution; the period of which

cio doctissimorum hominum, facile princeps, *sic oppinatur*, id quod scriptum reliquit, ‘Chaldæis, in prædictione, et in notatione cujusque vitæ, ex natali die, minime esse credendum.’

⁴³¹ Vid. Cicer. uti sup. p. 180. n.³⁹². Stanl. ubi supr. I. II. xvii. “Astronomi [Chaldaici] actiones nostras et vitam pendere ex stellis, cum erraticis, tum fixis, *humanumque genus multiplici earum cursu regi* putabant: ‘Chaldæi dicunt, ait idem scriptor, [Sext. Empir. adv. Mathem. Lib. V. init.] septem stellas (planetas) *habere rationem causarum agentium in unumquodque eorum, quæ in vita accidunt*; adjuvare autem partes zodiaci.’ Existimabant eas esse causas boni et mali, prout hora natali dispositæ erant, atque *ex contemplatione earum naturæ, futura hominibus posse prædici.*”

⁴³² Cicer. uti supr. II. lxxxix. “Cum autem in eam ipsam partem orbis [errantia sidera] venerint, in qua sit ortus ejus qui nascitur; aut in eam quæ conjunctum aliquid habeat, aut consentiens; ea triangula illi et quadrata nominant... Etenim *cum tempore anni, tempestatumque cæli conversiones, commutationesque tantæ fiant accessu stellarum, et recessu*, cumque ea vi solis efficiantur quæ videmus; non verisimile solum, sed etiam verum esse censent, perinde utcunque temperatus sit aer, ita pueros orientes animari, atque formari, *ex eoque ingenia, mores, animus, corpus, actionem vitæ, casus cujusque, eventusque fingi.*”

might be determined, as the motions on which it depended were to be ascertained, by scientific calculation.

In forming this arbitrary notion of the return of the first happy age, under their great progenitor; though it appears, that they erred as grievously, respecting the nature of the restitution, as the character of the personage, under whom it would be effected: it is not less certain, that they formed the expectation of a Great Deliverer, and had attained some knowledge of the time of his advent. Nor does it appear easy to assign any plausible reason, for the bride that was prepared, and the nuptial bed which was decked, at the top of the great temple of Belus, in Babylon;⁴³³ if, in so extraordinary a custom, no allusion were preserved to the promise which was given of a Deliverer, through the seed of the woman. And the confirmation appears not slight, which this conjecture derives, from the obvious allusion to the account of Adam and the Serpent, retained in the worship ascribed to Bel and the Dragon;⁴³⁴ the apocryphal account of which, however inadequate it may be found to answer the demands of a higher theology, realises every expectation, that may be formed of the oriental mythology. Among the traditions preserved by this ancient people, it must be superfluous further to insist on the knowledge, which they retained of the Conflagration and Deluge, and that the periods in which nature was subject to these great convulsions, was distinguished by Grand Conjunctions of the planets.

⁴³³ Vid. Herodot. I. clxxxii. Conf. Stanl. Or. Phil. I. II. xxxii. Seld. de Dīs Syr. II. i. p. 199.

⁴³⁴ Vid. Seld. ubi supr. II. xvii.

I shall now venture to conclude, that the Chaldean science, when viewed in a proper light, is so far from creating any objection to the conclusion, which it is my object to establish, that it may be legitimately urged in its support. Nor is this inference in the least affected, by the extravagant antiquity which the Assyrians claimed for their astrology, and pretended to support by early astronomical observations. The result to which every competent inquirer into the subject is now led by investigation, puts a negative on these pretences; and leads to the conviction, that astronomy was not cultivated, by the Chaldees, as a science, until a comparatively modern period.⁴³⁵ They were indeed early observers, but very recent astronomers.⁴²⁶ Their science, to judge of it by

⁴³⁵ La Lande Astron. Liv. II. § 244. "Ptolémée dans son *Almageste*, le plus ancien ouvrage que nous ayons, emploie trois éclipses de la lune dont la première avoit été observée à Babylone, 720 ans avant notre ère. Il paroît donc, que *c'est vers cette date* qu'il faut placer les *plus anciennes observations* qu' eussent mérité d'être conservées; tout ce que avoit précédé n'étoit qu'un commencement grossier de connaissances astronomiques: il se réduisoit à l'observation du Zodiaque, des tems du lever et du coucher héliaque des constellations, et du retour des places de la lune; il n'y a point d'apparence que la période de 19 ans, 10 jours, qui ramene à-peu-près les éclipses dans la même ordre ait été connue de ces premiers Caldéens, quoique on l'ait appelée période Caldaïque." Comp. Vince's Compl. Astron. Vol. II. § 1252. Flamsteed Hist. Cœlest. Vol. III. Proleg. p. 7.

⁴³⁶ La Lande *ibid.* § 245. "Parmi les Caldéens Jupiter, Bélus passoit pour avoir été le principal inventeur de l'astronomie, en même tems qu'il avoit été le fondateur de Babylone, (Plin. VI. xxvi.) L'époque de Bélus, est placée à l'an 1320 avant notre ère. . . . Le temple de Jupiter Bélus, que Semiramis avoit fait bâtir à Babylone renfermoit une tour immense. . . . Diodore de Sicile dit qu'on convient que ce temple étoit d'une hauteur excessive, et que les Caldéens y avoient parfaitement observé les levers et les couchers des astres. Il est donc vrai,

its internal evidence, can found no just pretensions to an antiquity, which long precedes the era of Nabonasar: which there are strong conclusive grounds, for supposing the proper epoch from which their astrology should be dated.⁴³⁷ Previously to the observation of some eclipses at Babylon, of which the Greeks have transmitted an account, there is no adequate authority for imputing to them a knowledge of the very rudiments of astronomy; and by a singular coincidence which confirms the preceding observation on the true epoch of their science, these eclipses are assigned a date, near the commencement of that celebrated era.⁴³⁸ Influenced by these considerations, and certain coincidences of time and circumstance, a great practical astronomer has not only dated the commencement of the Chaldean astronomy from the time of the captivity; but has ascribed its origin to the knowledge which the Jewish cap-

que plus de 800 ans avant l'ère chrétienne, les Babyloniens examinoient attentivement les mouvemens célestes; voyons maintenant à quoi ils étoient parvenus. J'ai dit que leur astronomie se reduisoit presque à l'invention du Zodiaque, et à la division du ciel en constellations." &c. The epoch of Belus, however, is here brought much too low, for reasons already specified; vid. *supr.* p. 9, n. ¹⁶. p. 148. n. ³³⁷.

⁴³⁷ Vid. *supr.* p. 196. n. ⁴¹⁹. conf. p. 153. n. ³⁴⁵. p. 126. n. ²⁸²

⁴³⁸ The first eclipse noticed by Ptolemy, as observed by the Chaldees, is referred to the 29th day of the month Thoth, An. Nabonas. 26. in the first year of Merodac, king or viceroy of Babylon; which corresponds with March 19. An. Jul. Per. 3993. B. C. 721. vid. Ptol. Magn. Op. IV. vi. It is observed by Flamsteed, that the observation of this eclipse occurred the year after the deportation of the Israelites into captivity; and that in the following year, two eclipses were observed in the space of six months, at Babylon; Hist. Cœlest. uti *supr.* p. 5. I have already noticed some remarkable circumstances, by which this epoch was distinguished; vid. *supr.* p. 161. n. ³²⁸.

tives imparted to their Assyrian conquerors.⁴³⁹ In justification of a conclusion, which militates against early prescriptive opinion, he judiciously observes, that the Israelites were necessarily led, by the nature of their festivals, which depended on the lunar conjunctions, to a closer attention to the lunar motions, than the Chaldees, whose astrology was founded on the periods and appearances of the planets.

It is not to be dissembled, however, that an extravagant antiquity has been ascribed to the Assyrian astronomy, on the ground of positive observations; of which, it has been asserted, that records were preserved from the remotest ages. But when the inducements which existed to exaggerate, on this subject, are taken into account, with the facility with which calculations may be proleptically made for any definite period; they will not be thought deserving of serious attention.

Of such a description is the period of 27000 years, mentioned by Hipparchus, as ascribed by the Assyrians to the reigns of the seven planetary rulers.⁴⁴⁰ So slight is the foundation, however,

⁴³⁹ From a comparison of the dates of the earliest astronomical observations, ascribed to the Chaldees and Greeks, with the period of the captivity, Flamsteed comes to the following conclusion; *Hist. Cœl. uti supr. p. 5.* "Atque hinc Assyrios, Medos, Chaldæos, a captivis Israelitis, *Astronomiæ elementa primo didicisse credibile videtur.*"

⁴⁴⁰ *Vid. Procl. in Tim. uti supr. p. 171. n. 378.* It is of some importance to observe, that from the transmission of the account of this period, by Hipparchus, it must be inferred, that it could have had no connexion with the precession of the equinoxes, and the great period of their revolution, which is now termed the Platonic Year; as the supposition, that Hipparchus could have derived the knowledge of either, from the Assyrians or Chaldeans, is utterly irreconcilable with the fact of his having claimed the merit of the discovery. To this merit;

which the Chaldean astrology, finds in this period, to sustain its antiquity, or prove it coeval with the world, that it might be cited in subversion of the notion of its early origin. As it is an express description of seven revolutions of the Great Year, it supposes the world to have been so often destroyed and renovated:⁴⁴¹ so that its age being calculated from the last restitution, it was virtually ascribed a duration of merely three millenniums.

Of many of those periods, the accounts which have been transmitted to us, vary so materially in the number of the years assigned to their duration, as to deprive them of every claim to attention. In two periods mentioned by Pliny and Berossus, as fixing the epoch of the Chaldean astronomy, the question lies between hundreds of years

however, he expressly laid claim; having professed to found his discovery on his own observations, and those of his predecessor Timocharis. A curiosity to ascertain, how far he might have been anticipated, in his invention, by the Assyrians, would naturally induce him to make inquiry, on the subject, among the Chaldean astrologers; and the result of his search, is thus probably communicated in the account, which has been transmitted by Iamblichus; which bears this internal evidence of its truth, that it accords, in principle, with that which Seneca has preserved, as derived from Berossus. The astronomers of the middle ages rated the annual precession of the equinoxes at something less than $54''\ 33'''$. and reduced the period of their revolution to 23750 years: vid. Ricciol. *Almag. Lib. VI. xvi.* It is now generally allowed that the annual precession amounts to $50''\ 25'$ the secular to $1^\circ\ 23'\ 45''$. which rate assigns to 72 years, 1° . though no more was assigned to 100 years, by Hipparchus and Ptolemy. On this subject Derham has observed, *Astrotheol. B. IV. i.* "Flamsteed agrees Riccioli's numbers to come nearest the truth, viz. $1^\circ\ 23'\ 20''$. in 100 years, or $50''$ in a year. According to which rate, the motion called the Platonic Year is accomplished in 25920 years:" which merely wants 80 years of 26000.

⁴⁴¹ Vid. *supr.* p. 182. et n.

and hundreds of thousands.⁴⁴² The reading which gives the lesser number has the authority of some manuscripts in its favor; and carries so far an evidence of its truth, as it refers the earliest recorded observations to the time, from which we have positive grounds for dating the origin of the science. If the testimony of those early writers is thus understood, it directly decides against the pretensions of the Chaldeans.

We may even adopt the greatest latitude, and admit the highest numbers, assigned those dates, to be correct; even on the internal evidence, they may be proved the expression of factitious and arbitrary periods, deduced from remarkable epochs, upon a principle of systematic misrepresentation. On reducing them to their first elements, by reversing this principle, they resolve themselves into three the most remarkable dates in the Assyrian annals. Of these periods, one of 720000 years, which is mentioned by Epigenes, thus proves nearly identical with the epoch of the foundation of the Assyrian empire under Belus.⁴⁴³ One of

⁴⁴² The lesser number is, I find, adopted by Prof. Vince, who gives the following account of both the periods noticed above: *Astron. uti supr.* § 1252. "Epigenes speaks of Babylonian observations for the space of 720 years, Berosus allows them to have been made 480 years, before his time, which carries them back to 746 A. C. and this is in some measure confirmed by the oldest eclipses, which are recorded by Ptolemy, one of which is mentioned to have happened 721 years A. C. and two 720 A. C." As the numerals in which those dates are expressed, are raised to thousands, by having a line drawn over them; and as this line was liable to be omitted by transcribers, or obliterated by time; it is probable that the highest numbers express the true reading of the mss. particularly, as it appears from Cicero, that the Chaldeans claimed an extravagant antiquity for their astronomical observations.

⁴⁴³ Vid. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* VII. lvi. The period of 720000

480000, mentioned by Berosus and Critodemus, and one of 473000, mentioned by Diodorus and Cicero, corresponds with the time of the accession of the second dynasty of the Assyrian monarchy, under Belataras.⁴⁴⁴ And one of 150000 years, ascribed by Alexander Polyhistor to Berosus, agrees with the epoch of its restoration, under the dynasty of Nabonasar.⁴⁴⁵ As the principle of under-

days, reduced to astronomical years, of 360 days, amounts to 2000 years; which sum being deducted from A. J. P. 4383, the era of the taking of Babylon, by Alexander, leaves A. J. P. 2383: which corresponds with the 26th year from the accession of Belus, A. J. P. 2357. B. C. 2357. comp. Helvic. Tab. Chron. p. 5. f. Vignol. uti supr. II. p. 636.

⁴⁴⁴ Vid. Plin. *Ibid.* Diod. Sic. II. xxxi. Cic. de *Divin.* I. xxxvi. The period of 480000 days, reduced as above, amounts to 1333 astronomical years, and 4 months: which deducted from A. J. P. 4392, when Berosus flourished, leaves A. J. P. 3059. B. C. 1655. corresponding with the time of Balataras' accession, the founder of the second dynasty of Assyrian monarchs: comp. Helvic. *ibid.* Vignol. *ibid.* p. 638. The period of 473040 days reduced as before, amounts to 1314 astronomical years; which deducted from A. J. P. 4383, leaves A. J. P. 3069. corresponding with the 9th year from the accession of Balatras, A. J. P. 3059. B. C. 1655. comp. Helvic. Tab. Chron. p. 16. k. Vignol. *ibid.* p. 640.

⁴⁴⁵ Vid. Syncel. p. 28. Euseb. Scalig. p. 5. The period of 150000 days, reduced as before, amounts to 416 years, 8 months; which, as Conringius first observed, corresponds precisely with the time intervening between the era of Nabonasar, and Alexander: vid. *Advers. Chron.* ix p. 166. The hint has been improved upon by M. des Vignolles, who carries the calculation to the utmost nicety; shewing that conformably to Berosus's statement, 150000 days had intervened, almost to a day, between the epoch of Nabonasar, and the day of Alexander's entering Asia, in July. An. Nab. 417. To 149760, the sum of the days in 416 years, elapsed of this era,—he adds 40, the days unexpired of the current year of Nabonasar 417, which began Nov. 14:—and 192 the sum of the days from the beginning of the year to July 11th,—which form a total of 150000; and he shews, from Arrian, that Alexander entered Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, in the month Hecatombion, which began, the same year, July 9th.

standing days for years, by which these results are brought out, is perfectly legitimate ; as founded on the idiom of the oriental languages, in which the terms year and day were confounded,⁴⁴⁶ and on the principles of the ancient astrology, in which the periods of great years were expressed by the days of the lesser cycles:⁴⁴⁷ the coincidences to which they lead are fully adequate to their establishment. That four or five different periods, though expressed in round numbers, reported on different authorities, and calculated at different times, should, by mere accident, coincide so nearly, with three the most remarkable epochs of the Assyrian annals, is a supposition so repugnant to all credibility, as to be inadmissible, even for a moment. These periods being thus understood, the earliest proves but coeval with the epoch of the foundation of the Assyrian monarchy ; of which I have already spoken, as corresponding, to an extraordinary degree, with the date assigned that monarchy, in the sacred chronology.⁴⁴⁸

There are, however, other tests by which the accuracy of these calculations may be proved, and the age of the Chaldean astrology directly established. Callisthenes, who attended Alexander the Great, in his oriental expedition, having taken the pains to inquire into the antiquity of the science, sent his grand uncle Aristotle, an account of observations which were made for 1903 years, by the Babylonians.⁴⁴⁹ When this period is calculated backwards, from the time of the entrance of Babylon, by the Macedonian con-

⁴⁴⁶ Vid. supr. p. 183. n. 397.

⁴⁴⁷ Vid. ibid. p. 182. n. 396. p. 188. n. 405.

⁴⁴⁸ Vid. supr. p. 9. n. 16. conf. infr. p. 215. n. 458.

⁴⁴⁹ Simplic. in Aristot. de Cœl. II. com. 46.

queror; another extraordinary coincidence is the result,⁴⁵⁰ as we are again led to the epoch which has been just mentioned, as confirmed by the chronology of scripture.

With these views, in fact, the testimony of Aristotle himself fully agrees. So far is the philosopher from ascribing an antiquity to the Chaldean astrology, extending to several thousand years; that he lowers the date of the Egyptian observations to 2000 years, and places the epoch of the Babylonian not much earlier.⁴⁵¹ And in the period of the Canicular Year, which both nations employed, is implied a decisive proof, that their observations are here ascribed the most indulgent latitude. As the theory on which that period is founded involves a practical error of more than thirty six years;⁴⁵² had their observations continued from the beginning to the close of it; it is wholly inconceivable that this error should have remained undetected. Conformably to the principles of that theory, it was conceived, that the dog-star by which the beginning of the Great Canicular Year was determined, would rise heliacally, upon the same day, after 1461 years had expired, from the commencement of the cycle.⁴⁵³ But from the excess of the sidereal above the civil year, its rising must have anticipated their

⁴⁵⁰ On deducting 1903. the period mentioned by Callisthenes from A. J. P. 4383. when Alexander took possession of Babylon, there remains A. J. P. 2480. B. C. 2234. which corresponds with the 18th year of the reign of Semiramis, from whence Africanus dates the commencement of the Babylonian era; vid. Scalig. Can. Isag. p. 271. Vignol. uti supr. p. 634.

⁴⁵¹ Arist. de Cælo. II. xii. § 60. "Ἦκυσα δ' ἐγὼ Αἰγυπτίους ἄστρον παρατηρήσεις ἔχειν ἐγγεγραμμένας, ἐκ ἐλάττωσιν ἢ διασχίλοις ἰνιασθῆις, Βαβυλωνίους δὲ ἔτι πλείωσιν.

⁴⁵² Vid. supr. p. 205. n. 435.

⁴⁵³ Vid. supr. p. 94. n. 204. p. 202. n. 432.

calculations thirty six years; and at the close of the period they would have consequently found a difference of nine days, between the opening of the new year, and the appearance of the star, by which its beginning should be determined.⁴⁵⁴ As no greater skill was necessary to bring these prints to the test, than that they should be able to count the years of their cycle, and at its expiration observe, whether the star, which should determine its beginning, appeared on the new-year's day, before sunrise: it is impossible to account for the error, in which they remained, on any other ground, than that their observations had not embraced the commencement and the close of this very limited period.⁴⁵⁵

I have engaged in this brief review of the great periods, for which it has been asserted, that astronomy was cultivated by the Chaldees, not merely

⁴⁵⁴ As the sidereal year consists of 365d. 6h. 9'. 11"4. and the Egyptian civil year of 365 d. only, it required but 1424 sidereal years to make up 1425 Egyptian, containing respectively about 520125 days. But 1460 Julian years, or 1461 Egyptian, were necessary, to allow the beginning of the year to retrograde 365 days, in order to make up for the loss of a day every fourth year, on account of the neglect of the intercalation. When 1425 of this period, of course, had expired, the sidereal year was completed; and at the end of 1461 years, the sum of more than 6 hours, accumulating yearly, for 36 years, amounted to 9 days; by which the beginning of the great year, and that of the sidereal year were of course separated.

⁴⁵⁵ Beyond the terms in which La Lande has expressed himself, on the subject of the Canicular Year, it seems almost useless to look for any proof, that the ancients could never have observed the beginning and end of such a period. "The ancients," he observes, "*were in error, in the calculation of it, above thirty six years: . . . the period was not such as was believed; the civil year neither agreed, at the end of 1460 years, with the tropical year, nor the sidereal.*" vid. *supr.* p. 187. n.⁴⁰³ How, it may be then asked, is it possible, it could have fallen under their observation?

with the view of removing any objection, they may create to the presumption, that the Assyrians, who had formed the expectation of a Great Deliverer, were not unacquainted with the time of his advent. From the positive results to which these periods lead, when resolved into their first principles, in the application of which the Chaldeans were versed, above all the ancients: I conceive we may deduce a *confirmation* of the position. From the facility which these periods afforded the least practiced calculators, to compute the time elapsed, from the old and new era of Babylon; which marked the epochs of the foundation and restitution of the Assyrian monarchy, under Belus and Nabonasar; no difficulty could have opposed the computation of the time of the Great Restitution, with which, it has been shewn, both epochs were, in some measure connected.⁴⁵⁶ The period for which the Assyrian and Median empire had lasted, was too well known to be mistaken: the origin of the Persian monarchy was not less certain, nor less easy to ascertain;⁴⁵⁷ and the time of its subversion being identified with that of Alexander's entrance into Babylon, which was the great epoch from which those calculations were generally made; the utmost facility was consequently afforded the computer, to connect the earliest epoch of the Assyrian annals, with the time when he flourished. So compact and connected are the links, by which the chronological chain is held together, that even at the present

⁴⁵⁶ Vid. sup. p. 148. seq.

⁴⁵⁷ Petavius thus easily ascertains the time of the foundation of the Assyrian monarchy, by a calculation built upon the different epochs of the Assyrian, Median, and Persian empire. *Rat. Temp. P. II. Lib. II. iii.*

day, chronologists find little difficulty in ascending by its aid, and measuring the distance between their own age, and the foundation of the first monarchy, within a few years of the deluge.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁸ The proofs establishing the epoch of the Assyrian monarchy, are compressed by Helvicus within a short compass, to whom the reader may be referred; vid. *Theatr. Hist. Chron.* p. 5. f. Having premised that the calculation of this epoch should be made *à posteriori*, from the fall of Sardanapalus, last king of Assyria, and the rise of Arbaces, first king of the Medes; and having stated, after Justin, following Trogius Pompeius, the time of the duration of the Assyrian monarchy, he fixes the epoch of its foundation at the commencement of the Babylonian era, A. J. P. 2482. B. C. 2232. and shews its correspondence with scripture. He then produces the following authorities, in confirmation of his computation; from which it may be collected, how easily the beginning of the Babylonian era might be determined, *Ibid.* "Ad hoc Justini seu Trogi testimonium confirmandum" &c. "It contributes greatly to confirm this testimony of Justin, or Trogius, that the computation of Diodorus Siculus, adopted from Ctesias, agrees with it, in an extraordinary degree; who declares the Assyrian empire lasted 1360 years to the fall of Sardanapalus. Count backwards 1360 years, from the fall of Sardanapalus, and you will come to the head of the Babylonian era, and at the same time, to the beginning of the reign of Belus. But the Babylonian era was unfolded by Callisthenes, who informed Aristotle, from the Babylonian archives, that Babylon was taken by Alexander in the year 1903 of the era of the Chaldees, as is stated in Simplicius. Which notation accurately accords with the computation of Diodorus. For from the fall of Sardanapalus, 543 years are numbered to the capture of Babylon, by Alexander: to which, if you add the 1360 years, occurring between the foundation of the empire and the fall of Sardanapalus, you will come to the year 1903 of the era of Babylon. Besides this, from Velleius Paterculus, the same number of years, as are stated by Justin, is collected, though by a different hypothesis; namely 1300 from Ninus to the fall of Sardanapalus, and the accession of Arbaces. Vid. *Scal. Can.* p. 313. et *Lips. Not. in Velleium.* So much for the foundation of the Assyrian empire. The beginning of the monarchy, all historians, as well ethnic as christian, refer to Ninus. Vid. *Diodor. Justin. Dionya.*

Nor let it be objected, that insuperable obstacles arise, to embarrass the computation of this early period of the history of mankind, from the obscurity in which the antediluvian ages are involved; or the uncertainty introduced into the ancient chronology, by the contradictory calculations of the Hebrews, Greeks and Samaritans. It is not necessary, in meeting this objection, to have recourse to the plea, that in proportion as our inquiries are carried up, these difficulties, which merely arise from the imperfect views, or false representations of later ages, must disappear: and that a period existed in the annals of our race, in which the scattered traditions of mankind, however widely dispersed, made up one uniform and consistent testimony. On limiting our views even to the most obscure periods, and remote nations, some proof of the existence of such an age, may be deduced, from the uniformity with which, even in them, the leading events in the general history are attested. Nor are the proofs of their veracity deducible merely from the accuracy with which some remarkable dates are fixed, or the fidelity with which the general tenor of incidents is recorded: but from the clue which is furnished, for unravelling the perplexities, and clearing up the misrepresentations of later ages, and reconciling their inconsistencies with the common voice of antiquity.

Oros. Hieron. But most chronologers, investigate the commencement of the Assyrian monarchy, not from the beginning of Cyaxares' but the end of Astyages's reign, the last of the kings of the Medes, to whom they attribute 35 years, after Herodotus, connecting the beginning of his reign with the end of that of Cyrus. By these means, they anticipate my computation about five years; in the choice between which the reader is left to his own discretion."

In confirmation of these principles, reference might be made to the most prominent incidents of the sacred annals which have received the fullest attestation of their truth, from those ethnic writers, who have compiled the history of the eastern continent. Of the deluge and dispersion of mankind, of the call of Abraham, and the legation of Moses, their accounts, are generally circumstantial, and accurate; allowance being made for their peculiar views, and prejudices, as pagans.⁴⁵⁹ As I am immediately engaged with the opinions and tenets of the Assyrians, the first of those events, especially that connected with the erection of the tower of Babel, claims particular attention: as from this occurrence, that nation, which took the lead in the polity of the east, dated the epoch of its empire.

When this period is carefully determined, with reference to the chronological series, which is deducible from the Mosaic history;⁴⁶⁰ I cannot

⁴⁵⁹ The testimony of those writers has been collected by Josephus and Eusebius; and may be seen in the *Præparatio Evangelica* of the latter writer; Lib. IX. xi. seq.

⁴⁶⁰ I have already had occasion to mention the era of Babylon; and, when it is computed from the statement of the highest authorities, its coincidence with Scripture: vid. *supr.* p. 215. n. ⁴⁵⁸. A computation, made like that of Helvicus, *à posteriori*, is alone calculated to put us in possession of the truth; as the reigns of the Persians and Macedonians are accurately known; whereas the accession of the elder monarchs, on which Africanus and his followers build, is involved in uncertainty and error. The foundation of the computation being once firmly laid; the concurrent testimony of such authorities as Callisthenes, Ctesias, Diodorus, Trogius, and Justin, must be considered definitive, as to the duration of the monarchy: On their authority, Helvicus appears to have most accurately fixed it, A. J. P. 2482; which reduced to Abp. Ussher's calculation of the time of the Creation and Nativity answers to A. M. 1772. B. C. 2232. Or correcting Helvicus, who after Scali-

discover any difference between the sacred and profane account which will justify a denial of their perfect identity. The inspired historian, mentioning in general terms, the dispersion, at the building of the tower of Babel, fixes that event "in the days" of Peleg: whose birth is placed by him, in the year of the world 1757, just thirteen years before the era of Babylon.⁴⁶¹ If we suppose the Assyrians dated the origin of their empire from the foundation of the tower, and dispersion of mankind; there is nothing in the supposition which militates against the account of Peleg's birth, who must have been consequently thirteen years old, at the time the city of Babylon was founded.

From the indefinite manner in which the date of the deluge is fixed, by native Assyrian writers; a Chaldean measure of time being used in computing it, on the length of which different opinions are held; advantage might be taken to assert its identity with the epoch assigned to the flood, by the scripture chronology. According to the

ger miscalculates the nativity two years; the epoch may be determined, by the account of Callisthenes, *uti supr.* p. 212. n. 432. still more accurately A. J. P. 2480. A. M. 1770. B. C. 2234. I shall here take occasion to observe, that Semiramis having founded the great *temple of Belus* at Babylon; the misconception thence probably originated, that *the tower of Babel*, of the destruction of which, accounts are given by Abydenus, Alexander Polyhistor, Eupolemus, and Artapanus, was built in her reign; *vid. supr.* p. 205. n. 436, p. 212. n. 450. It should be, however, observed, as Helvicus has intimated, that there were two epochs of the Assyrian monarchy; one dated from Ninus, and marking the commencement of the historical period, the other from Belus, about 100 years earlier, and marking that of the fabulous.

⁴⁶¹ Helvicus, collecting the several ages ascribed to the patriarchs, remarks, *Tab. Chron.* p. 4. H. ad A. M. 1757. "Peleg nascitur *anno Mundi* 1757. Eberi 34. Gen. xi. 16."

scheme followed in the Septuagint translation of the scriptures, which differs from the Hebrew original, 586 years, this hypothesis might be easily maintained, and justified by ancient authority. But as there is no reason to doubt, that the chronological scheme of this ancient version, which is now very generally abandoned for that of the original, is systematically corrupted: the affinity between it and the Chaldee, can have no other effect than to involve the latter in its discredit. The subject, however, merits some closer attention; not merely on account of the extraordinary confirmation, which the Chaldee computation of time receives from the Egyptian;⁴⁶² but from the clue which it affords for reconciling the Samaritan and Greek schemes of chronology with the Hebrew.

When the dates ascribed by the Chaldees to the events of the antediluvian history, are internally considered, little doubt can be entertained, that the system of their chronology has been accommodated to the principles of a favorite science. While they agree with the Hebrews, in supposing ten princes reigned before the Deluge, which have been identified with the ten patriarchs, mentioned by Moses;⁴⁶³ they assign the space of 120 sari, to their collective reigns,⁴⁶⁴ by which period,

⁴⁶² Vid. Syncel. Chronogr. p. 17. Referring to this chronologer, it is accordingly observed by the authors of the Ant. Hist. B. I. ch. i. Vol. I. p. 272. "The Egyptians, who would give place to no one nation in point of antiquity, have also a series of kings, who, as is pretended, reigned in Egypt *before the flood*; and to be even with the Chaldees, *began their account the very same year that their's does*, according to Berosus."

⁴⁶³ Vid. infr. p. 223. comp. 224. n.⁴⁴¹.

⁴⁶⁴ The admirable Bp. Pearson, improving upon Scaliger, while remarking on the exorbitant length of the reigns, ascribed to the Egyptian kings, thus expresses himself: Exp. of Creed. Vol. II. p. 68. "As Diodorus Siculus takes notice of *the E-*

of course, the distance of time intervening between the deluge and the creation is determined. Respecting the length of the Chaldean saros, different opinions are maintained: according to which, this interval is variously estimated; some computing it at 432000 years, some at 1200, and some at 2220.⁴⁶⁵ These different conjectures, on the nature and value of this ancient measure of time are exposed to the direct objection, that they were wholly unnoticed by a writer who has minutely described the Chaldean astrology, has professedly undertaken to determine the different cycles received among the ancients, and has expressly ascribed one, consisting of 12 years, to the Chaldees.⁴⁶⁶ That this period gives the true value to the saros, employed by Berossus, in fixing the date of the Deluge, a single consideration, out of

gyptians, and Abydenus of the Chaldeans, whose ten first kings reigned 120 Sari. Ὡς τὰς πάντας εἶναι βασιλεῖς δέκα ἂν ὁ χρόνος τῆς βασιλείας συνῆξει σάρος ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. He subsequently adds in explaining the Saros: "neither was this the account only of Abydenus, but also of Berossus."

⁴⁶⁵ Three interpretations are given of the Saros; Alexander Polyhistor, and after him Eusebius, make it 36000 years; of course 120 Sari amount to 432000 years. Two monks, Anianus and Panodorus, by substituting *days* for years, reduced this account to 1183 years, 6 months, and 25 days; estimating the Saros at 9 years, 10 months, and a half. Thus far Scaliger; whose statement is repeated by Bp. Pearson: but M. des Vignolles, adopting the ancient year of 360d. makes the Saros 10 years, or 120 months; the sum of 120 Sari, of course, 1200 years. Bp. Pearson offers a third interpretation of the Saros, from Suidas, in which it is made 222 *months*: or 18 years 6 months: hence the sum of 120 Sari amounts to 2220 years. But Halley made it appear, that the period of the lunar Saros, which is mentioned by Pliny, was 223 months: and mss. have been found to confirm his conjecture of this being the true reading in Pliny, as well as to confirm that of Pearson, who has corrected the number in Suidas.

⁴⁶⁶ Vid. Censorin. de Die Natal. cap. xiii. conf. supr. p. 94. n. 204.

many that might be advanced, seems very fully to establish. When the length of the ten reigns antecedent to the Deluge, is computed by this period; they collectively form the sum of 1440 years, which has been already mentioned as the Great Year of the Chaldees.⁴⁶⁷ That this result is not merely accidental, is an assumption, which is borne out, not merely by the great improbability implied in the supposition, that the product of ten sums, casually taken, like the sums ascribed to the reigns of those ten princes, should exactly coincide with this remarkable cycle. Without insisting on the force of the term, *saros*, the chance of error to which the ancients were liable, in explaining the term, and to which we are exposed in understanding their expositions:⁴⁶⁸ one considera-

⁴⁶⁷ Vid. infr. p. 223. comp. supr. p. 157. n. 353. The cycle however existed previously to the discovery of the method of intercalating by months: and preceded the Egyptian cycle of 1460 years, to which it gave rise, as Sir J. Marsham has shewn: Can. Chron. p. 296. It originated in the old astronomical year of 360 days, the beginning of which retrograded through the seasons in 72 revolutions; 20 of which formed an *Annus Maximus* of 1440 years. The same period arises, on multiplying 120, the number of sari ascribed to the antediluvian reigns; by 12, the number of years ascribed by Censorinus, to the *Annus Magnus* of the Chaldeans.

⁴⁶⁸ The term *saros* has been deduced from the Syriac ܣܪܘܣ , ten; and has been accordingly understood as meaning a *decad*: vid. Allin, Disc. or Anc. Year. p. 165. But I believe it may be derived with greater probability from ܣܪܘܣ , to perfect, and that it was rather analogous to a *period*, or *cycle*. This derivation accords with the best authenticated description of the Chaldee *saros*, which we have received; in which it is represented as a *lunar cycle* of 223 months, which is wholly unconnected with a *decad*. vid. supr. p. 120. n. 465. The period of 12 years, to which I would extend the term, consisted of a Great Year, in which every month was equal to a year; and was supposed to bring round a perfect vicissitude of the seasons. This period, as constituted of 12 ancient years, consisted of 4320 days; which might easily give rise to the extravagant period of

tion seems to place the point beyond all reasonable exception. The great conversions of nature, between which we find the period of a Chaldee Great Year thus placed, as interposed between the Creation and Deluge, are precisely those changes which the Great Year was conceived to bring round, by its revolution.⁴⁶⁹ I cannot think, it will be thought necessary, that more time should be consumed in investigating the length of 120 sari; or in proving, that the Chaldees computed the period of 1440 years, between the Creation and Deluge; and that in the preference shewn by them to this period, a blind submission was paid to their science, to the demands of which, they sacrificed the accuracy of their chronology.

From the principles thus unfolded, I will now venture to assert, that a solution may be drawn, not merely of the difficulties in which the Chaldee computation of the earliest epochs is embarrassed; but a clue may be found, to unravel the intricacies in which the Samaritan and Septuagint calculations are involved, and to account for their deviations from the Hebrew. For this purpose, I shall exhibit a comparative view of the periods ascribed to the antediluvian patriarchs, or princes

432000 years, assigned by Abydenus to the antediluvian princes: as the letters by which numbers are distinguished in the Syriac, and other oriental languages, are raised in value merely by points and lines, placed over and under them; and as the term year and day were in those languages convertible. Thus the character ܕ , which expresses 4, acquires from the annexed points the following values; ܕ 40, ܕ 4000, ܕ 40000, ܕ 40000000. Thus it is not impossible, that Abydenus, by whom the most extravagant length is ascribed to the saros, might have been deceived or imposed upon; and that, if divested of wilful or accidental error, his statement would differ immaterially, from that which I have hazarded, as to the true length of the saros.

⁴⁶⁹ Vid. *supr.* p. 94. n. ²⁰⁴, p. 147. n. ³⁵⁴, p. 171. n. ³⁷⁹

according to the sacred and profane chronology;⁴⁷⁰ annexing to the former the different dates at which their sons were born, according to the Hebrew Samaritan and Septuagint computation; and to the latter, the number of years into which I conceive the sari should be interpreted.

CHALDEE PRINCES.

PATRIARCHS.

Sari. Years.		Heb. Sam. Sept.		
Alorus <i>reigned</i> ..	10 or 120	Adam	130..130..	230
Alasparus.....	3.. 36	Seth	105..105..	205
Amelon.....	13.. 156	Enos.....	90.. 90..	190
Amenon	12.. 144	Cainan....	70.. 70..	170
Megalaras	18.. 216	Mahaleel..	65.. 65..	165
Daonus	10.. 120	Jared	162.. 62..	162
Euedorachus ...	18.. 216	Enoch.....	65.. 65..	165
Amphis.....	10.. 120	Methuselah	187.. 67..	187
Otiartes	8.. 96	Lamech ...	182 . 53..	188
Xisuthrus	18.. 216	Noah	600..600..	600
<hr/>		<hr/>		
Deluge	120..1440	Deluge..	1656..1307..	2262
Dispersion	1770	Dispers...	1770..1721..	2787

The epoch of the dispersion is here calculated from the age of Peleg, by adding 13 years to the time assigned to his birth, in the accounts of the Hebrew, Samaritan and Septuagint.

As the particular object on which I am engaged is very different from that of tracing the affinities

⁴⁷⁰ The line of Chaldee princes is taken from the lists preserved, by Syncellus, Chron. p. 18. 38. 39. from Abydenus, Apollodorus, and Africanus. The terms of their reigns are generally given from Africanus, the list of Abydenus being imperfect at the beginning, and that of Apollodorus at the latter end. On the authority of the two last, 10 sari are ascribed to the reign of Daonus; such being the number necessary to complete the sum of 120 sari, during which those princes reigned, according to the uniform testimony of Berosus, Abydenus, and Apollodorus.

between the Chaldee traditions and sacred history; I shall merely observe incidentally, that no doubt can be entertained, that the persons, directly opposed in these lists, and assigned a supremacy over the antediluvian world, must be identical.⁴⁷¹ My business is more immediately with the annexed dates, as affording a test of the accuracy of the Chaldees, in their chronological computations.

⁴⁷¹ The identity of the ten Chaldee princes, and Antediluvian patriarchs, is not merely evident, from the general conformity which we are assured existed between the early accounts of the Hebrews and Chaldees, which is expressly attested by Theophilus Antiochen : p. 139. d. and Origen contr. Cels. I. xiv. Their identity is expressly asserted by Cyril Alexandr. contr. Jul. I. viii. and Cosmas Indicopl. XII. i. iii. By this last mentioned writer, it is declared; *Ibid.* "Εν ταῖς Χαλδαίκοις γραμμασιν Βηρώσῃ κῆδ'. "In the Chaldee history of Berosus and others, it is thus stated; that ten kings reigned among them, 2242 myriads of years: and that under the tenth king, Xisuthrus, as he is called, a great deluge occurred, but that Xisuthrus, warned by God, entered a vessel, with his wife and relations, and animals, and was saved upon the mountains of Armenia; that after the deluge he offered eucharistic sacrifices to the gods; in which account, the entire history of Moses is exhibited in a different form. For mankind having continued for ten generations in the former world, during 2242 years; in the tenth generation, the deluge happening under Noah, they were carried hither by the ark. This Noah they call Xisuthrus." A little lower down, he proceeds to identify each of the Chaldee princes with one of the patriarchs. Of the first of the line, he observes, *Ibid.* iii. ἀνεπλάσαντο κῆ αὐτοὶ δεκα βασιλεῖς, παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλεύσαντας . . . ὧν ὁ πρῶτος Ἰλῶρος, τετῆρτον Ἀδάμ. And however the patriarch is disguised in this representation, it is not impossible to recognise him, even under this title. This prince is evidently identical with the Ἰλῶρος, who appears at the head of the line of antediluvian monarchs, which are placed by the Egyptians, at the commencement of their annals. By this title, he will be easily identified with the Baal of the Orientalists; *Suid. Lex. voc. Πριάπος*: τὸ ἄγαλμα τῷ Πριάπῳ, τῷ Ἰλῶρι παρ' Ἀιγυπτίοις, ἀνθρωποειδὲς ποιεῖσθαι κῆδ'. The remainder of the offensive description, will be found *supr.* p. 89. n. ¹⁹⁴. and its interpretation *ibid.* p. 104. seq.

In order to establish this test, it is necessary that the authority of the Hebrew account should be vindicated; as by a calculation founded exclusively upon it, those four ages are found to intervene, between the Creation of the world and that restitution, which the Orientalists considered a Regeneration.⁴⁷² And even at the first view, appearances seem to decide in favor of the Hebrew chronology. The differences of the computations, in the four schemes, when comparatively viewed, may be most easily accounted for, on the assumption of its accuracy.

The sum of the several years ascribed to the Chaldee princes, not only constitutes a complete cycle, as amounting to 1440 years; but as forming the Chaldee Great Year, constitutes the most remarkable period acknowledged by that people. As it falls short of the correspondent period 1656, in the Hebrew, just 216 years; the date which it marks, is consequently removed precisely three revolutions of the ancient Cycle of 72 years; which was not less a remarkable period, as furnishing the element, out of which the Great Year was constructed.⁴⁷³ Here there are plain indications, that artifice has been employed; and obviously not employed, on the side of the Hebrew.

From the manner in which the sacred history recounts the patriarchs' ages, whatever be the edition by which they are computed; it is obvious, that the differences between their computations, are not to be accounted for, on the grounds of inadvertence, or accidental alteration. As it divides the period of their lives into two parts, and adds the sum of each portion; though it is very possi-

⁴⁷² Vid. *supr.* p. 172. n. 381.

⁴⁷³ Vid. *supr.* p. 221. n. 467.

ble, that the three numbers expressing each of these periods, might be changed by a handy scribe; the error must have united in its composition, something of a miracle, by which they could be so transubstantiated, as to leave the computation consistent, when this triple blunder was committed.⁴⁷⁴ Whatever be the principle, which

⁴⁷⁴ F. Tournemine, having perceived the facility with which the first figure might be inadvertently dropped, in three dates of the Samaritan; thence conceived his project for reducing it at once to the Hebrew; which would have rendered the case of the Septuagint hopeless, as having two to one against it. And without doubt, the knot might have been thus speedily cut, and the contest, on the subject of their chronology, ended; had not the Samaritans, both in their text and version, perversely accommodated the remnant of Jared, Methuselah and Lamech's lives, which alone differ from the Hebrew, to those dates expressing their earlier years, which the reverend father had so easily reduced to accidental errors. Thus while the Hebrew ascribes to the earlier days of Jared 162 years, and to the latter 800, it rounds the whole into the sum of 962. And it deals in the same manner by Methuselah, and Lamech; noting the different periods of the life of the former, under the numbers 187, 782, and the sum 969; and of the latter, under 182, 595, and the sum 777. But what is more unlucky, the Samaritan, unfortunately, besides dropping a century, in numbering 62 years, as Jared's earlier days, adds 785 years, as the remainder of his days, and sums up his years as 847: and in like manner, expresses the age of Methuselah under the numbers 67, and 653, gathered in the sum 720; and that of Lamech under the numbers 53, 600, and collected also in the sum 653. Now, though it may be granted, that the sums, 162, 187, 182, which express, in the Hebrew, the earlier days of the three patriarchs, might respectively migrate into 62, 87, 82, or even into 65, 67, 53, which give the present reading of the Samaritan copies: it is drawing rather largely on our faith, to require us to admit, that 800, 782, 595, which express their latter days, could, by a mere slip of the pen, respectively change into 785, 653, 600. Whatever the testimony of St. Jerome may decide, as to certain copies which he inspected; the consideration of the last numbers will, I believe, fully prove, that the notion of an accidental error, in transcription, is wholly inadequate to solve the

was followed, and as the alteration was systematic, some principle must have existed; to the development of that, by which the revisers of the different editions were guided, the direct course appears to lie, in an investigation of the internal evidence.

In pursuing this course, if a glance is cast along the two columns, expressing the patriarchs' ages, in the Septuagint and the Samaritan; the uniformity with which they depart from the Hebrew is not less striking than that which has been pointed out in the Chaldee: both deviating from it in the ratio of a century; which is added to the dates of the Septuagint, and subducted from those of the Samaritan. Yet though thus differing from it, when they are estimated separately; when their testimony is taken conjointly, they afford it the fullest confirmation; as there is but one date of the Hebrew which is not confirmed by the concurrent authority, either of the Septuagint, or the Samaritan; its first numbers agreeing with the one, and its last with the other. And this is an advantage, which, it may be observed, is shared in common with it, neither by the Septuagint, nor the Samaritan.

The whole of the presumptions, arising from the internal evidence, consequently decide as strongly, in favor of the Hebrew computation, as against that of the Septuagint and Samaritan. If, *from the influence, which the Chaldee might have had*, upon the chronological schemes of the

difficulties of the question before us: and that the Reverend Jesuit's principle goes but a short way towards reconciling the Samaritan with the Hebrew chronology;—to any mind which is not constructed to admit a transmutation, as probable, as that inculcated, by the infallibility of his Mother Church, in the doctrine of transubstantiation.

latter, a principle can be deduced, by which these contrary elements may be reconciled; there can be little reason to doubt, that the difficulties in which this intricate subject is involved, will find, in it, the true solution. The persons by whom the Samaritan copies were preserved, and the Samaritan version was formed, as Babylonian colonists by descent, naturally inherited the prejudices of Chaldees.⁴⁷⁵ Whatever controversy

⁴⁷⁵ The account of the colonisation of Samaria, *from Babylon and Persia*, is given, 2 King xvii. 24. seq. and particular mention made of the superstitious attachment with which the new settlers adhered to their *paternal traditions*. The sacred historian observes of them, Ibid. 33, 34, 40, 41. "They feared the Lord, and served *their own gods after the manner of the nations*, whom they carried away from thence. Unto this day *they do after the former manner*: they fear not the Lord neither, do they after their statutes, or after their ordinances, or *after the law and commandment*, which the Lord commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel.... Howbeit they did not hearken, but *they did after their former manner*. So these nations feared the Lord, and served their graven images, both their children, and their children's children; *as did their fathers, so do they*." Particular accounts of the remains of this extraordinary people, are given in a letter addressed by them to Scaliger, and published in *Antiq. Eccles. Orient. Morin*. p. 122. Lond. 1688. and in separate *Dissertations*, by *Reland. de Samarit. Lobstein. Comment. de Samar. Relig. M. de Sacy Mém. sur les Samar. &c.* This last writer, and great ornament of the present age, p. 14, 15. gives the history of the copy of their version of the Pentateuch from which our printed text is descended. Scaliger having expressed a wish for it, Pietro della Valle procured one, which he presented to M. de Sancy, then French ambassador at the Porte, by whom it was presented to the Rev. Fathers of the Congregation of the Oratory, called Saint-Honoré. And one of the members, P. Morin, thence published it in the *Polyglott* of le Jaye. That distinguished ornament and munificent patron of learning, Abp. Ussher, to have some of whose blood circulating in my own veins is no small boast, lays claim to the merit of having had the first copies of the Samaritan edition of the Hebrew Text

has been moved, respecting the origin of the Septuagint version; it admits of no dispute, that it was intended for the use of Jewish proselytes, and was composed with a view to its circulation among the heathen.⁴⁷⁶ The person, who of all antiquity, was best qualified, from his critical attainments, to pronounce upon the merits of this work; has given the authors of it the credit, of having accommodated their translation to the prejudices of the ethnic reader; and the Jews themselves have pleaded guilty to this imputation.⁴⁷⁷ In the vin-

brought into Europe, of which he presented copies to Oxford, Leyden, and Sir Rob. Cotton: see his Dissert. on the Septuagint. Ravis's Dedic. to his Disc. on the Orient. Tongues. Todd's Life of Walt. Vol. I. p. 184. n. °.

⁴⁷⁶ The account of Aristeas, though generally received among the Jews, and early Christians, and partially admitted by Aristobulus, Philo Judæus and Josephus, as well as Justin, Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, Cyrillus Hieros. Eusebius and Epiphanius; That the Greek version was made by seventy Jews, for Ptolemy Philadelphus, at the suggestion of his librarian, Demetrius Phalareus, is now given up, by the learned, as a fable. The credit of the story of Aristeas, was attacked by St. Jerome, with his accustomed zeal and spirit; and the merit of the version itself reduced to its proper level, in the controversial writings of that learned father. The question is diffusively handled, by Abp. Ussher, Dr. Hody and others; the substance of it may be seen in Dr. Holmes's Prolegomena to the Septuagint, and Mt. Faucon's Præliminaria to the Hexapla. Judging from the internal evidence of the version, it was obviously made by different hands, and most probably at different periods.

⁴⁷⁷ St. Jerome, speaking of this version, observes, Præf. in Peutateuch. "In quibus multa de veteri Testamento legimus, quæ in nostris codicibus non habentur. . . . Causas erroris non est meum exponere, *Judæi prudenti factum dicunt esse consilio*: ne Ptolemæus unius Dei cultor, etiam apud Hebræos duplicem divinitatem deprehenderet. Quod maxime idcirco faciebant quia in Platonis dogma cadere videbatur. Denique ubicumque sacratum aliquid Scriptura testatur de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, aut aliter interpretati sunt, aut omnino tacuerunt, ut et

dication, likewise, which they have offered for the unwarrantable licence that they have taken with the inspired text, it is fully implied, that as they had violated its integrity, on points of doctrine, when a particular object was in view ; they would not much respect it, in matters of chronology, when a like end was to be answered. Such causes having operated in prepossessing the Samaritans in favor of their hereditary chronology ; and inducing the Hellenists to conciliate the ethnic prejudices, on the side of their national history : it may be now left to the internal evidence to decide, how far the sacred chronology may have suffered in its integrity, from the predominant influence of the Chaldee science.

The saros, by which the Chaldees computed the period elapsed between the creation and deluge, has been already mentioned, as a term equivocal in its sense, and capable of different values. Of the different lengths assigned to this ancient measure of time, two have been noticed in which it has been converted into periods of months and days : and according to the former, the space of time, computed by the Chaldees, between the creation and deluge, has been estimated at 2222 years, and according to the latter at 1200.⁴⁷⁸

regi satisfacerent, et arcanum fidei non vulgarent. Et nescio quis primus auctor Septuaginta cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo extruxerit, quibus divisi scriptitarunt : cum Aristæas ejusdem Ptolemæi ὑπερασπιστής, et multo post tempore Josephus, nil tale retulerint, sed in una basilica congregatos contulisse scribant non prophetasse."

⁴⁷⁸ Vid. *supr.* p. 220. n. 465. Bp. Pearson, in claiming a third sense for the term saros, supplies a defect in the printed copies of Suidas, by the following passage, from a ms. in the Vatican ; "οἱ γὰρ ἐκ' ἰσάροι ποιῶσιν ἑνιαυτὸς βσκβ', κατὰ τὴν Χαλδαίων ψήφον, εἴπερ ὁ ἰσάρος ποιεῖ μνας Ἰηληνιακῶν σκβ', οἱ γίνονται ἡ' ἑνιαυτοὶ ἐκ' μῆνες ἕξ." which he thus translates, "Saros, according to the

When these numbers are compared with the correspondent dates 2242 and 1307 ascribed to the same interval, in the Septuagint and Samaritan; without making any allowance for the possibility of an error in the numbers,⁴⁷⁹ the coincidence must be admitted to amount to a very strong presumption, that the Septuagint and the Samaritan, in their deviations from the Hebrew, have suffered from the influence of the Chaldee.

The case of the Septuagint can merit little further attention; as we find the ancients, who had no suspicion of an error in that version, so fully impressed with the identity of the sums in the Greek and Chaldee account, that they express them by the same denomination.⁴⁸⁰ It is perfectly

Chaldee account, comprehends 222 months, which come to 18 years and 6 months; therefore 120 saroi make 2220 [2222] years: and therefore for βουβ', I read, leaving out the last β, βου', that is, 2220." But this emendation will not cure the passage, since it appears, the octodecennial cycle of the Chaldees fell short of the decemnovennial of Meton, but 12 lunations, and of course, consisted of 223 months; and as the context is constant in retaining β, the last unit, I cannot acquiesce in the expediency of this correction. The ancient Fathers, who knew less of the Chaldee lunar saros than ourselves, were not infallible in their computations; and are constant in adding the 2 years to the saros, which are cut off by this emendation.

⁴⁷⁹ It must be however observed, that I have adopted 2242, as the proper computation of the Septuagint; this being the number which is given by the ancient Fathers: thus Theophilus Antiochenus, observes, uti supr. p. 138. ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως κατακλυσμῶ, ἐγένετο ἔτη βουβ'; 'from the creation of the world to the deluge there were 2242 years.' And the same remark may be made of the writers before us; as of Suidas, voc. Ἀδάμ. and Cosmas, uti supr. p. 224. n.⁴⁷¹. The authors of the *Ancient History*, Vol. I. p. 223. in their comparison of the Hebrew and Septuagint chronology, follow Cappel, in admitting this to be the scripture number.

⁴⁸⁰ Thus Cosmas, who devotes a large portion of his work to astronomical subjects, gives 2242 as the common expression

insignificant, as to the result of these observations, whether the Hellenic authors of the Septuagint, and the Fathers of the Church were right in their computations. It is sufficient for my purpose, that those who possessed the greatest astronomical and chronological skill, were agreed upon the identity of the numbers, which were employed in the Greek and Chaldee;⁴⁸¹ and what is of the last importance to the establishment of that result, have so far admitted the influence of the latter, as they have established *their own accuracy*, by an appeal to its authority.

The case of the Samaritans appears to me to be not less clear and decisive. Finding the period of 120 *sari*, ascribed to the ten reigns of the antediluvian princes; and deriving the Chaldee term from 𐤏𐤃𐤅, signifying *ten*, in their vernacular, or from 𐤏𐤃, with the same signification, in their paternal language; they might deduce the product of 1200 by a simpler process, than it is effected in

of the Greek and Chaldee sum; admitting the substitution of years for days in the computations of the latter, while he raises them to myriads; Opin. de Mund. uti supr. p. 340. τὰς ἡμέρας δὲ εἰς ἔτη μεταπλάσαντες, διασχίλιας διαχορίας μβ' μυριάδας ἑτῶν ἕξασταίης τες ἰ' βασιλεῖς εἶπον· ἅπερ ὁ Μωϋσῆς ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἕως τῆ κατακλυσμῆ τοῦ Νῶε βσμβ' ἔτη ἠρίθμησεν: 'but changing days into years, they said the ten kings lived 2242 myriads of years; as Moses numbered 2242 years from Adam to the deluge of Noah.'

⁴⁸¹ This, it has been shewn was the case of Cosmas, whose astronomical information, was atleast equal to any of the primitive Fathers. And the same may be said of Theophilus, a convert from Paganism, and bishop of Antioch, whose chronological attainments, were not surpassed, by any of his contemporaries or predecessors. While he computes the interval between the creation and deluge, at 2242 years, he asserts the perfect coincidence of his calculations, and those of Berosus; Lib. III. ad fin. ὅτι δὲ περὶ ἄν φαμεν χρόνων (υνάδει κ) Βῆρωκος, ὁ παρὰ Χαλδαίους φιλοσοφῆ(α) κ) μηνύσαι Ἐλλήσιν τὰ Χαλδαίικα γράμματα κ)ι.

our arithmetic; their notation merely requiring a point over the character, while ours requires the addition of a cypher.⁴⁸² We have now, therefore, only to compare this computation of the length of the ten antediluvian princes' reigns, with that ascribed to the ten patriarchs in their scheme of chronology, to be convinced of their extraordinary coincidence. If the period ascribed to Noah, be calculated, strictly after the analogy of *the ten Chaldee princes*, or after that of the nine preceding Patriarchs—from *the time of his becoming a father*; 100 years must be subducted, from the period when he entered the Ark, and of course from the epoch of the deluge. For, according to the text and version of the Samaritans themselves;⁴⁸³ "Noah was *five hundred years* old; and *he begat* Shem, Ham and Japhet:..And Noah was *six hundred years* old, when the flood of waters was upon the earth." On deducting this

⁴⁸² Thus the numerals in the phrase, ܕܘܫܢܝܢ, expressing 120 decads, are raised to 1200, by merely putting a point over the characters, ܕܘܫܢܝܢ expressing 1200. These numbers it may be observed, facilitated the change which was thus made, from the duodecimal computation of the Chaldees, who made the saros 12 years, to the decimal, in which, as here, it is merely made 10 years: ܕܘܫܢܝܢ 12 being raised by points to ܕܘܫܢܝܢ, 120; which equally expresses *ten* times 12, or *twelve* times 10.

⁴⁸³ The age of Noah at the birth of Japhet, in perfect conformity with the Hebrew, Gen. v. 32. בן חמש מאות שנה, 'a son of *five hundred years*;' is expressed in the Hebræo-Samaritan text, ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ, and Samaritan version, ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ, with the same sense. His age, at the beginning of the deluge, in like manner, is given in the Hebrew, Ib. vii. 6. בן שש מאות שנה, 'a son of *six hundred years*;' in the Hebræo-Samaritan, ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ; and the Samaritan version, ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܢܝܢ, with the same signification. Nor is there any variation from these dates in the other oriental versions.

sum, from the 1307 years, computed by their chronology to the deluge; their remains 1207, which differs but seven years, from the 1200, deduced by their interpretation, from the 120 sari of the Chaldee computation.

Nor is this view of their mode of computing merely hypothetical; but founded, like the preceding, on the express authority of the ancients. If the number 432000,⁴⁸⁴ which they have assigned to the length of 120 sari, be taken, as they prescribe, in the sense of days instead of years,⁴⁸⁵ and the term of the ancient year be adopted in the computation; 1200 years will prove the precise sum ascribed by the Chaldees,⁴⁸⁶ to their antedilu-

⁴⁸⁴ I have already shewn, how it is possible, the number, 432000 days, (from which 1200 years have been deduced, as below, n. ⁴⁸⁶) might have originated in the 4320 days, which constitute the *proper Chaldee saros of 12 years*: vid. supr. p. 222. n. ⁴⁶⁸. Thus the characters, 𐤏𐤊𐤏 , expressing 4320, by a very slight variation of the points, become 𐤏𐤊𐤏 , 432000: vid. Michael. Gram. Syr. § iv. p. 12. So that 𐤏𐤊𐤏 , by simply varying the points, might be equally employed to express 4320 days, or 432000 years. By the latter expression, Alexander Polyhistor might have been imposed upon; from whom the error is adopted by Eusebius.

⁴⁸⁵ I shall again refer, on this subject, to the learned Bp. of Chester: following Scaliger, he observes, Exp. of Creed. uti supr. p. 68. "In the fragment of Abydenus, preserved by Eusebius, *Σάρος δὲ ἴσιν ἑξακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια ἔτη*; 'every saros is 3600 years;' and consequently the 120 saroi, belonging to the reign of the ten kings, 432'000 years. . . neither was this the interpretation only of Eusebius, but also of Alexander Polyhistor, who likewise expresseth, *τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν σάρου ἑκατὸν ἑκοσι, ἢ τοὶ ἑτῶν μυριάδας τεσσαράκοις τρεῖς καὶ δύο χιλιάδας*. This seemed so highly incredible, that two ancient monks, Anianus and Pandorus, interpreted those Chaldean years to be days, so that every saros should consist of 3600 days," &c.

⁴⁸⁶ I shall give the application of the preceding interpretation, in the words of M. de Vignolles, uti supr. p. 629. "A

vian princes' reigns ; as 1207 is that ascribed, by the Samaritans, to the antediluvian patriarchs' ages, at the birth of Japhet, the first son of Noah. As far, therefore, as a coincidence between the Chaldee and Samaritan rate of computing the age of the ten personages, who preceded the deluge, implies a proof of the one having had an influence upon the other ; I cannot see on what reasonable principle it is possible to dispute it.

It would be an abuse of time to employ any further arguments in proving, that, in the terms 2242 and 1200 years, deduced from the 120 sari, which the Chaldees assigned to the reigns of their antediluvian princes, originated the periods of 2242 years computed by the Septuagint, from the creation ; and of 1207 years, ascribed by the Samaritans to the patriarchal ages, by which the course of time was calculated to the deluge. And to the two leading dates, which were thus fixed, it may be now summarily observed, the entire chronological scheme of both systems has been obviously accommodated.

The Septuagint having brought down the epoch of the deluge nearly 1000 years ; as the interval from the creation was divided, by the lives of the patriarchs into ten parts ; the period was thus easily filled up, by a century added to each of their ages. But the great age of Methuselah, which terminated in the year of the flood, was of an extent too unmanageable, to be thus moulded at the will of the undertaker. By the period, for

360 jours, qui selon moi font une année juste, ajoutez simplement un zero, vous aurez 3600 jours, qui valent un sare, égal à 10 années précisément. Enfin si vous multipliez ces deux nombres par 120 sares ; vous aurez pour le dernier nombre 432'000 jours, dont on avoit voulu faire autant d'années ; quoi-que ils ne fassent que 1200 années justes."

which it was prolonged, it was unluckily extended fourteen years beyond the time of the deluge;⁴⁸⁷ in which the whole earth, except Noah and his family, were, even on its own authority, stated to have perished.⁴⁸⁸ And thus the contrivers of this system were drawn into an error, which would be sufficient to demolish the credit of their work, were it exposed to no other objection.

The Samaritans, it would appear, went more cautiously to work. With the life of Noah, as so well known, it became wholly unsafe to tamper: in the various innovations of the different chronological systems, it has accordingly escaped unaltered. But in following their Chaldee progenitors, they fixed the birth of Japhet, Noah's first son, 1207 years from the creation; hence, as the deluge occurred, 100 years after his nativity,⁴⁸⁹ 1307 became its epoch, in the system of their chronology. It was thus antedated above 300 years; and we accordingly find this sum subducted from the lives of the three first patriarchs, preceding the flood, which admitted of reduction:

⁴⁸⁷ Though some of the copies of the Septuagint have been corrected from the Hexaplar Hebrew; there is not the least ground of doubt, that this blunder is coeval with the date of the version. St. Jerome thus delivers himself, on the subject. *Quæst. in Genes. v. III. p. 453.* "Famosa quæstio, et disputatione *omnium ecclesiarum ventilata*, quod, juxta diligentem supputationem, *quatuordecim annos* post diluvium Mathusela vixisse referatur. . . . Sexcentesimo autem anno vitæ Noe diluvium factum est, ac per hoc, habita supputatione per partes, nongentesimo quinquagesimo quinto anno Mathusala, diluvium fuisse convincitur. Cum autem supra nongentis sexagintanovem annis vixisse sit dictus, nulli dubium est *quatuordecim eum annos vixisse post diluvium*, et quo modo verum est, quod octo tantum animæ in arca salvæ factæ sunt? Conf. Euseb. Chron. Græc. p. 4.

⁴⁸⁸ Gen. vii. 4. 21, 22.

⁴⁸⁹ Vid. supr. p. 233, n. 483.

some other arrangements being made, apparently with the view of making the life of Methuselah terminate at the deluge.

The chronological schemes of the Septuagint and Samaritan, must be, of course, abandoned, as of no authority; having palpably suffered from the influence of the Chaldee science. Nor can any use be made of either system, in calculating the period computed by the Chaldees, between the deluge and Babylonian era; as the principles, on which they have been altered, are arbitrary and uncertain. The confirmation which they afford the Hebrew, in respectively bearing testimony to the accuracy of its dates, has been already noticed;⁴⁹⁰ and mention has been incidentally made of the corroboration, which the latter system equally receives from the Chaldee chronology, in the determination of the epoch of the Assyrian empire.⁴⁹¹ Of this system, it is however observable, that though it derives no support from the Egyptian computation, in the epoch which it assigns to the deluge;⁴⁹² it has fully established its consistency, as a system, in referring that epoch to an earlier period, than it is assigned in the Hebrew. To the dates which are assigned to its earliest monarchs, who reigned after the flood, it has been objected, that they precede the period when it really happened.⁴⁹³ But this is only true,

⁴⁹⁰ Vid. supr. p. 227.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid. p. 218.

⁴⁹² Vid. supr. p. 219. n. 462. The coincidence stated by Berossus, to have subsisted between the Chaldee and Egyptian computations of the period before the deluge, is strictly confined to the year at which they began their respective calculations. Though it thus clearly appears, that they agreed in fixing the epoch of the creation; nothing is determined as to their coincidence respecting the date of the deluge.

⁴⁹³ By Helvicus, whose views on the subject were more just

when its epoch is computed, according to the Hebrew system : though the line of Assyrian princes precedes the epoch of the deluge, by 11 years, according to this scheme, it comes 207 years lower than that assigned it in the Chaldee. The Septuagint and the Samaritan schemes are equally unaffected by this objection ; both antedating the deluge to the accession of Belus, the earliest monarch.⁴⁹⁴ And I am wholly mistaken, or we

than those of his predecessors, this objection is thus stated : Tab. Chron. uti supr. p. 5. g. " Nos e multis duas potissimum diversas supputationes proposuimus. Una est Africani, qui omnes reges Assyriacos e veteribus autoribus recenset, quamvis *series illa supra Diluuium excurrat*. Eum Scaliger quoque secutus est." It has been however objected to Scaliger, that he aggravates the evil, by adding 25 years to the reigns of those kings, above the period assigned to them, in his author : vid. Vignol. uti supr. Lib. IV. ch. iv. § 3. p. 166. Following Africanus, this last mentioned chronologist, ib. p. 163. places the accession of Belus, A. J. P. 2355. corresponding to A. M. 1645. which precedes the epoch of the deluge, A. M. 1656. just 11 years. In the tables of Helvicus, his accession is brought two years lower.

⁴⁹⁴ The earliest epoch of the Assyrian empire, like their first monarch, is purely fabulous ; and, I am of opinion, like the date of the deluge, was founded on the doctrine of the Great Year : vid. supr. p. 148. The line is drawn between the fabulous and the historical period by Castor, who is followed by Eusebius : vid. Syncel. p. 206. He places Belus at the head of the catalogue of the Assyrian kings ; but declares his ignorance of the length of his reign, and expressly commences his chronology from Ninus. The manner in which the fabulous period has been grafted on the historical, and the whole rounded into a period of 1460 years, may be learned from the following specimen of the course pursued by Justin ; Vignol. uti supr. p. 194. " Justin finit son extrait par ces paroles ; ' Imperium Assyrii, qui postea Syri dicti sunt, *mille trecentis annis tenuere*.' Conringinus citant ce passage dit que Troge Pompée s'accordoit avec Ctesias ; ' mais que son abbreviateur, Justin, n'écrivait que le nombre rond de 1300, en négligent les 60' . . . Or comme Justin ne parle pas de Bélus : et ne marque ni le tems où Ninus fut maître de l'Orient, ni la durée de son règne ; si on l'y joint

thus arrive at the true cause, by which the constructors of those systems were influenced, in deranging the entire system of the sacred chronology: the epoch assigned the deluge, in the Hebrew scheme, having been irreconcilable with the early reigns ascribed the first Assyrian monarchs, it was deemed necessary to correct it by the Chaldee account; from which the epoch conceived to be true, was accordingly adopted.

Though the entire scheme of the Septuagint and Samaritan chronology must be consequently given up, and the computation of the Chaldees resigned, as far as respects the epoch of the deluge; yet even, in regard to this date, the credit of their calculations is, in a great measure redeemed, by one consideration. I have already observed, on the testimony of Berossus, that they implicitly agreed with the Egyptians, in fixing the epoch of the creation; it is now to be observed, that however they might have differed both from them and the Hebrews, as to *the year* in which the deluge occurred; it appears, that they were no strangers, as to *the day*, from whence the commencement of it was to be computed. The tradition which they preserved on this subject, and which is recorded by Berossus and Abydenus, the most highly reputed of the Assyrian and Chaldee historians,⁴⁹⁵ is the more valuable from a

avec celle de Bélus, son père, on aura une durée de plus de 1460 ans."

⁴⁹⁵ Whiston, following Langius de Ann. Christ. p. 255. observes, Theor. of the Earth. B. III. ch. iv. § xlix. "This vast fall of waters, or forty days rain, began on the sixth day of the week, on *Friday the 28th of November*, being *the seventeenth day of the 2nd month from the autumnal equinox*... [Gen. vii. 11.] 'In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the *second month, the seventeenth day of the month*,...the windows of hea-

slight discrepancy which is discoverable between it, and that transmitted by the Egyptians and Hebrews, between whose accounts there was a perfect conformity. For upon this difference, between their testimony and that of those early nations, they may be convicted, not merely of having antedated the epoch of the deluge, but for the interval precisely, that it was put back, according to the computation of the Hebrew chronology.

The Babylonian era being fixed in the year of the world 1770, and the deluge referred, to the year 1440; these dates are separated by an interval of 330 years. This period, however, was performed by the ancient year, in four revolutions of the cycle of 72 years, and 42 years, precisely. Now as the beginning of the ancient year, from the annual loss of five days, retrograded, in 42

ven were opened, and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.' Thus Abydenus and Berosus say it began *on the 15th day of Desius, the second month from the vernal equinox*; which if the mistake, (arising, 'tis probable, from the ignorance of the change in the beginning of the year, at the Exodus out of Egypt, or perhaps from the copiers alone, by putting *Desius* instead of *Dius*, which was the *second month from the autumnal equinox*) be but corrected, *it is within a day or two, agreeable to the narration of Moses*, and so exceedingly confirms the same. Thus also, what is still more remarkable, Plutarch tells us, that Osiris, or Noah, went into the Ark, *exactly on the 17th day of the month Athyr*, in which the sun passes through the sign Scorpius, *on the very same 17th day of the second month from the autumnal equinox*, which we here assign, and *which the sacred history asserts*; as we have already seen." Ibid. B. IV. § lxxvi. "So wonderful is the method of the Divine Wisdom, in its seasonable attestations afforded to the Sacred Scriptures! That not only *the very day*, as we have seen, when the Flood began, assigned by Moses, may still, after more than four thousand years, *be proved*, not only from Plutarch's express testimony, but *from astronomy itself, to have been the true one*; which the learned are chiefly capable of judging of, and being primarily influenced by."

years, exactly 210 days, which form 7 months ; hence the days of the months of A. M. 1770, must have fallen 7 months earlier in the year, than the correspondent days of A. M. 1440. As in the order of the Macedonic year, *Dius* precedes *Desius* so many months ;⁴⁹⁶ the 15th day of the former month, at the earlier epoch, fell precisely on the same day of the year, as the 15th of the latter month, at the later epoch. If therefore, *Dius* 15th marked the proper day, according to the Macedonian calendar, on which the deluge commenced ; *Desius* 15th must have equally marked the *proper day*, according to the ancient form of moveable year, which was in use, at the era of the deluge. Between the Assyrian account of Berosus and Abydenus, who have dated the deluge from this day, and the Egyptian, preserved by Plutarch, there is consequently no real difference, as to *the*

⁴⁹⁶ The names and length of the Macedonic months, which the Greeks introduced into the East, and the number of days ascribed to each, when reduced to Julian time, may be here stated from the Rodulphine Tables of Kepler : 1. *Dius*, 30 ; 2. *Apellæus*, 30 ; 3. *Audunæus*, 31 ; 4. *Peritius*, 30 ; 5. *Dystrus*, 30 ; 6. *Xanthicus*, 31 ; 7. *Artemisius*, 31 ; 8. *Dæsius*, 30 ; 9. *Panemus*, 31 ; 10. *Loüs*, 30 ; 11. *Gorpiæus*, 31 ; 12. *Hyperberetæus*, 30. If to the 15 unexpired days of *Dius*, be—added 183d. the sum of the days of the six following months, from *Apellæus* to *Artemisius* inclusive—and 15 days of *Dæsius* :—the amount of the whole will be 213 days. But on reducing each of those months to 30 days, the length of the months in the year of 360 days ; the number of days between *Dius* 15th, and *Dæsius* 15th, amounts precisely to 210 ; or 7 months of 30 days. *Dæsius* being the second month, *Artemisius* is the first, and as it has 31 days, if the last is computed, *Dæsius* 15th will be the 16th day of the second month ; which, allowing for a difference of computing from night and morning, may be identified with Moses's " 17th day of the 2nd month." vid. infr. p. 242. n. 497. On the form of the year, see Allin, Diss. on Anc. Year. p. 144. Vignol. Dissert. touch. l'An. Anc. p. 623. Whiston. Theor. B. II. p. 202. Ussher. Diss. de An. Maced.

day of the year; nor more than the accidental difference, arising from the form of year, by which they have respectively computed.⁴⁹⁷ While the transfer of the date in the Chaldee account, seven months later in the year, conveys so far a proof, that they antedated the deluge 330 years, to the Babylonian epoch; as the 15th day of the second month from the autumnal equinox, at which the year began, after four revolutions of the cycle of 72 years, retrograded, in that time, 210 days, and so passed from the 15th of Dius to the 15th of Desius.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ As Berosus and Abydenus flourished, after the era of Nabonasar was adopted by the Chaldees; they obviously, not less than Plutarch, used the equated year of 365 days, which was exclusively employed in that era: vid. supr. p. 197. n. ⁴²⁰. Mr. Allin, referring to Syncellus, observes; uti supr. p. 144. "The additional five days, even among the Egyptians, one of the most ancient and learned nations of the world, were not added to the 360 days, or 12 months of 30 days apiece, of which their year consisted, but were introduced *about a thousand years after the Deluge*: so that *till that time* their ancient year appears to have had no more than 360 days. This argument, from the later introduction of *the five additional days*, receives some confirmation from the place they always possessed in the year, after they were introduced *in the Egyptian, and thence in the Nabonasarean form*." Though the new form of year was thus recently introduced; the period of 1460 years, which is its proper cycle, and from whence the Babylonian epoch was dated, sufficiently proves, that latterly the Assyrians employed this form of year, in computing from the early epoch of their empire: vid. supr. p. 148. n. ³³⁶, et ²³⁷. In determining a date, like that of the deluge, *previous to that epoch*, the ambulatory year of 360 days was properly used by Berosus; though as writing in Greek, he naturally adopted the names given to the months by the Macedonians, from whom the Orientalists received the calendar, with the knowledge of the language in which he expressed himself.

⁴⁹⁸ This argument may be more familiarly illustrated. The difference of the time intervening between the epoch of the deluge 1440, and the Babylonian era, 1770, as fixed by the

But it is further deserving of remark, that while they thus antedated the year of the deluge, they still preserved the tradition of *the day* on which it really commenced. For the fictitious epoch having been put back, precisely three revolutions of the cycle of 72 years, from the true date; both years had their days ordered precisely alike, as the proper order is restored, at each revolution of the cycle.⁴⁹⁹ The caution with which all these points were thus nicely adjusted, is therefore, a sufficient evidence of the artifice, which was employed; as so much care would have been wholly superfluous had no change been attempted. For the Chaldees, not less than the Egyptians, could have determined the epoch of the deluge, by the

Chaldees, amounted to 330 years. This period when divided by 72, the number of years in a cycle of the ancient year, consisting of 360 days, leaves a remainder of 42 years, above 288, the sum of the years of 4 cycles. If this remainder is multiplied by 5, the number of days which were lost every year, and which, of course, the beginning of the year went back annually, until the cycle was completed: the product 210 will express the number of days which it retrograded in 42 years from its commencement. And this product divided by 30, the number of days in an ancient month, gives the quotient 7, expressing the number of months, which the beginning of the year retrograded in 330 years, or 4 cycles and 42 years, of the civil year, in use at the time of the deluge.

⁴⁹⁹ The Deluge, according to the Chaldee computation, was antedated 216 years, to the epoch assigned it in the Hebrew chronology; which period is completed in three revolutions of the cycle of 72 years; vid. supr. p. 225. The epoch, A. M. 1656, to which it was thus referred in the Hebrew, was distant from the Babylonian epoch, A. M. 1770, just 114 years: which was completed in one revolution of the cycle, and 42 years. As in 42 years, the beginning of the year retrograded 210 days, or 7 months; such must have been the difference between the days of the months, in A. M. 1656, and A. M. 1770: so that, if computed by the ancient form of year, *Dasius 15th*, in the one, must have expressed *the same day* of the year, as *Dius 15th* in the other.

proper day of the ordinary year; had not the transfer of it, to an earlier period, required that every circumstance should be accurately accommodated to an intentional alteration. For that they put it back, unquestionably appears from the line of their early monarchs, which ranged some years above the true epoch. It is therefore almost needless to enter a protest against the supposition, which may possibly arise; that the year which they accommodated with so accurate a date, was that in which the deluge really happened.

However therefore it might have been requisite to the purposes of the Chaldee science, that the deluge should be placed at the distance of a Great Year from the creation; it is not the less apparent, that they computed the interval right that intervened between the earlier epoch and the Babylonian era. In the relative knowledge which we may possess of any period of time, our positive ignorance of the date of any event, by no means implies, that we are the less acquainted with the interval, within which the series of occurrences is included, of which it is an incident. To borrow a familiar illustration from our own lives, there are few persons who do not exactly know the period, elapsed since the year of their birth; and perhaps as few, who without referring to collateral evidence, could directly trace, even the important incidents of any year, to the precise date, on which they happened. But the Chaldees could not have been ignorant of the true epoch of the deluge. The remembrance of that great catastrophe was impressed by the most powerful associations, upon the memory of the primitive world: and its derangement, in the Chaldee chronology, is obviously not to be imputed to the effect of igno-

rance, or inadvertence, but of principle and system. Their ignorance, of the true year in which it happened, if, in fact, it were reconcilable with their knowledge of the day, on which it occurred, would not be easily reconciled with the characters impressed by them, on the fictitious epoch, to which they transferred it; all of which were peculiarly accommodated to the interval, to which it appears it was removed, from the proper epoch.

Having thus far disengaged this intricate subject, from the embarrassment, in which it is involved; and acquired a just notion of the leading epochs of Chaldee chronology, as well as ascertained an accurate scale by which it may be measured; we have now little difficulty to encounter, in bringing it to bear upon the subject.

The object to which I am engaged, requires it to be proved, that the Assyrians, who formed the expectation of a Great Deliverer, had attained the knowledge, that he would appear, at the time distinguished by our Lord's advent. And so simple and efficacious is the measure of time, which they have established, in the old and new era of Babylon; by which they computed the interval elapsed, from the foundation of their empire under Ninus, and its restitution under Nabonasar: that no skill is required, in accomplishing that end, by so simple and adequate an instrument. At the equally remarkable epoch, distinguished by the subversion of the Persian, and foundation of the Macedonian empire, we find the chain united, by which the time of the surrender of Babylon, after the battle of Arbela, is connected, on the one side, with the epoch of the foundation of the Assyrian empire; and on the other, with the period of the capture of Alexandria, after the battle of Actium. And by a very few links, this period

may be connected with the epoch, which it is the object of these researches to investigate.

On the accuracy of the scale, which is thus supplied, by the old and new era of Babylon, for measuring this period, it will be sufficient to observe, that every part of it is connected with the astronomical observations of the nation, which first devoted itself to the cultivation of that science. The account of these observations, obtained at Babylon by Callisthenes, is the great mean by which we are enabled to ascertain the epoch of the early era, and compute the time elapsed between the rise of the Assyrian, and fall of the Persian empire. The later era, termed from Nabonasar, by which we are enabled to compute the distance from that epoch, to the time of our Lord's advent, from having been employed in registering the ancient eclipses, has its correctness determined by those astronomical characters, which leave no doubt of its accuracy. And this conclusion receives a practical proof, in the extraordinary correctness, with which we find several dates, some of the remotest antiquity, fixed to the day; of which so striking an example has been furnished, in the epoch of the deluge, and of Alexander's entrance into Babylon;⁵⁰⁰ two dates, the determi-

⁵⁰⁰ Vid. *supr.* p. 210. n. ⁴⁴⁵, p. 242. n. ⁴⁰⁷. As these two periods have been apparently computed, by the ancient year, though the equable year was in use in the age of the computers, and even applied to those epochs, as I have already had occasion to observe; it is highly probable, that this form of year was commonly adopted by the Chaldees, in calculating the fictitious epochs, which they introduced into their chronology. In the preference shewn by them to the ancient year, they were probably decided, by the facilities which it afforded to long calculations: and very convincing evidence is brought out, by Mr. Allin's inquiry into the nature of the ancient year, that they were guided by such a preference. Even of the equable year,

nation of which, is of the last importance to the final result of the computation which engages me. Although the astonishment which may be excited, and possibly, the incredulity which may be raised, at a degree of accuracy so extraordinary, must subside, when the method, employed in reducing those periods to days, is taken into account; as a simple arithmetical process enabled an indifferent calculator, by the facilities which were furnished, to an extraordinary degree, by their numerical notation, to ascertain the precise date of any incident.

Nor is the accuracy of the scale, by which we are enabled to measure this immense period of time, more astonishing, than the extraordinary facility of its application. To compute the distance elapsed between the foundation of the Assyrian empire, and the year in which the incarnation of the expected Deliverer occurred, we require merely to know, in what year of the new era, the city of Babylon, from which it derived its name, surrendered to the arms of the Macedonian conqueror. And this year we find marked, with the utmost precision, in the Canon of that era,

and the people by whom it was discovered; it is observed, by that learned writer; ubi supr. p. 145. "From an ancient tradition in Plutarch... it appears, that the ancient Egyptian year was no more than 360 days, and that *the 5 epagomenæ were not looked upon as proper parts, either of the year or any of its months*; but as days belonging to the nativities of five several Egyptian deities, who, as this ancient piece of mythology supposes, were to be born *neither in any year, nor in any month.*" Whether, as Mr. Whiston observes, Theor. p. 209. this observation is applicable to the prophetic calculations also, and that "Daniel's prophetic Year consisted of 360 days," is a point which will be no doubt decided, when public expectation is gratified, with the appearance of the learned and acute Abp. of Dublin's investigation of that delicate and difficult subject.

which contains a catalogue of the monarchs, through whom the imperial authority was transmitted; from the accession of Nabonasar, under whom the Great Year of the Babylonians commenced, to the death of Antoninus, in whose reign the Great Canicular Cycle of the Egyptians ended. As the date of this era, to which the Canon refers this remarkable event, coincides with its 416th year;⁵⁰¹ we are thus supplied with the means of completing the calculation of the four millenniums, which the constant tradition of the east has computed, between the period of the Creation of the world, and its Regeneration. The different epochs recognised by the Assyrians, as composing this period, may be now exhibited at a view;

From the Creation to the Deluge⁵⁰².....1440
 From the Deluge to the Babylonian era⁵⁰³.... 330
 From the era to the capture of Babylon⁵⁰⁴....1903
 From the capture of Babylon to the }
 Great Restitution. } 327

From the Creation to the Regeneration⁵⁰⁵....4000

⁵⁰¹ In the Canon of the era of Nabonasar, of which I have already spoken, *supr.* p. 151. n. ³⁴², the end of Darius's reign and the commencement of the sovereignty of Alexander over the East, is thus noticed: under the title, *Περσῶν βασιλεῖς. Δαρείου, δ. υἱς. Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνα, η. υκδ.* "Persian Kings. Darius, 4 [years]. 416th: Alexander the Macedonian, 8. 424th." of which numbers, the first marks the length of the reign, the second, the year of the era of Nabonasar, in which it ended. Having already determined the year of the Julian period, 3967, in which the era of Nabonasar commenced, *supr.* p. 147. n. ³³⁵; the epoch of Alexander's accession and entry into Babylon, is at once reduced to it, by adding 416, which gives A. J. P. 4383. Of this epoch use has been already made, in determining the epoch of the old Babylonian era, by the testimony of Callisthenes; *supr.* p. 212. n. ⁴⁵⁰. 217. n. ⁴⁶⁰.

⁵⁰² *Vid.* *supr.* p. 222.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 242.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ib.* p. 211. *comp.* p. 218. n. ⁴⁶⁰.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ib.* p. 172. n. ³⁸¹.

The very touchstone of the probability of this investigation consequently lies, in the accuracy of the result; whether, the Chaldees, by numbering 327 years, from that most remarkable epoch, the year in which Alexander took possession of Babylon, would be led, at the close of the fourth millennium, to the true year of the advent of our Lord. And this demonstrably appears to be the case, from the computations of the ablest chronologists; by whom the nativity is placed at this identical epoch.⁵⁰⁶ Thus, consequently it appears,

⁵⁰⁶ Having already cited the authority of Petavius, on the reduction of the first year of the era of Nabonasar, to the proper year of the Julian period; I shall again refer to his authority in determining the true year of the Nativity. In a passage, in which he not only declares his preference for a peculiar year, but justifies it, by the application of an argument of Scaliger's, which appears to me to amount to a demonstration of its truth; he thus expresses himself. *De Doctr. Temp. Lib. XII. vii.* "Sumatur ex diversis de vero Christi natali sententiis, ea quam cæteris anteponebam judicamus, ut anno Juliano 41, qui est per Jul. 4709 natus sit." After adding the demonstration, which I shall reserve to be produced at a more suitable opportunity, he concludes, *Ib.* "quo eodem anno, natus est Dominus Decembris 25." In the accuracy of which date, Abp. Ussher acquiesces: *Chron. Sacr. p. 9.* who places the true epoch in the 4th year before the vulgar era. As we do not compute our years from the Nativity and Christmas day, but seven days later, from the Circumcision and New-year's day; the true year of the Christian era, by this rule, is Jan. 1st. A. J. P. 4710. 3 years 7 days preceding the vulgar era, which all chronologists identify with A. J. P. 4714. The same date may be established, on the same authority, by a computation founded on the era of Nabonasar and vulgar Christian era. The first year of the former, Petavius identifies, *supr. p. 147. n.³³⁵* with the vulgar year, B. C. 747. Of the year of Alexander's accession to the empire of the east, he likewise observes; *Rat. Temp. I. Lib. III. xiv.* "Quocirca annus.... ante Christianam æram 331....cladem Persarum ad Arbela....tum Persici finem imperii, et Macedonici, sive Græci in oriente primordium attulit." If, of those years, 331 be sub-

that to determine the precise year, in which the Expected Deliverer would make his appearance ; they had merely to number, for 327 years, the succession of years, from the date 1903, which they gave up to Callisthenes, as the epoch of their empire, until the sum amounted to the extraordinary number 2230 : and when the grand period of four millenniums was thus compleated, conclude that the period of the Great Restitution had arrived.

Even beyond this ; in the extraordinary interval of 2230 years, which, as it appears on the irrefragable grounds of scientific calculation, thus precisely intervened, between the epochs which they accommodated to the foundation of their empire, and the time of the great consummation ; we have additional proof of the validity of the preceding deductions, and of the accuracy of the computation, which comprises the whole of their calculations within the limits of four milleniums. The interval of 2230 years, at which we find the arbitrary epoch they assigned their empire placed, from the true year of the Great Restitution, is surely not to be considered merely accidental. For this period contains the remarkable sum of 120 sari, according to the lunar computa-

ducted from 747 ; the remainder 416, expresses the year of Nabonasar, in which *Alexander succeeded* to the sovereignty, as stated in the Canon. If 4, the error in the vulgar Christian era, be subducted from the same year 331 ; the remainder 327, expresses the number of years, to the true era of Christ, which were necessary to complete four milleniums of the Chaldee computation of that epoch, brought down to the same year of Alexander's entrance into Babylon. The accuracy of the date, assigned to this event, it may be necessary to observe, is fully confirmed by Abp. Ussher, who fixes it, A. J. P. 4383. Annal.p. 314. al. 175 ; to which, if the above remainder, 327, be added ; it gives A. J. P. 4710 ; which constitutes, according to his computation, the true epoch of the nativity.

tion;⁵⁰⁷ the identical interval which they assigned to their ten antediluvian kings, and computed between the creation and deluge, by which they conceived the world was destroyed and regenerated.⁵⁰⁸ If in consistency with the previous deductions, we conceive them acquainted with the period elapsed from the creation, and apprised of the time, at which the great consummation would be effected; every difficulty in the subject admits of a simple and adequate solution. They would then find it merely necessary to deduct this period of 2230 years, by which they believed a revolution in their monarchy would be effected, from the 4000 years, in which the great mundane

⁵⁰⁷ Vid. supr. p. 219.n.⁴⁶⁴. I have already noticed the lunar saros, mentioned by Pliny, Nat. Hist. II. xiii. whose text was restored, previously to its establishment by the authority of mss. and the earlier editions, by the conjecture of Dr. Halley, who determined the length of this lunar cycle to be 223 months: see Phil. Trans. for 1691. p. 537. To the reigns of their earliest monarchs, the Chaldees ascribed 120 sari, which have been computed by this period, though on a false estimation of its length: vid. supr. p. 230. n. ⁷⁸⁸. The just number of months, 223, multiplied by 120, gives a product of 26760, which divided by 12 gives a quotient of 2230 lunar years; to find which period, the sum of the fractional numbers 1903 and 327, that are before us, cannot surely be deemed accidental. I shall here take occasion to reply to a cavil of M. des Vignolles on the passage of Suidas alledged supr. p. 230. n. ⁴⁷⁸, by which this lunar cycle is identified as a Chaldee saros: Chronol. Lib. VI. iii. p. 625. "J'ajoute que le mot de *lunaires* (*σελήνιακῶν*) est inutile, dans ce passage et inséré mal-à-propos, ou par Suidas même, ou par quelque autre.".. Not altogether; as the author is speaking of a Great Year, which had months adapted to its length. Servius, observing upon Virgil, after distinguishing the different kinds of year, remarks, in like manner, in *Æn.* III. 284.—'magnum sol circumvolvitur annum.'... *Bene ergo nunc 'magnum' addidit, ne lunarem intelligeremus: bene 'solis' nomen ne quia 'magnum' dixerat, illum planetarium acciperemus.*"

⁵⁰⁸ Vid. supr. p. 171. n. ³⁷⁹.

restitution would occur; and the remainder 1770, would form the epoch of an empire, which they might not irrationally suppose, was constituted to continue with the duration of the world.⁵⁰⁹ On this principle, every difficulty in this subject directly vanishes; which, when regarded in any other light, is wholly inexplicable.

Under this view, the Chaldee computation of the period of the Great Restitution may be restated, in a form, still more adapted to their theoretical systems; as calculated to illustrate the principles by which they were guided, in vainly endeavoring to raise their paternal traditions, of the time of the Creation and Regeneration, to the dignity of science, while they were really debasing them to the level of their superstition and ignorance.

	YEARS.
From the Creation to the Deluge, 120 solar sari; }	1440
From the Deluge to the foundation of their Empire; }	330
From the foundation of their Empire, to the Great Restitution, 120 lunar sari; }	2230
From the Creation to the Regeneration.....	
	4000

In these arbitrary dates, formed by calculations made from both extremes of the great period of 4000 years, the most remarkable circumstance is the transition, which is observable, in the first and last epoch, from the solar to the lunar mode of computation. And this change is rendered more

⁵⁰⁹ No doubt the divisers of the old and new epoch, building on a different foundation, in the Egyptian Great Year, vid. *supr.* p. 160. p. 238. n.⁴⁹⁴. conceived themselves improving upon this antequated doctrine, which they received from their ancestors. and possibly which they despised, from finding it among the Jews.

remarkable, as it constitutes the essential difference between the different principles, on which the Samaritan and Septuagint computation of the earlier epoch has been accommodated to the Assyrian chronology. The use to which this observation may be turned, in fixing the date of a considerable revolution which took place in the Chaldee science, and which fully reconciles the paradox in their computations, which brought out accurate results, from the most erroneous calculations, it is the business of another part of this work to unfold. To account for the number 120, which was made the term of both the great periods, into which they thus distributed the four millenniums, it is merely necessary to observe, that it seems to have been deduced from the tripartite division of the great circle, by which the planetary motions were measured. At intervals consisting of so many degrees, they found those points were distant, in which the planets were conjoined, at the great conversions of nature; and which the sun reached, in the interval between the conception and birth of the human fetus.⁵¹⁰ For these were the analogies, from which they apparently derived

⁵¹⁰ Vid. supr. p. 181. n.³⁹³. Censorin. de die Nat. cap. viii. "Sol ergo cum in proximum signum ascendit *locum illum conceptionis* aut imbecillo videt conspectu, aut etiam non conspicit. . . . Cum autem in *quinto* est, tribus interjacentibus mediis, κατὰ τρίγωνον adspicit. Nam tertiam signiferi partem visus ille metitur, quæ duæ visiones τετραγώνιοι, τρίγωνοι, *perquam efficaces incrementum partus multum adminiculant*. . . . Ita septimo zodio, quod est contrarium, plenissimus potentissimusque conspectus, quosdam jam *matturos infantes educit, qui septemmestres* adpellantur, quia *septimo mense* nascuntur. At si intra hoc spatium maturescere uterus non potuerit, octavo mense non editur. . . . sed vel *nono mense* vel decimo. Sol enim *a nono zodio particulam conceptionis* rursus conspicit κατὰ τρίγωνον, et a decimo κατὰ τετραγώνιον: *qui conspectus, ut supra jam dictum est, perquam efficaces sunt.*"

a coloring of truth, for the vain art, by which they pretended not only to calculate the fortunes of men, but the destiny of the world; from observing the planetary aspects, at the time of the nativity, which they equally assigned them.⁵¹¹

To pass from these unimportant, though not in-curious observations, to the direct object of our re-searches: we cannot fail, in viewing their systems, to be struck with the tendency, which, in seeking to combine the doctrine of the Great Year with the decline and mutation of empires, they manifest to the great period of four millenniums.⁵¹² In pro-

⁵¹¹ Vid. supr. p. 172. n. 382.

⁵¹² On the period of 720'000 years, ascribed, by Epigenes, to the Babylonian observations; vid. supr. p. 209. n. 443. it is observed by Vignolles, Chron. VI. iii. § 4.—“720 mille jours étant divisez par 360 donnent un quotient de 2000 ans justes, sans aucune fraction. Ce dernier nombre surpasse de près de cent ans celui de Callisthene; et il sera facile de les accorder, en supposant qu'Epigène a vécu sous le III Ptolémée, surnommé Evergète, ou le Bienfésant; c'est à dire environ cent ans après Alexandre le Grand.” But on the supposition of his being contemporary with Berosus, he continues, Ibid.—“prenons pour nôtre point fixe, comme nous avons déjà fait, le tems auquel Alexandre le Grand se rendit maître de Babylone, c'est à dire, l'an de la P. J. 4333. Si de cette année nous retranchons les 2000 ans, que nous venons de trouver, nous arriverons, en remontant, au tems de Bélus, premier roi des Assyriens.” &c. On the 480'000 years ascribed to their observations by Berosus and Critodemus, supr. p. 210. n. 444. Vignolles observes; after reducing it to 1333 years, 4 months; Ibid. § 5. “Ce nombre n'est pas rond, comme la plupart des précédans, mais c'est justement le tiers de 4000, nombre qu'on pent appeller parfaitement rond. . . . Enfin si nous prenons pour dernier terme de ces 1333 ans et un tiers, l'an P. J. 4392 qui suivit celui de la mort d'Alexandre, sous qui Berose fleurissoit; et que nous en retranchions les 1333 ans; nous trouverons l'an P. J. 3059, auquel la couronne d'Assyrie passa des descendans de Sémiramis, à une seconde famille.” These observations fall casually from the author; whose views tended in a totally different direction, from that of the subject which they are now adduced to illustrate: comp. supr. p. 175.

portion as the early traditions, on this subject, which were transmitted from the highest and purest source, were deserted, for the speculations of a spurious science, the result proved illusory and abortive. Such to an extraordinary degree, proved the vain attempt, when the foundation of the Assyrian empire was laid anew, to fix an epoch for measuring its duration in the Great Year, which was devised by the Egyptians.⁵¹³ And there is every reason to suspect, that in assigning the early monarchy a duration, for the same period, the epoch was calculated backwards from the time of its dissolution;⁵¹⁴ as the period to which the date of the deluge had been put back, in compliance with the principles of their science, had created a void in their early history, which it became necessary to fill up with fabulous reigns, and fictitious monarchs. On casting a glance from these remote periods, to the date of the establishment of the Macedonian monarchy; the broken number by which the interval is computed, from the foundation of the Assyrian, and the subversion of the Persian empire, is strikingly contrasted, with the round sum of four millenniums, in which the various antecedent dates are gathered.

Though no instance appears, in which they attained to a fortunate anticipation of the future; notwithstanding the ingenuity which they employed, in bending and perverting every circumstance, to the purposes of a system; the connexion which they gave their visionary schemes, with the great periods by which they professed to compute the restitution, was attended with one manifest advantage. They thus applied a gradua-

⁵¹³ Vid. *supr.* p. 180.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 238, n.⁴⁹⁴, *conf. infr.* p. 527, n.⁵¹⁹.

ted scale to the fugitive course of time, by which the degree of its advancement might be estimated; and the period of the great consummation readily computed.⁵¹⁵ It was besides wonderfully contrived, that the imperfect form of year, of which their great cycles were constituted, should be not only equated, so as to fit it for becoming a just measure of time, but by festivals, in which the fall and the recovery were preserved in lasting remembrance. But the consideration of this subject must be reserved, until the proper opportu-

⁵¹⁵ The facility, with which the periods of 120 solar and lunar sari might be computed, according to which the great period of four milleniums was distributed, is particularly deserving of notice. The solar saros, as composed of 12 years of 12 months each, consisted of 144 *months*; and the lunar saros was, by computation, 223 *months*: by any species of decimal notation, these sums might be raised by the simple process of numeration, to the great periods 1440 *years*, and 2230 *years*. In the Syriac mode of expressing numbers, it is effected simply by putting a point over the character: in the European, by merely adding a cypher. This consideration will satisfy the requisitions of those who may think the Chaldee saros derived its name from the numeral ; $\text{m}\Delta$, rather than ; $\text{m}\omega$. I must however still declare my sentence, in favor of the latter derivation, and the duodecimal value, as conveying the true sense of the term, from the prevalence of this number in all their periods. The solar year consisted of 12 months; the great solar year, of 12 years; the great lunar year, of 12 years, and its half; the great cycle of 72 years, of six times 12 years, *i. e.* the great solar year. It is even deserving of note, that *the addition of the Chaldee great year, 12 years*, which might be added in an intercalation, raises the proper period of 120 sari, or 2230 years used by the Chaldees, to the period of 2242 years, adopted by the Septuagint in computing the sum of the lives of the ten patriarchs preceding the deluge; this sum, however it was obtained, being without doubt considered necessary to equate the lunar computation to the solar. *vid. supr. p. 231. n. 479.* A like excess, of a *sabbatical year*, probably added with the same object, is found appended to the Samaritan computation of the same period. *vid. supr. p. 234.*

nity arrives, for discussing the great periods employed by the Egyptians, in computing the interval which engages our attention, to which they ascribed the same date as the Chaldees.⁵¹⁶ In confirmation of the assertion, which is now hazarded on the anniversaries, employed by the Babylonians in equating their time; I have only to refer to the Sacean days, of which I have spoken, as introduced into the East by the Egyptians,⁵¹⁷ from whose institutions they bear internal marks of having descended. As this festival, of which I have had occasion to speak, as instituted in commemoration of the fall and recovery,⁵¹⁸ consisted of five days, observed at the close of the ancient year of 360 days; it thus served the purposes of an intercalation, as keeping the beginning of the civil year, near the time of the equinox, from which there can be no doubt its commencement was computed. Of this festival, it has been justly observed, that it is referred in the Assyrian annals, to the earliest date of the monarchy. In perfect consistency with the principles on which its beginning was carried back, to complete the period of an Egyptian Great Year,⁵¹⁹ they antedated the festival which was necessary to its just computation;⁵²⁰ had not this precaution been taken, the

⁵¹⁶ Vid. supr. p. 219. n. 462.

⁵¹⁷ Vid. supr. p. 144.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid. p. 145.

⁵¹⁹ Vid. supr. p. 238. n. 494.

⁵²⁰ In this consideration, the objection of the learned Selden to the institution of this festival by Sesach, wholly vanishes: he observes; *De Dis, Syr. II. xiii. p. 346.* "Quæ ad Sesach non possunt referri, quippe quod Cyro antiquius est nomen in sacris litteris. Verum ex Assyriorum seu Babyloniorum antiquissimis ritibus originem Sacæorum dierum et Cyro longe vetustiore petendam esse, ipsis Beroso et Ctesia autoribus, mihi est persuasissimum. *Inde colligo, quod non modo Berosus libro primo, ubi scilicet de reconditissimis Babyloniorum moni-*

adoption of the new epoch would have been useless or nugatory. As the Chaldees, in putting back the epoch of their empire, carried it beyond the deluge;⁵²¹ consequently, no doubt can be raised, that the equable year was employed by them in computing the whole of the time, from that great catastrophe, to the end of the new era, dated from the accession of Nabonasar. Respecting the antecedent period, extending back to the creation, no question can be reasonably moved; as it has been proved, to a demonstration, that not only the solar and civil year then coincided, but that they agreed with the lunar also;⁵²² so that

mentis egit, eos collocasset, sed etiam Ctesias diu antequam ad Cyri imperium aut res Persicas devenerat, inter Babylonicas et Assyriacas enumerasset. Ex hujus enim quinto citatur quod habet Athenæus. Ceterum nihil de Cyro ille, nihil de Sacis, de Persis nihil, in prioribus sex libris scripsit, sed tantummodo ea quæ Persicum imperium præcesserunt. . . Liquido mihi hinc constare videtur, Σακίας ἡμίερος et Σαραία Cyro multis seculis, si fides hisce scriptoribus vetustiora.” It is indisputable, however, that the reduction of the ancient oriental Saturnalia of seven days vid. Lucian. *supr.* p. 133. n.³⁰⁰. to five, and the affixing of them, as appendages, to the end of the year, originated with the Egyptians, long subsequently to the foundation of the Assyrian monarchy: vid. Allin, *uti supr.* p. 242. n.⁴⁹⁷. Vignol. *de l'An. Anc.* p. 667. The argument of Selden, of consequence, striking wide of its aim, contains an extraordinary confirmation of the assumption, that this people not only put back the epoch of their empire, but sought to accommodate the period of its duration to the Great Year of the Egyptians: vid. *supr.* p. 238. n.⁴⁹⁴. For this period could be only calculated by that form of year, which had those five days appended to it, that were observed in the Sesachean festival: vid. *infr.* n. ⁵²².

⁵²¹ Vid. *supr.* p. 237. n.⁴⁹³. *conf. supr.* n.⁵¹⁹.

⁵²² The following is the hypothesis laid down, and I think demonstrated in Mr. Allin's very able discussion: Whiston. *Theor. B. II.* p. 144. “First, I shall endeavor to prove, that the most ancient year, *in civil use*, almost throughout the world, for several ages after the deluge, contained exactly 360 days, or 12 months of 30 days apiece. Secondly, that *before*

but one form of year, and that perfect and equable, could have been employed in computing that primeval period.

To persons occupied in casting nativities and prognosticating future events, some expedient for accommodating the time to the incident, if the incident would not accommodate itself to the time, was not only convenient but necessary. With abundant facilities of this description, the predictor appears to have been supplied in the Chaldean methods of equating and computing. By legitimate mutations of names and numbers, any given period might be thus converted into another; and the accomplishment of a prediction, as suited the interest or credit of the calculator, be either hastened to an hour, or protracted for ages. It was even possible to make any species of year, the basis of the computation; and by a simple contrivance, then convert the lunar into the solar, or the moveable into the equated.⁵²³ We are

the deluge, not only the civil year, but also *the tropical solar year*, wherein the sun passes through the ecliptic to the same point from whence it began; and likewise *the lunar year*, consisting of 12 synodical months, each from new-moon to new-moon, or from full-moon, to full-moon, were severally just 360 days long, and consequently that the lunar month was exactly 30 days.⁷ I must, however observe, that the antecedent proposition can be only admitted with limitations; this learned writer, as well as M. des Vignolles, having produced abundant evidence, that the ancient and the equable year were perfectly compatible, in the use; the former having been retained in computing, when the latter was applied to civil purposes; vid. supr. p. 246. n. ⁵⁰⁰. In fact, the views of neither of these writers embraced the festivals, by which it is clear to me, the beginning of the year was kept near the equinoxes; though the days thus added to it, were without civil effect; vid. supr. p. 133. n. ⁵⁰⁰.

⁵²³ The Sosos and Neros, two Chaldee measures of time, ap. Syncel. Chron. p. 17. were apparently contrived for the purpo-

not therefore, to feel surprised, that a like ambiguity should have introduced itself into the calculation which is before us; and that the complement of 2230 years, in the four millenniums, should be expressed by a lunar cycle, while the commencement of the period is computed by a solar: nor are we, in consequence of this transition, to conceive the validity of the consequences deduced from such principles uncertain and erroneous. If, in the broken number of 1903 years, which the Chaldees gave up to Callisthenes, with an implied remainder of 327 years, this ambiguity did not disappear; the sum of 4000 years, being recognised as the period of the restitution, the popular sense would determine the signification in which it was to be received, against the capricious and arbitrary sentence of the theorist and computer.

Such was the character of the Chaldean astrology. And but one method seems to have remained, by which a system, that exercised so tyrannous and debasing an influence over the human mind, could be defeated; which aimed at subjecting the freedom of man to a blind fatality, and submitting the providence of God, to the laws which he proscribed to matter and motion. And in that merciful condescension, which left no means unapplied, that were calculated to operate for the benefit of

ses of thus reducing the civil and equinoctial year, to the computed and astronomical, or contrariwise. Thus we find *the Sarios*, consisting of 4320 days, or 12 ancient years, atonce raised by *the Sosos*, containing 60 days or 2 months, to 12 equable or Egyptian years, containing 4380 days. And in like manner, the period of 10 Sari of the ancient year, consisting of 43200 days, was at once raised by *the Neros*, which contained 10 Sosi, or 600 days, to 10 Sari of the Egyptian year, consisting of 43800 days; which changes were probably effected, by pointing the character.

a race, which employed the freedom with which they were endowed, but in frustrating or abusing the divine dispensations, this expedient was wisely and graciously adopted. The great agent, in this degrading superstition having been the sun, by whose influence the course of nature was governed, and by whose motions it was computed;⁵²⁴ a visible controul exercised over his functions, served atonce to vindicate the superintending providence of God, and to refute in principle, the derogatory system opposed to his supremacy, and to baffle it in the application. And this object was in an extraordinary manner accomplished, by the great public miracles, which distinguished the settlement of the chosen people, in their promised inheritance; and their removal from it, into captivity. At the first of these remarkable periods,⁵²⁵ "the sun" was commanded to "stand still; and the moon in the valley of Ajalon, . . . and the sun stood still, in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down, about a whole day . . . for the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man." And at the last,⁵²⁶ "Isaiah the prophet cried unto the Lord; and he brought the shadow" of the sun, "ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the dial of Ahaz." Nor does the time chosen for this display of omnipotent power, derive its character of fitness, more from its connexion with the circumstances of sacred than profane history. The miraculous suspension of the celestial mechanism, under Joshua, was not more remarkable for its accompanying the establishment of the Hebrew Republic in Canaan, than the subversion of the Confederacy of idolatrous princes, to which that

⁵²⁴ Vid. supr. p. 198. n. 425. et seq.

⁵²⁵ Josh. x. 12, 13, 14. ⁵²⁶ 2 King. xx. 11. Is. xxxviii. 8.

country was subject.⁵²⁷ And the inversion of the solar motions, under Hezekiah, is even less distinguished by its association with the deportation and captivity of the Jews, than with the extinction of the splendor of the Assyrian nation, in the destruction of her last vainglorious monarch.⁵²⁸

Nor is the time more striking, which demanded this extraordinary display of divine power, than the particular occasions in which it was exerted. It was a part of the vain science, which called for a refutation, thus public and signal, not only to predict the fate of empires, but to foretell the destiny of monarchs. Such was its predominance, that without consulting the seer who could read in the stars the character of every event, whether it would prove favorable or adverse, no public measure was enterprised, nor private affair undertaken. Not to insist further on the suitability of the occasion, for suspending the course, or reversing the order of nature, when a great national revolution was effected, in the states of Canaan, and empire of Assyria; every imagination must be struck with the fitness and propriety of the crisis chosen for recovering the Jewish monarch, and prolonging his life, beyond the destiny, which

⁵²⁷ Vid. Josh. v. 1. ix. 1. x. 1.

⁵²⁸ St. Jerome, following Eusebius, remarks upon this subject; Comment in Is. xxxix. "Supra legimus *quartodecimo anno regis Ezechie ascendisse Sennacherib regem Assyriorum super omnes civitates Judæ munitas: et cepisse eas, et postea obsedisse Lachis, transisse Lobnam, misisse Hierusalem partem exercitus sui: cæsaque per angelum centum octogintaquinque millia exercitus ejus, et ipsum fugisse Nineven interfectumque a filiis in fano Dei sui, et regnasse pro eo Asaraddon filium ejus; ægrotasse Ezechiam, et recepisse prophetæ nuncio sospitatem; factum signum incredibile ut sol decem horarum spaciis reverteretur ad ortum suum, et pene duplex dies fieret."*

Conf. Euseb. Com. in Hes. xxxix. p. 505. vid. supr. p. 160. n. ³⁵⁷.

was supposed to be fixed at his nativity. On the ethnics, it accordingly appears, that this miracle was not without its effect; for⁵²⁹ “the princes of Babylon sent unto him to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land:” having no knowledge of the cause, however accurate observers they had been of the effects, which had been wrought in their science.⁵³⁰ Nor is the observation either in- curious in itself, or irrelevant from the subject of this inquiry, that there is reason to believe, the monarch, by whom this investigation was made, into the cause of the sun’s retrocession, was num- bered among those personages, in whom the ex- pectation of a promised Deliverer was thought to be accomplished: as we find his name enrolled,

⁵²⁹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. comp. Is. xxix. 1.

⁵³⁰ St. Jerome, in continuation of the observation in the pre- ceding note, adds; Ibid. “Nunc legimus, quod in tempore illo, hoc est *eodem anno*, quo hæc gesta sunt omnia, miseret Mero- dach Baladan, filius Baladan rex Babylonix, libros et munera ad Ezechiam, non Asaraddon, qui Sennacherib patri apud As- syrios in regnum successerat; de cujus seu morte seu vita scrip- tura contigit. Ex quo perspicuum est aliud fuisse tunc reg- num Assyriorum, et aliud Babyloniorum. Denique *Samariam, id est, decem tribus cepere Assyrii. Judam autem et Jerusalem* postea legimus *cepisse Chaldæos*, quorum rex Nebuchadonosor fuit. *Et quia apud eos astrorum observantia est, stellarumque cursus longo usu et exercitatione cognitus*, quod in Domini nati- vitate monstratur, *intellegerunt solem reversum*, diei spacia du- plicata, servire ei quem solum Deum putabant. Cumque *causas hujus miraculi, rationemque perquirerent*; fama per omnes gentes volitante, didicerunt *propter ægratationem regis Judæ, etiam cursum signi clarissimi commutatum.*” To the same purpose, Eusebius, citing the authority of a Jew. Ibid. *μη γὰρ λαθῆναι τῆτο [τὸ ἡμῶν] τοῦ βαβυλωνίως, δεινὰς ὄψας περὶ τὴν τῶν ἄστρον θιασίαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἥλιον διοποῦντες, συνίδοι ὡς ὑπὸ κρείττονος περιπέχθη εἰς ταπίσω δυνάμειος τέτε χάριν ἤκου ζῆσαι τὸ τέτε θέλοντες αἰθῆρ· εἶτ’ ἐπειδὴ πολυπραγαμονήσαιτες ἔγνω τὸν τῶν Εβραίων Θεὸν μέγαν εἶναι, τὸν καὶ τῷ παλῶς κόσμῳ δημιουργόν. . . . ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Εβραῖος.*

by the infatuated spirit of the age in which he lived, among the titles of the national deities.⁵³¹

If I have not wholly failed, in the preceding induction, it may be now summarily concluded, that the Assyrians, who had derived from prophetic sources, the expectation of a Great Deliverer, had attained a perfect knowledge; that the time of his advent was fixed at the close of the fourth millennium from the creation,⁵³² at which our

⁵³¹ As it is observable, that the prophecy of Balaam was carried partially into effect, when Merodach was king or viceroy of Babylon; it is curious to remark, that the name of this prince, as well as that of Sesac, is ascribed to one of the Babylonian idols, and equally joined with Bel, their chief national god, by the prophet Jeremiah; ch. l. v. 2. "say Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, *Merodach is broken in pieces*;" comp. Jer. li. 44. uti supr. p. 141. The reader, who reverts to the custom of the Orientalists, noticed supr. p. 159. n.³⁶⁶ may determine for himself, how far it is probable this coincidence of circumstances may account for the introduction at this epoch of a new god, among the Babylonian idols. It is at least obvious, that whatever circumstances conspired to advance Sesac among the national divinities might have contributed to enroll Merodach in the number. In favor of the origin which is here ascribed to the Babylonian deity, it remains to be observed, that he appears to have attained to divine honors between the times of Isaiah and Jeremiah, as he is solely noticed by the latter: and that the prince to whom his title has been traced, *came to the throne*, at that remarkable period.

⁵³² Such precisely is the period, as computed by the series of the Hebrew chronology, at which the Creation is placed from the Nativity, by the highest chronological authorities: according to Kepler, Ussher, Cappel, &c. the epoch of the world is fixed, A. J. P. 710. B. C. 4004; of course, allowing for the error in the vulgar era, before the nativity 4000 years. A brief view of the historical computation may be seen in Whiston, Theor. B. II. p. 142. Kepler, who was one of the earliest and most successful vindicators of the true epoch declares, Tab. Rud. cap. viii. p. 51. "Ann. 4000 ante Christum. . . *modus est ætatis mundanæ*, apud plerosque chronographorum hodiernorum: assequiturque situm aliquem planetarum, in suis eccentricis, *consentaneum initio rerum*, nulli alii per, plurima

Lord made his appearance on earth. Much of the information which they retained on the subject, was professedly derived from their great progenitor, and coeval with the foundation of the first eastern monarchy.⁵³³ But the ancient tradi-

sæcula deinceps, comparanda." In the table which he sub-joins, of the main longitude of the planets, their apogee and nodes, at this remarkable epoch, he identifies, the place of the apogee with the vernal equinoctial point: a similar remark has been made of M. la Place, by the learned and ingenious prelate, who now adorns the See of Dublin. A like argument, has been also adduced, from the place of the perihelion, at the time of the deluge, in favor of the epoch assigned that great catastrophe of the old world, in the Hebrew chronology, by Whiston, *Ibid.* B. II. hyp. xi. 3. p. 201. comp. p. 129.

⁵³³ It may not be inexpedient to explain here, that although it is necessary for the purposes of calculation, to assign a fixed date to the Dispersion, the great crisis of which took place, when the tower of Babel was destroyed, with the foundation of which, I would identify that of the city of Babylon; I am decidedly of opinion, the event of dispersing the inhabitants of Shinar was carried into effect not instantaneously or promiscuously, but in a gradual and orderly manner; the daring and enterprising organisers of the apostacy were probably driven from the scene of their impiety, but the patriarchal families retiring, as they required space, to the countries which they were respectively allotted, and which lay contiguous to the place of their first settlement after the deluge. This view of the subject I conceive to be not only that which consists best with the reason of the case, but with the purport of the sacred narrative; *Gen. x. 5—32.* An absurd preconception of the necessity of assembling a population fit for the occupation of the globe in the plains of Shinar, has led some chronologists into calculations, no doubt, as amusing to themselves, as to some of their readers, of the probable increase of mankind in this period of primeval fecundity. It may be well conceived, the dull progress of the historian is little calculated to keep pace with the rapid advances of the computer; and thus, as the sacred chronology affords no time for the production of the ideal multitudes, which he creates at pleasure, he votes the original text systematically corrupt, and supercedes or mends it from a bye edition or a translation. It is in vain to inquire of such speculatists, what may be the value of an instrument, of which it appears,

tions which they inherited, were originally obscure, and impaired by oral transmission. It was through Abraham, the promise was given,⁵³⁴ "that in Isaac, his seed should be called; that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed:" and it seems difficult to conceive, in what sense, the terms of it could be fulfilled to the contemporary nations, if they were wholly excluded from the privileges to which the father of the faithful was admitted. And from the whole of the preceding observations, it appears that from his immediate posterity, the oriental population, chiefly derived the knowledge and expectation which they possessed of a Deliverer. In the prophecy of Jacob, the advent of the Divine Personage was not only foretold: but it was declared, that⁵³⁵ "he would be the expectation of the nations." The popular superstitions of the Assyrians bore but too faithful testimony, that from a knowledge of this prediction, the great national deity derived his imaginary existence, and his title.⁵³⁶ And as far as the views opened into futurity, by Balaam's prophecy, embraced the same subject, and proclaimed the advent of the expected Personage, it was merely a republication of Jacob's prediction.⁵³⁷ Nor did the knowledge, to which those nations were thus graciously admitted, consist in vague intimations of some distant good, under a future and common benefactor. If we even suppose it confined to that solitary pre-

that *all its dates* are systematically corrupted. We may however, in respect for their own consistency, require of them to gratify us with the solution of one difficulty, and inform us, when they have thus assembled the population of the globe, by what process of calculation, they are provided with room to contain them, not to speak of the means of subsistence.

⁵³⁴ Gen. xxi. 12. xxii. 18.

⁵³⁵ Vid. supr. p. 110.

⁵³⁶ Vid. supr. p. 108. 111.

⁵³⁷ Ibid. p. 118.

diction ; the course was thus opened, and the way pointed out, which, if followed up, would eventually lead the inquirer to a higher measure of information. As this prophecy of Jacob, in declaring that ⁵³⁸ "a lawgiver should not cease in Judah,"⁵⁰ proclaimed the perpetuity of a line of expositors, among the Hebrews ; it thus apprised the nations who were desirous of being informed, whither they were to apply for instruction. By the later prediction of Balaam, they were not merely directed to the proper object of divine worship, but warned against a criminal devotion to the national superstitions, in hearing the judgments denounced against the national idols.⁵³⁹ The patriarch, in declaring the perpetuity of the sceptre, in the tribe of Judah, until the Great Deliverer should come ;⁵⁴⁰ and the prophet in denouncing the instability of the monarchies, in which the sovereignty of the east would descend ;⁵⁴¹ equally contributed to direct the attention of the oriental population, to the Divine Person, who was the proper object of the general expectation. While the knowledge of the Redeemer was thus conveyed exclusively through prophecy ; the Assyrians were admitted to the privileges of receiving it, at a period not less early than it was imparted to the Hebrews. The prophecy of Jacob was delivered to his sons, when, confined to a few families, they were aliens and vassals in Egypt ; when they had grown into a nation, and left that country, to take possession of Palestine, it was republished in the prediction of Balaam, in a form, adapted to the views and prepossessions of the nations.

Thus even through the darkness of age, and the

⁵³⁸ Ibid. p. 109. 113.

⁵³⁹ Vid. supr. p. 96. seq.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 109.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid. p. 68. seq.

clouds of superstition, some glimmerings of the truth remained, and by occasional radiations, gave evidence of its original. Thus amid the grossness of their errors, the Assyrians bore witness, in the Expectations which they formed of a Great Deliverer, of the DIVINE VOCATION OF ABRAHAM. Of the pure worship which the patriarchal family were instrumental in disseminating through the eastern continent, the Bethulia, formed after the model of the pillar raised and anointed by Jacob, were signal and lasting monuments. But so ancient and seductive was the prevailing superstition to which it was opposed, and which referred its origin to the antediluvian world,⁵⁴² that there is every

⁵⁴² Seld. de Dis. Syr. Proleg. p. 45. "Quin si Enochii Apocrypha in testium classem admitteremus, dæmoniorum cultum etiam *longè ante diluuium* non immeritò assereremus. In apocryphis illis narratur, ἰγγυόγες, id est, *angelos seu dæmonia, lectissimas feminas sibi in uxores junxisse*, atque ab eis quam plurima humanum genus, conciliante muliercularum libidine, beneficia accepisse, *artes item didicisse*. . . . Commentum illud de Angelis ex historia de filiis Dei in sexto Genesis capite malè intellecta ortum est, et veteres aliquot magni nominis fefellit. Sed melius et verisimilius est, quod alii *de Sethi filiis* afferunt, qui *Caini* posteriorumque ejus *filiis* hominum filios ibi vocari tradunt. Quod de ea re habent Cedrenus et Chronici Alexandrini autor, consulas, si placet, lector. Illis assentit perveustus, . . . codex Arabicus ms. in quo narratur *Sethi familias* posterosque montis occupasse cacumen in quo Adam sepultus est; *Caini*, vallem in qua Abel ad eo occisus. Posteros item Sethi, ob easdem, quæ Cedreno ex *Δεπρογίσις* memorantur, rationes, filios Dei dictos, et ob Abelem adeo Caino infensos ejusque nepotibus, ut solemni se juramento obstringerent per sanguinem Abelis, *بدم هايبيل* [ita enim se verba habent] in valem se nequaquam seu *القدس من الجبل* à monte sacro descensuros. . . Ceterum et idolorum cultores ex Enochii scriptis, ita dictis, tradit Tertullianus libro de Idololatria capite quarto, neque recentiora idololatriæ initia facit. Enochus autem in terris desiit esse circa 700 annos *ante diluuium*. Etiam ipsa idolorum nomina, *quæ ante diluuium culta*, eaque satis portentosa, habes

reason to believe, it was soon undistinguishably involved in the mass of general and inveterate error.

In the age immediately preceding the birth of the great patriarch, this superstition was revived,⁵⁴³ which unfortunately recommended itself by stronger attractions, than those which arose from the sense of its remote antiquity. In the short period intervening between the descent of Jacob into Egypt, and the emancipation of his immediate posterity from their bondage, the monuments which he had raised and dedicated to religious purposes, were perverted to the grossest idolatry. From having been long viewed with veneration, they were at length regarded with superstition, and finally became objects of religious worship. Nor is it wonderful, when the peculiar

apud Alcorani autorem Azoara 81... Quid sibi porro velint hæc, viderint qui operæ pretium fore duxerint. Adde Flavii Josephi libri primi caput iv. ubi alienum cultum homines invasisse *diu ante Noachum innuit*, dum usque ad septem generationes eos Deum Opt. Max. δεσπότην εἶναι τῶν ὄλων sensisse; deinceps vero ἐκ τῶν πατρῶων ἰδωσῶν degenerasse scribit.

⁵⁴³ Seld. uti supr. p. 47. “ *Post diluvium autem* (ut obvia sunt apud Eusebium in Præparatione Evangelica, Clementem, Theodoretum, Epiphanium, sexcentos alios, testimonia) *redintegrata est idololatria*, Sheruchi et *Tharæ seculo*. Addimus, autem quod de ea re habet Said, quem diximus, *Aben-Batrich*. ‘In immensum,’ ait ille, ‘Seruchi ævo errarunt homines, et invaluit Idololatria, et immolabant filios suos et filias suas Dæmoniis. Immisit Deus in illos ventum procellosum; et fuit *Typhon* [طوفان] ventus. Et confregit ventus idola omnia et diruit Tempia Idolorum usquedum in tumulos pulveris redacta fuerint: et *tumuli illi* etiamnum remanent.’ Certò subversam esse immanem illam substructionem, quam turrim vocant *Babylonicam*; procellarum vi, legitur apud Josephum lib. I. c. v. Eusebium de Præparatione Evangelica, l. IX. c. iv. Cedrenum: et in Sibyllinorum oraculorum tertio... Atqui ab eodem sanè seculo, quo diruta turris illa, et linguæ confusæ sunt, Phalegi scilicet ævo, Græcorum numina petunt nonnulli.”

character of the superstition is considered, of which they now became a part, that the corrupted religion, which arose from this mixture of falsehood and error, should have taken the form which it assumed among the Moabites, in the age of Balak and Balaam. The prophecy of Jacob having been associated with the monuments which were raised in the scene of his religious worship; in the misconception incident to tradition, and the error propagated by superstition, those confused notions arose with the process of time, in which the description of the prophecy was transferred in emblems to the idol.⁵⁴⁴ In the antediluvian superstition, for which the nations retained a hereditary prejudice, a perfect remembrance was preserved of the fall, and some intimation given of the recovery. However perverse and fatal the error which ensued, it was not unnatural, that the new revelation should be interpreted by the ancient tradition; and the promise

⁵⁴⁴ Vid. supr. p. 111. The probability of the course which is thus pointed out, derives not merely illustration by authority, from the following remark of the learned person, from whose treasures I have drawn so copiously, in unravelling the perplexities of this obscure and intricate subject. Seld. uti supr. p. 33. "In Hasmonæorum libro cap. iii. comm. 48. editionibus, Romana, Drusiana, atque aliis ita legitur; καὶ ἐξεπίλασαν τὸ βιβλίον τῆ νόμου περὶ ἃν ἐξερεύων τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὁμοιώματα τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν. De Judæis verba sunt, quicum Juda Machabæo, post nefandam Antiochi Epiphanis in Sacra Hierosolymitana rabiem, ad cultum veri Dei instaurandum in Mispach convenerant; fortè aut τὰ βιβλία; aut περὶ ἃ potius legendum. Sed de ea re non disputamus; Gentes inquit scriptor ille, *de libro legis scrupabantur effigies idolorum suorum*, haut satis capio; nisi *tunc temporis idola sua non sine norma aliqua è sacris literis deprompta formari voluerint.* Verum in Hispancia editione aliter se verba illa habent: Scilicet ἐξερεύων τὰ ἔθνη ἃ ἐπιγράψαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ὁμοιώματα &c. et in plerisque Codd. Vett. ita legi adnotatur in ora editionis Romanæ.

of a restitution having been understood in the most literal sense, that it should be expected the common parent of mankind would be the restorer of the happiness which had been enjoyed and forfeited in Eden. In the opposition which the antediluvian history presented between the state of innocence and of guilt, the propensities entailed by the fall unfortunately decided the revivers of the old superstition to make a bad election between good and evil. The licentious character which the superstition assumed, drew every thing within the circle of its seducements; and as the patriarch's imagery had been perverted, the divine object of his prophecy was confounded with the first victim of sin, whom they had degraded to the level of their own vileness and debasement.⁵⁴⁵

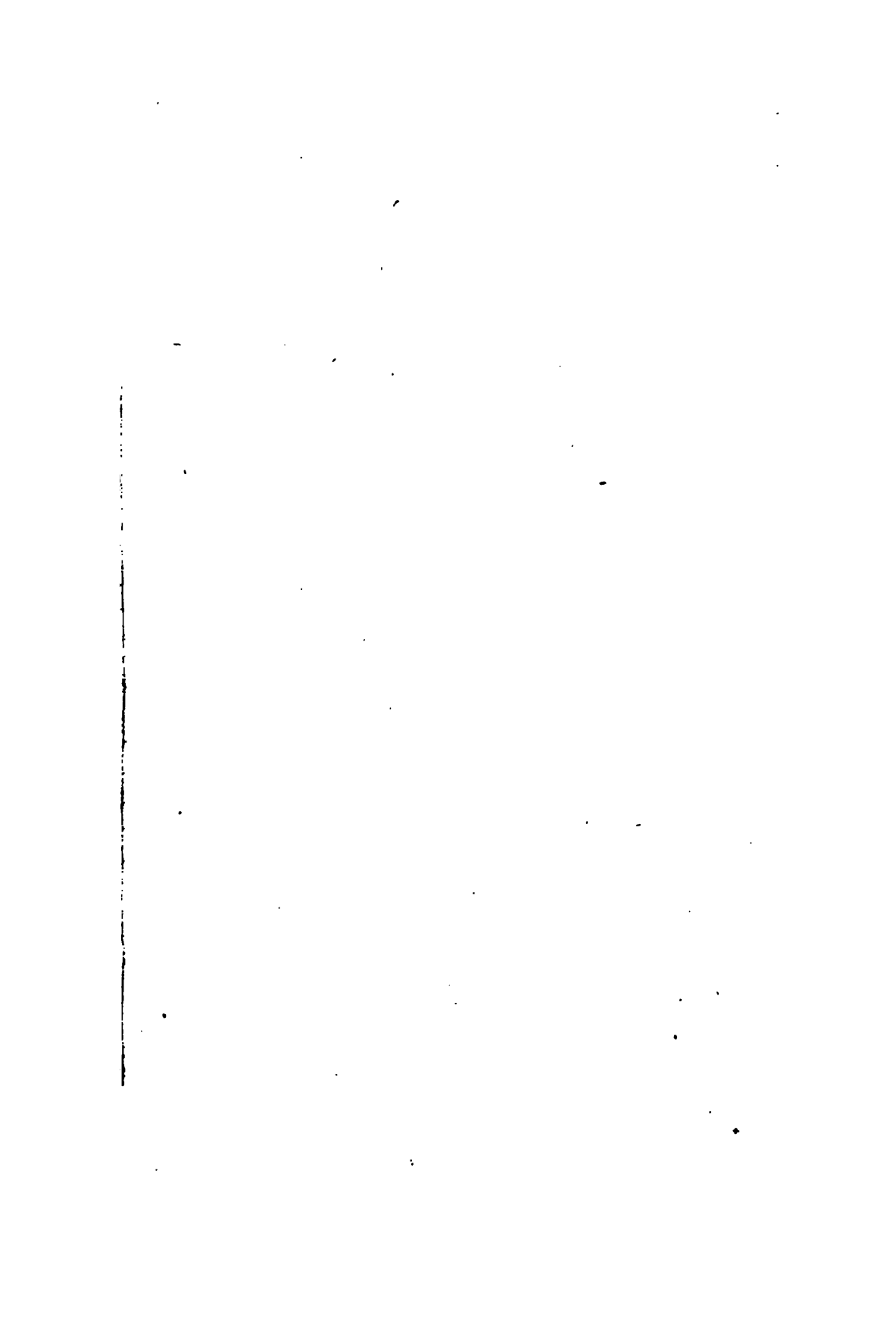
Such was the depraved state to which this superstition had sunk in the age of Moses and Balaam; and though grossly degenerated from its first state, the marks of its patriarchal original were even at this time not wholly obliterated. In the summons which Balaam received from Balak, he is required "to curse Jacob, and defy Israel:" and in the benediction which the seer of Pethor consequently utters, the prophecy of the patriarch is expressly quoted. Thus indeed was the occasion presented to the Mesopotamian Diviner to pro-

⁵⁴⁵ Instances of such confusion in this vile superstition have been already frequently pointed out; vid. supr. p. 90. 94. Amid this confusion and error, some intimations were preserved of the opposition which was marked between the state of innocence and of sin, and still more strongly in the fall and recovery. As the West had its Priapus and Saturn, the East had its Peor and Chemosh; this last title is thus derived by Leusden, Philol. Hebr. Mixt. XIV. p. 311. "Alii a כמש *abscondidit*, unde כמוש, h. e. Saturnus, *absconditus*." conf. supr. p. 137. et n.

claim the advent of the Expected Deliverer, as the imagery was suggested in which he delivers his prediction; the idols against which he denounces judgment, having assumed the emblematical characters, and usurped the divine honors of the Personage whose advent was predicted by Jacob.

From the error and the depravity of this debasing superstition, the Hebrew was by birthright exempt: for to him "the oracles of God were committed." And in them he learned, that "Bel should bow down, and Nebo be prostrated:" that "the nations should not flow any more unto him, but the wall of Babylon should fall, and judgment be done upon the graven images of Babylon." He was there taught, that the affairs of this lower world, were not bound up by a law of necessity, and dependent on the celestial influences; but ruled by the superintending providence of God; for there he read, that "the Lord hearkened to the voice of a man, and the sun stood still, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon;" that "the prophet cried unto the Lord, and he brought the shadow of the sun ten degrees backward." In refutation of the ethnic doctrine, that by purgations of fire and water, the world would be perpetually destroyed and renovated; he was assured, that there should not be "any more a flood to destroy the earth." Compared to these and the other glorious privileges of the Hebrew, the light imparted to the Gentiles was darkness; still it was sufficient to vindicate the ways of God, and leave man without excuse.









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