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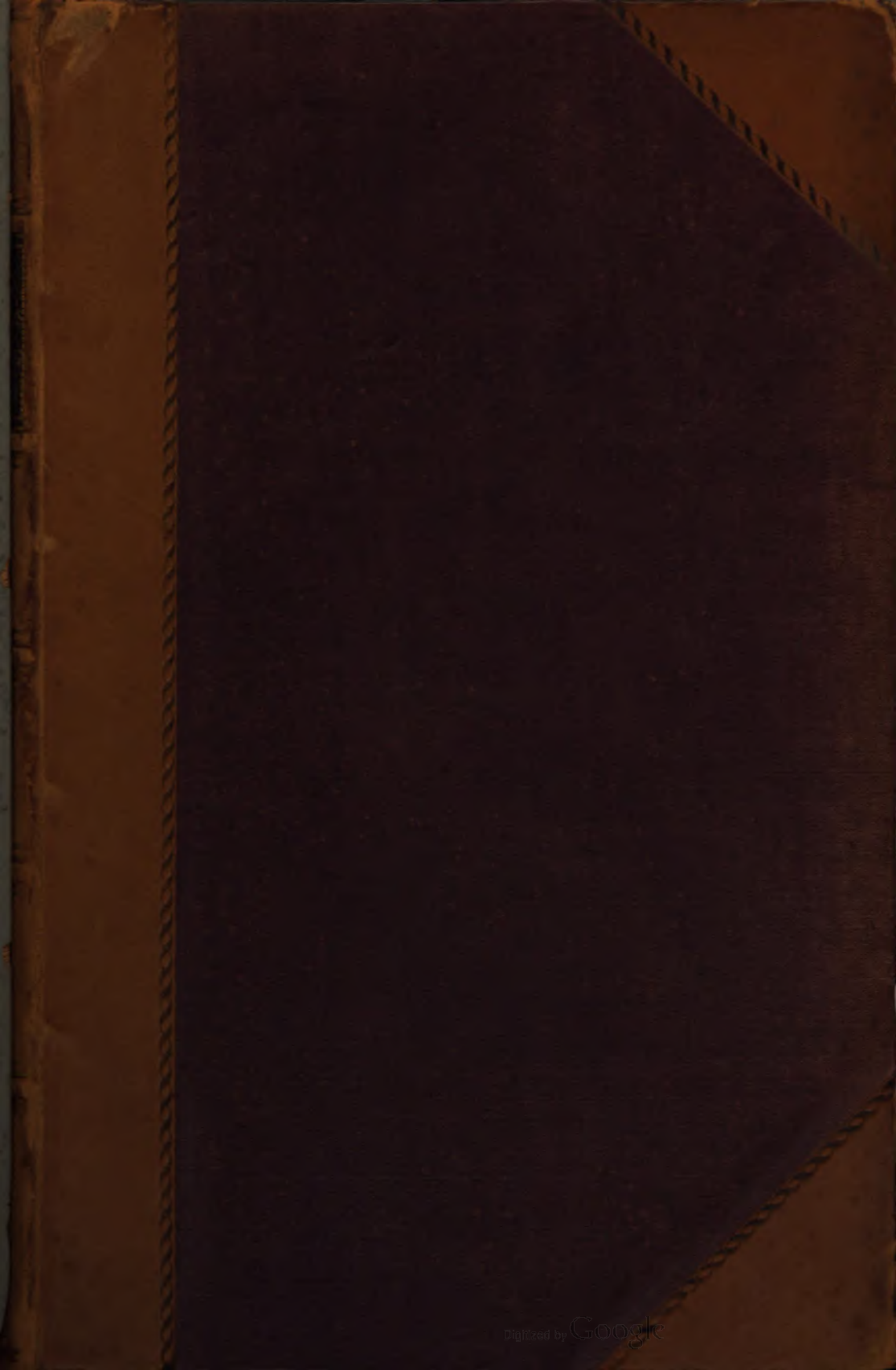
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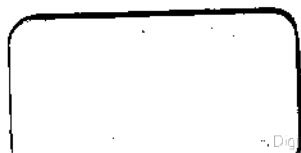
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701.



SYNCHRONOLOGY.

SYNCHRONOLOGY:

BEING

A TREATISE

ON THE

HISTORY, CHRONOLOGY, AND MYTHOLOGY

OF THE

ANCIENT EGYPTIANS, GREEKS, AND PHŒNICIANS,

AND THE

HARMONY BETWEEN THE CHRONOLOGY OF THOSE NATIONS
AND THAT OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

TABLES OF SYNCHRONOLOGY, GENEALOGIES, &c.

BY THE

REV. CHARLES CROSTHWAITE.

“Εἴη μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐκκαθαίρομενον λόγῳ τὸ μυθωδὲς ὑπακοῦσαι καὶ λαβεῖν
ἱστορίας ὄψιν.” PLUTARCH *in Theseo*.

“Permit us then, to take from fable her extravagance, and make her yield to, and
accept of, the form of History.” LANGHORNE.

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701.



TO THE

REVEREND JAMES SCHOLEFIELD, A. M.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

THE FOLLOWING WORK

IS INSCRIBED AS A MEMORIAL OF RESPECT AND AFFECTION

BY


THE AUTHOR.



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P R E F A C E.

THE learned world is here presented with a treatise, the result of the labour and study of near 20 years. The author therefore trusts he cannot be justly accused of rashness or precipitance; although the great Newton has been accused of both, after spending 30 years in arranging and digesting his work on the same subject.

It has been usual, and appears very suitable in most cases, that a new work on an old and important subject should be prefaced by some general statement of the circumstances which appeared to call for its production, and of the views of the author; with a notice of any peculiar difficulties attending the work, and the means used to overcome them.

The author was first led at the time above-mentioned, to engage more particularly in such enquiries and discussions, by the confused, unsatisfactory and contradictory notices as to the Chronology of ancient states, given in the great Chronological tables, and in those treatises then looked up to as standard works on the subject¹. This naturally led him to a careful re-exa-

¹ Mitford's Greece was the only work I could then meet with, which appeared to have correct Chronological views, or which rendered any fair meed of justice to the Chronological labours of Newton.

mination of Newton's work, the result of which was, that in that treatise he had at least fully convicted the old system of the grossest absurdity. Still Newton certainly left much undone, much to be accomplished by the studies and labours of successive Commentators.

Although he freed history from centuries of error in some instances, other errors of great importance escaped his notice and correction. He also left the collocation of events to be accurately arranged; and the minor errors of himself and others, (the tens and units of years), to be corrected at a future day if possible. Newton indeed removed mountains of deception and falsehood. But to erect a Chronological edifice on the ground thus cleared, he did not live to accomplish; and even if he had lived longer to benefit the world by his valuable lucubrations, it seems very questionable, how far such a task with all its minute details would have suited his gigantic mind.

As to the general difficulties which tend to obstruct modern Commentators, in their search after Chronological truth, one chapter of this work being devoted to that subject, it is not necessary to enlarge on them here. There is however another subject too serious and important to be omitted or lightly treated. A new spirit of error and deception has come forward of late years on the Continent, infecting the public seminaries, and arrogating to itself the pretensions of superior sagacity and superior learning; at

the same time impiously attacking the sacred volume, and seeking to reduce every thing found there to the level of its own microscopic views and low conceptions; denying or explaining away all the miracles⁸; and as far as possible, by hypercriticisms, sneers, and insinuations, seeking to lower our reverence for the word of God and divine things in general.

They call this Neology: its true designation is Infidelity and Blasphemy. As some of those continental writers held (alas!) theological professorships, they felt themselves restrained from directly and openly attacking the New Testament; but as to the books of the Old Testament, they in general speak most irreverently, treating them not as "Scripture given by inspiration of God," but as mere human compositions and records. There is some relief in knowing, that hitherto this spirit has been in a great measure confined to foreign Universities; our venerable establishment decidedly opposing its introduction into this country. But alas! it has, notwithstanding, even here found an entrance in some places, dangerous at least, if not destructive to truth, morality, and religion.

⁸ Whenever an attempt is made to explain a Scripture miracle, there is good reason to suspect infidelity. Our modern Sadducees are always ready to help out Scripture with a high tide, a strong wind, a swoon, an eclipse, an optical illusion, the Simoom, &c. They cannot bear the idea of a superintending interfering Almighty being, who declares they shall be responsible to Him for every idle word, and every evil intention. As to the particular case of Joshua, it is quite absurd to cavil at the form of his address to the Sun, it being in the very language of Astronomy, the only language at all intelligible. Astronomers never say the Meridian passed the Sun, but the Sun or Moon passed the Meridian; the Sun rose; the Sun set, &c.

This sceptical criticism, or critical scepticism—names equally suitable—which began in Infidelity, and bears date with the French Revolution, after some time very naturally and consistently extended itself from sacred to profane literature; and indeed it would seem rather unreasonable to expect those gentlemen to treat Herodotus and Livy with a degree of respect and confidence, which they had neither shewn nor felt with regard to the sacred oracles.

Whatever difficulties belong naturally to the subject of Chronology, on account of its great antiquity, and the falsification of records through the frauds of heathen priests, and the flatteries of Ctesias, Berosus and others; this confusion being still further perplexed by the calculations and systems of ancient and modern Chronologers; whatever, I say, has been the amount of such difficulties heretofore, they would be exceedingly increased and aggravated, were we to admit, we cannot say the principles, for there seems rather an exclusion of principle, say then, the views of this new school³; speculations tending not to enlighten and establish the mind of the enquirer, but to darken and unsettle it still farther, until light and darkness, truth and falsehood, vice and virtue, right and wrong, become so mystified and confounded, as to lose all their distinctive marks and characters, and the mind sinks into general scep-

* There was no lack of infidel writers long enough before. The novelty—the *Monstrum horrendum*, consisted in seeing the professors' chairs thus occupied, and public lectures on Hebrew or Classical literature made the vehicle for infidel opinions.

ticism, the most powerful preparative for every wicked imagination of the human heart, and for every crime. Atheism itself appears less dangerous, as being something intelligible, and easily refuted; but what can be done, or how can we argue, with a person who has no one fixed principle; on whose mind no one important truth has any firm hold; whose moral system, (the very word creed would be an insult to his superior mind), whose moral system, if he has any, admits neither definitions, nor axioms, nor postulates! Whether Niebuhr, Gesenius and some others could have foreseen the lengths to which those speculations have been since carried, and all the evils they have caused, and are still causing, it is impossible here to say, and useless now to enquire.

In what is stated above, the author must not be misunderstood, as if he wished to cast a general reflection on the literature and religious state of Germany, a country to which the world is so much indebted. On the contrary, the party which he has been compelled thus to notice, is but as a spot, compared with the number of sound excellent scholars and divines in that country.

In avoiding as far as possible too credulous admissions on the one hand, the author has endeavoured on the other hand to avoid this great evil, which has been well exposed by Mr Clinton and others. He has endeavoured to allow to every ancient writer of any

respectability, his due share of attention and credit; and where tradition could be ascertained to exist, he has endeavoured also to estimate and admit it at its real value. To conclude, the author sincerely wishes the reader to derive permanent benefit, as well as present gratification, from the studies here recommended; and that by meditating on the eventful records of Time, he may learn the value of true wisdom, and be led to make a suitable preparation for Eternity.

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SYNCHRONOLOGY.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE importance of Chronology as a science, need not I suppose, be insisted upon in the preface of a work addressed to the literary world in the nineteenth century. The number of learned and ingenious men, who have devoted a great portion of their lives, to the elucidation of the subject, and the encouragement given by the public to every work of this kind, which appears to possess any fair claim to its attention, shew that a lively and deep interest in enquiries of this nature, still exists: that neither the public attention, nor the subject itself, is yet exhausted.

To establish a sound chronological connection between the sacred scriptures and the most authentic and respectable of the heathen historians, has been considered a very desirable object, by the religious and well-informed, ever since the revival of letters in Europe. But it has been hitherto, an unfortunate circumstance for such a discussion, that it requires a reference to that portion of the history of ancient heathen nations, which includes within itself the origin of their rites and superstitions, and the account of the wars and exploits of those persons, whom they worshipped as their Gods and Demigods, or Heroes.

To veil those times and transactions in the most awful mystery and the deepest obscurity; to throw them back thousands and tens of thousands of years beyond all ideas of time and record was, with the heathen priests, an object of paramount importance to which every effort of their ingenuity was directed, and for which every artifice was employed. And to screen those matters afterwards, from the scrutiny of inquisitive and philosophic minds, required uncommon prudence and unceasing vigilance.

To free the chronological system of the ancients from the errors thus introduced into it¹, and from others arising from causes which seem rather accidental than intentional; to shew how the histories of the different states, when thus corrected, harmonize with each other; and lastly, to prove their harmony with the chronology of the Sacred Canon, are the objects of the following treatise.

The mythology of the ancients is so intimately connected with this subject, that it was impossible to avoid devoting a portion of the work to a discussion concerning its rise, progress, and essential character. In fact, the history and the mythology of the same period, in the history of ancient nations, are a perpetual commentary and supplement to each other. And the priests being often their only historians, we should sometimes meet an absolute hiatus, if the deficiency were not supplied in this manner.

History is fully entitled to the honourable character which it has received; it is indeed "Philosophy teaching by example." Incalculable therefore must be its value to the human race.

History is the great instrument which brings, as it were into a focus, all the light which the united experience of the world since its creation can supply upon any subject. We have here every experiment, whether moral or political, exhibited again and again, with all possible variety of situation and circumstance. These, in their countless modifications, supply the historian with a fund of materials rich and inexhaustible.

The difficulties I have already noticed affect with peculiar force, every attempt to investigate the history of that important period, emphatically called the Heroic age, a title which it appears to merit, on account of its having produced a number of men, who after making every deduction for the exaggerations of ignorance and the licence of poetry, must still have far exceeded, in powers of body and mind, the ordinary standard of the human species². The three persons whose exploits,

¹ "Εἴη μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐκκαθαίρομενον λόγῳ τὸ μυθῶδες ὑπακοῦσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἱστορίας ὄψιν." Plutarch in Theseo. "Permit us then to take from fable her extravagance, and make her yield to, and accept of the form of history." Langhorne.

² Mr Clinton remarks: "We may observe that the Greeks themselves, who are fanciful in etymology, have often been led from the accidental import of

collected and confounded, formed the character, worshipped as Hercules; Sesostris the great king of Egypt; Minos the great king of Crete; Hermes, Perseus, Orpheus, Chiron, Musæus, Dædalus and Theseus, were all men of renown, men whose endowments or achievements would have commanded admiration in any age or country.

The Heroic age was that in which intelligence and civilisation first dawned upon Europe. From this age we date the foundation of the wisest of the heathen institutions, and the beginning of that train of warriors, patriots, poets and philosophers, which made Greece the school and model of all that was refined and dignified among ancient nations. Nor is this without something approaching to a parallel in the modern history of Europe. Our own wisest and noblest institutions, Trial by Jury, Magna Charta, the Common Law, and Parliaments, had their origin in ages fierce, ignorant, and disturbed.

With regard to the Heroic age, I consider the following events as cardinal and germinating, and have therefore given particular attention to ascertain their dates with as much exactness as the subject and circumstances will admit.

- I. The conquest of Egypt by the Shepherd kings.
- II. The expulsion of the Shepherd kings from Egypt.
- III. The founding of the Grecian states,—of Tyre and of Troy.
- IV. The invasion of Greece by Osiris.
- V. The arrival of Danaus in Greece, and the institution of the Eleusinian mysteries.
- VI. The Argonautic expedition.
- VII. The Theban war.
- VIII. The Trojan war.
- XI. The return of the Heraclidæ.

In discussing these subjects, I have been compelled, with whatever reluctance, to differ from some writers for whom I entertain a very high respect, and whose works it is impossible to read without receiving pleasure and information. I am

a name to invent a fable, which has thrown discredit on the name itself. But the person may be real, although the tale to which his name had given occasion is a mere invention fabricated in a later age. We may acknowledge as real persons all those whom there is no reason for rejecting. The presumption is in favour of the early tradition, if no argument can be brought to overthrow it." *Fæsti Hellenici, Introduction.*

obliged to notice in particular, the venerable Bishop Cumberland, the laborious and classical Mr Bryant, and in my own time, the pious, learned, and ingenious Doctor Hales. The authorities and arguments, which have induced me to differ from men so highly and justly respected, shall be placed before the reader in the course of the work: and after giving the subject a very long and laborious investigation, I am obliged to declare that Newton's chronology, notwithstanding its numerous errors, is the only modern work from which I have been able to derive any very efficient light or assistance concerning the perplexed periods under examination.

The difficulties, in which the subject is involved, cannot perhaps be appreciated better than by considering the number, the learning, and the talent of those who have devoted so much time and labour to its investigation, and whose enquiries have led them to form conclusions so very different, and often even contradictory. The author of the following treatise for his own part, feels it his duty to declare, that he has found in their works proofs of powerful mind and indefatigable perseverance; and that he is indebted to them for much valuable information as to particulars, although so often obliged to differ from them as to the great general results; and this he hopes will be received as a general acknowledgement, in case he may have omitted one more particular, for any thing he has taken from their works.

In the following pages there is frequently occasion to mention *The old long system of Chronology*. In order that the expression may not seem too indefinite, the reader is informed, that whenever it is used without naming any original author, it always refers to the great Chronological Table of the *Universal History*, a work which is expressly compiled upon that system. I am induced to do so, not only on account of the great respectability of that work, and because it gives in its Index the fullest view of the old system which I have seen, but I am also in some degree influenced by the example of Doctor Hales, who has made very general reference to it in his *Analysis of Chronology*.

While this work was preparing for publication, some very learned and talented authors have given their labours to the public. I must here more especially notice Mr Thirlwall's work on the ancient Greeks, and Mr Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, two

works of great talent and research, which the lovers of Grecian history and literature will find truly valuable, in the light which they shed on those dark and remote ages.

As to the Synchronology, how far my views differ from theirs, will appear in the course of this work; as well as the reasons and calculations by which I have been led to the results here brought forward.

There is one leading point of agreement between me and Mr Clinton. He does not, like Mr Bryant, reject the Trojan war as fabulous; but on the contrary, makes the destruction of Troy (as I have done) the cardinal point in arranging his collocation of the events of the Heroic age. He also considers the Argonautic expedition as a real historical event.

After examining these treatises and some others, and inserting some brief notices and extracts, with explanations of our differences where I thought it necessary, I am still convinced, that there was ample room left for the exercise of talent, and for another work on the chronology, internal and external, of that interesting period. If my views are correct, such a work was still requisite to clear the subject from much obscurity and a mass of errors and contradictions.

Errors in chronology naturally divide themselves into two classes, viz. (1) Errors and corruptions vitiating ancient authors and records. (2) Errors of modern Commentators. In this order we shall proceed to examine them in the following Chapters.

CHAPTER II.

OF ERRORS AND CORRUPTIONS IN ANCIENT AUTHORS.

THE gross errors, discrepancies, and corruptions, abounding in almost all the ancient authors may, I think, in general be attributed to one or more of the following causes.

I. The scarcity of authentic records¹. There is no ac-

¹ Josephus says, that "there is not any writing, which the Greeks agree to be genuine, among them, more ancient than Homer's poems." "ὅλων δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐδὲν βυολογούμενον εὐρίσκειται γράμμα τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως πρὸ βῆτερον." Joseph. con. Apion. Lib. 1. §. 2. And again he says, that not

count of any prose authors among the Greeks before Pherecydes Scyrius and Cadmus Milesius, who wrote in the reign of Cyrus; and the poets used great license in treating of historical subjects.

II. The interest of the heathen priests, which led them to give to their temples and religious institutions the greatest possible appearance of antiquity.

For this purpose they altered and corrupted the documents in their care, interpolating and transposing the reigns of kings, and even sometimes repeating entire dynasties, under names dialectically different², or with different epithets, and often inserting names and circumstances wholly fictitious. For the same purpose they also falsified the length of the reigns of their kings, making them in general reign forty or fifty years, and sometimes even ninety or one hundred years³.

In those early times it often occurred that the same king was known by a variety of names and titles, some given to him by his own subjects and flatterers, some by other nations. These, after a lapse of time were often mistaken, and often, perhaps wilfully misrepresented as separate persons.

III. The vanity of princes wishing to inspire their subjects with greater reverence, or seeking to conceal the obscurity or disgraceful circumstances of their origin, or that of their family, by connecting it with the superstition of their age and country⁴. This was frequently done by corrupting

only was literature neglected by the other Greeks, but even the polite Athenians had not any prose writings more ancient than the laws of Draco who lived only a short time before Pisistratus.

"Οὐ γὰρ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν ἡμελήθη τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οὐκ αὐτόχθονας εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ παιδείας ἐπιμελεῖς, οὐδὲν τοιοῦταν εὐρίσκειται γενόμενον· ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ἀρχαιοτάτους εἶναι φασί, τοῦ ὑπὸ Δράκοντος αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν φοινικῶν γραφέντας νόμου, ὀλίγω πρότερον τῆς Πεισιστρατοῦ τυραννίδος ἀνθρώπου γεγενότος." Ibid.

² It would seem that when Egypt was powerful and mistress of many foreign countries, there were lists of the kings kept in the archives of the different provinces and cities. Some of them perhaps made at different times. In these there was so much difference of title, dialect, and even language, that when after a great lapse of time, they were brought together, people not understanding them, nor perceiving their identity, often placed them in consecutive order, although in reality only different records of the same dynasty.

³ Eratosthenes and Manetho make some of the kings of Egypt to have reigned ninety, and one hundred years.

⁴ We find Alexander the Great using a device of this kind, and in an age comparatively enlightened.

the existing records through the agency or the connivance of the priest, who was himself often a near relative or creature of the reigning monarch.

IV. The general state of language, which in many states was in its infancy and chiefly oral.

Names were very frequently not transcribed from documents but written according to the pronunciation. Now, as this would require accuracy in two persons, the speaker and the writer, it must have been a fruitful source of variety. Moreover, the speaker himself very often had his information only at second, third, fourth, or fifth hand. Add to this the uncertainty arising from the different alphabets used by different nations, to some of which sounds were familiar, which others were absolutely unable to articulate⁵.

V. The great licence taken by the ancients in the use, or rather the abuse of euphony, with regard to proper names, the letters of which, they transposed, modified, or even altered entirely to make the name more musical or less offensive to the ear. The taste, I might almost call it, the rage of the Greeks for poetry and music at an early date, must have greatly encouraged this euphonic licence.

In this stage of the discussion, it will be useful to set before the reader, a brief notice of the principal chronologers of antiquity, and some account of their labours. This I shall extract from Newton, giving the statement in his own quaint forcible language⁶.

B.C. "Pliny, in reckoning up the inventors of things, tells
cir. 515. us⁷ that *Pherecydes Scyrius* taught to compose discourses in prose in the reign of Cyrus;—and *Cadmus Milesius* to write history. And in another place he saith that *Cadmus Milesius* was the first that ever wrote in prose⁸.

B.C. 640. "Josephus tells us that *Cadmus Milesius* and *Acutilaus* were but a little before the expedition of the Persians against the Greeks⁹.

⁵ Such a difference existed between the Ephraimites and Gileadites although living near each other, as to the word Shibolet or Siboleth (see Judges xii. 6). And the sound *th*, so general in our language, is almost unknown on the continent, and cannot be pronounced by foreigners without great difficulty.

⁶ *Newt. Chron.* p. 46, 8vo. edition.

⁷ *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. vii. c. 56.*

⁸ *Ibid. Lib. v. c. 29.*

⁹ *Joseph. contra Apion. sub initio.*

“And Suidas calls *Acusilaus* a most ancient historian¹⁰, and saith that he wrote genealogies out of tables of brass, which his father as was reported found in a corner of his house. Who hid them there may be doubted: for the Greeks had no public table nor inscription older than the laws of *Draco*¹¹.”

B.C. 500. “*Pherecydes Atheniensis*, in the reign of *Darius Histaspis* or soon after, wrote of the antiquities and ancient genealogies of the Athenians in ten books, and was one of the first European writers of this kind, and one of the best; whence he had the name of *Genealogus*: and by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* is said to be second to none of the genealogers¹².”

“*Epimenides*, not the philosopher, but an historian, wrote also of the ancient genealogies.

B.C. 476. “And *Hellanicus*, who was twelve years older than *Herodotus*, digested his history by the ages or successions of the priestesses of *Juno Argiva*.

“Others digested theirs by those of the Archons of Athens, or the kings of the *Lacedæmonians*.

B.C. 369. “*Hippias* the Elean, published a Breviary of the Olympiads, supported by no certain authority, as *Plutarch* tells us¹³. He lived in the 105th Olympiad, and was derided by *Plato* for his ignorance. This Breviary seems to have contained nothing more than a short account of the victors in every Olympiad.

B.C. 352. “Then *Ephorus* the disciple of *Isocrates*¹⁴ formed a chronological history of Greece, beginning with the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, and ending with the siege of *Perinthus*, in the 20th year of *Philip*, the father of *Alexander the Great*; that is, eleven years before the fall of the *Persian Empire*. But he digested things by generations; and the reckoning by the Olympiads, or by any other æra, was not yet in use among the Greeks¹⁵.”

B.C. 364. “The *Arundelian Marbles* were composed 60 years after the death of *Alexander the Great* (An. 4. Olymp. 128.) and yet mention not the Olympiads, nor any other standing æra, but reckon backwards from the time then present.

B.C. 262. “But chronology was now reduced to a reckoning by years; and in the next Olympiad *Timæus Siculus* improved it, for

¹⁰ Suidas in *Acusilao*.

¹¹ *Dionys. Lib. 1. initio*.

¹⁴ *Diodor. Lib. XVI. p. 550. edit. Steph.*

¹³ *Joseph. contra Apion Lib. 1.*

¹² *Plutarch. in Numa.*

¹⁵ *Polyb. p. 379. B.*

he wrote a history in several books down to his own times according to the Olympiads: comparing the Ephori, the kings of Sparta, the Archons of Athens, and the Priestesses of Argos, with the Olympic victors, so as to make the Olympiads, and the genealogies and successions of kings and priestesses, and the poetical histories suit with one another, according to the best of his judgement.

B.C. "Where he (Timæus Siculus) left off, *Polybius* be-
died 124. gan, and carried on the history.

B.C. 200. "*Eratosthenes* wrote above an hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great.

B.C. 115. "He was followed by *Apollodorus*, and these two have been followed ever since by chronologers."

As to the materials on which they grounded their calculations, and the way in which they calculated from them, it is evident that there were no regular registers kept until about the year 500 B.C. For had there been any such, those disputes could not have existed concerning the dates of events of the greatest importance.

As to the Olympiads, if events had been registered as they occurred, all error and uncertainty might have been prevented. But we do not find any author referring events to Olympiads, until above 500 years after the date assigned to the first Olympiad; any reference therefore to any Olympiad before the 60th must in general be retrospective; and is in general false, being only the result of very erroneous calculations.

The same observations apply to the notices of the archons of Athens of early date; they are mere guess-work, as the incorrectness of the Parian Chronicle abundantly testifies.

I have already observed that there were not any very ancient Greek records; at least we find no traces of their existence. Their poetical legends and popular traditions transmitted only celebrated names—great events—and the exploits of kings and heroes—but in general without any distinct or authentic reference to time.

In consequence, when the first chronologers attempted the construction of regular tables, such as the Parian Chronicle, &c. they had no guide as to time, except their own powers of calculating how much time so many reigns at such an estimated average would amount to. But unfor-

tunately, the first principles on which such calculations ought to proceed were then utterly unknown.

This subject will be fully discussed in the fifteenth Chapter.

CHAPTER III.

SOURCES OF ERROR IN MODERN COMMENTATORS.

THE causes of error in modern authors who have written upon this subject, may I think be classed under the two following heads.

I. The great difficulty of forming a sound and accurate judgement on a subject now so remote as to time, and from authors who disagree so much, and who are all apparently more or less in error.

II. An obstruction, still more fatal to the cause of truth, has been found in the prejudices and preconceived theories of those learned and talented men who have treated on the subject in modern times.

As all human faculties are limited, it belongs to our best interests, to be well acquainted with those limits by which our faculties are bounded. In historical researches, if the subject be deeply involved in doubt and obscurity, no human powers can in most cases evolve it from such a situation, into that certainty which is attainable in matters of science.

Nevertheless that degree of knowledge which we can attain, is not to be despised or neglected; but on the contrary is highly valuable and important.

We can, in general, discover that medium of probability which is the middle point between opposite utter improbabilities, and which can never be far from the truth we are in pursuit of; and I must observe that this is the very kind and degree of conviction, by which all men are obliged to conduct themselves in the ordinary transactions of life.¹

It is neither necessary nor consistent with our limits to notice all the modern writers on this subject. In the works of Newton, Cumberland, Bryant, and Hales, may be seen, I think,

¹ This subject is treated most admirably in Butler's *Analogy*.

most of the lights, and all the errors worthy of notice which have been contributed by modern commentators, on the subject of ancient chronology².

CHAPTER IV.

OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S CHRONOLOGY.

NEWTON had original, clear, and masterly views of the subject, far surpassing any thing which had appeared before his time. But, like the reformers of our faith, he was considered by many of his cotemporaries as a dangerous innovator; for his propositions tended to overturn a system in which a course of error had been sanctioned by the prescription of ages. It might only be expected, that he should meet severe language from those, who neither could understand and enter into his views, nor had power to confute them.

It must also be acknowledged, that the subject did not admit of the same decided success in the way of absolute demonstration, which crowned his labours on subjects purely scientific. But on the other hand it is by no means true that he failed, and far less true, that he failed to the degree which has been asserted or insinuated by his opponents.

Newton spent the leisure of thirty years in examining all the authors which could afford him any light upon the subject; and in composing, correcting, and repeatedly transcribing his work on the Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms. This work he did not live to prepare for the press; it was however published, crude and unfinished as it was, by his nephew. Any alteration in the text would have been, no doubt, a most unjustifiable liberty. But it is much to be regretted that a work of so much interest, and from such an author, was so indifferently edited. It has not any of the usual and necessary facilities of divisions into chapters, heading or margin, tables of contents, or index of any kind;

² To these must now be added Mr Clinton and Mr Thirlwall.

so that, in its present state, it is, of all the books that I have seen, the most inconvenient either for study or reference, and to this circumstance I must ascribe much of the prejudice which it has encountered in the learned world.

In this work we must rather expect to find clear, sound, general principles, which his genius seemed to grasp instinctively, than accuracy of detail, which would have required a course of tedious and repeated approximation. Beside an injudicious and unsuccessful attempt to introduce astronomy into his proofs, there are many minor errors which may be fairly considered as the oversights incident to a great mind, taking new views on an extended, complex, and very difficult subject.

And upon the whole, I think his work justly merits the eulogium so often pronounced by the learned world, "That what Newton made a matter of recreation, would have been considered the honourable labour of the life of any other man."

Newton made the Argonautic expedition his cardinal point for adjusting the dates of the Heroic age, and took one of his proofs from the equinoctial points on the sphere said to be constructed for the use of that expedition. But as he did not prove, or even attempt to prove, that the equinoctial points were actually then in the middle of the respective signs as assumed by him, many of the learned rejected his entire theory on that account, although it is supported by an immense weight of other independent proofs and arguments taken from history, which as they could not easily combat, they have not condescended to reply to, or even to notice. This was not, I think, giving either him or the subject a fair trial. Both the rules of argument and the laws of evidence, require a different course of proceeding. And upon the whole I must say, that I think every reader of candour and discernment will find the work, although crude and unfinished, still not any way unworthy of the name of Newton.

As to the Argonautic sphere, that such a thing really existed is I think highly probable¹: the Egyptians had been

¹ If we were told that Solomon had a celestial sphere, we should not think it at all improbable; but the Argonautic expedition occurred more than a generation after the death of Solomon: what makes it still more probable is that the ancients in general thought the heavens actually a sphere.

long before that date attentive observers of the constellations², had no doubt traced them on a sphere, and observed their Heliacal risings³ and other phenomena with as much accuracy as the infancy of the science would permit. By the stars they regulated their year, their public observances, and their navigation by night⁴.

When the disastrous war of the Titans drove so many learned Egyptians to seek an asylum in Greece, their knowledge of astronomy must have travelled with them. Diogenes Laertius informs us that Musæus, the son of Eumolpus was conspicuous among the Athenians, having first treated in poetry of the genealogy of the Gods, and of the sphere⁵. As Musæus was cotemporary with the Argonauts, there cannot be any improbability whatever in the ancient account of the existence of such a sphere. Linus who was cotemporary with Musæus also wrote upon astronomy⁶.

But authors have confounded the sphere, as it may have been delineated, for the use of the Argonauts setting out on their expedition, with those alterations and additions made after their return to commemorate their victories.

The constellation Gemini, which had been two kids, was changed to Castor and Pollux, and some new constellations

² Diodorus Siculus considers them to have been the inventors of Astronomy: "εἰ τε τῶν ἀστρῶν ἀρχαιόταται παρατηρήσεις εὐρήσθαι λέγονται." Diod. Sic. Lib. 1.

³ Newton likewise excited much opposition, by his calculation of the date of Hesiod from the heliacal rising of Arcturus. On this subject see Part IV. Chap. 17.

⁴ They err greatly, I think, who suppose that the Egyptians were indebted to the Chaldeans for astronomy, or for any other art or science. Necessity has been truly called the parent of invention, and the nature of their country compelled the Egyptians, at a very early date, to attend both to geometry and astronomy. "All the learning of the Egyptians" is spoken emphatically of a period, many centuries before we hear any thing about the Chaldeans. "Καὶ ἐπαιδέυθη Μωσῆς πάση σοφίᾳ Αἰγυπτίων." Acts vii. 22. Syncellus indeed informs us that the Chaldeans, from the time of Nabonassar, accurately observed the motions of the stars, and Pliny from Epigenes, says they had observations of eclipses, which agreed with those of Hipparchus. Both which accounts seem probable enough, but neither prove nor imply any thing as to great antiquity of the Chaldean astronomy.

⁵ "Ἴδὸν γοῦν παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις γέγονε Μουσαῖος, παρὰ Θεβαίοις Λίνος. Καὶ τὸν μὲν Εὐμόλπου παῖδά φασὶ ποιῆσαι θεογονίαν καὶ σφαιρᾶν πρῶτον." Diogenes Laertius, Proem.

⁶ "Τὸν δὲ Λίνου παῖδα εἶναι Ἐρμού καὶ Μωσῆς Θύρανίας, ποιῆσαι δὲ κοσμογονίαν, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν." Ibid.

were formed? The ship *Argo* must have its constellation, but as there was not any sufficient space vacant in the northern hemisphere, or suitable stars unoccupied, they were obliged to place her in the south. As they returned through the Mediterranean, this constellation would appear to great advantage, exactly level with the sea. Even the star *Canopus*, about which so much objection has been raised, is there splendidly visible. This subject is considered more at large in Part IV. Chap. IV.

CHAPTER V.

OF BISHOP CUMBERLAND'S TREATISE ENTITLED, "ORIGINES GENTIUM ANTIQUISSIMÆ", AND HIS LATIN TREATISE ON THE CABIRI.

THE matter of both of these works, and especially of the former of them, is principally extracted from *Sanchoniatho* and *Syncellus*, as to the profane authorities. The former of these is now pretty well ascertained to be a production altogether spurious, and the very name fictitious, and indeed independent of this, the internal evidences of falsehood in every part are so clear and multiplied, that I am much surprised that the Bishop, who was a truly able and learned man, could be induced to give it either credit or attention. In *Syncellus* some truth may certainly be found, but so much disguised and corrupted by interpolations, that it scarcely repays the labour of the search. The fact I believe is, that the learned of that day were not sufficiently aware of the great corruptions existing in ancient authors, at least so it evidently was with the good Bishop, who seems fully satisfied as to the soundness of his materials. The case is different however in those parts of his work where his observations are taken from the Scripture and authentic history. There we follow him with pleasure and advantage.

In conclusion however, it must be observed, that the light thrown upon those subjects in later publications is beginning to render both these treatises rather obsolete.

⁷ Newton says, "The sphere itself shews that it was delineated in the time of the Argonautic expedition, for that expedition is delineated in the *Asterisms*, together with several other antienter histories of the Greeks; and without any thing later." He then goes on to explain and prove this at large. See *Newt. Chron.* p. 88, 8vo. Edit.

CHAPTER VI.

OF MODERN COMMENTATORS.

ON MR BRYANT'S TREATISE ON THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE ANCIENTS.

IN this work we find almost every page replete with the evidences of learned and laborious research, displayed in a rich and most interesting collection of valuable quotations. Possessing an extensive knowledge of History and the Classics, and what was equally valuable, a respectable acquaintance with the Hebrew language and its Cognates, Mr Bryant seemed peculiarly qualified for such an undertaking. But I am sorry to be obliged to observe, that these advantages were fully balanced by qualities of an opposite tendency, and that he appears to me, of all the writers on the subject, to be the most wild in speculation, the most confident in assertion, and the most feeble in argument.

Unfortunately his knowledge of history seems not to have increased his knowledge of mankind: and his acquaintance with the ancient languages, led him too much into the habit of hunting after remote and irrelevant etymologies, suited, not to elucidate the subject, but to support a wild and absurd preconceived system.

Whenever on the contrary he has been satisfied with making collections of materials instead of discovering new theories, his labours as an antiquarian have been both honourable to himself and valuable to the public.

A man setting out in search of truth ought to divest himself, as much as possible, of all prejudices and preconceptions. He ought likewise to use all his skill and industry in collecting a competent stock of the best authenticated facts, historical or natural, suited to the occasion. From these, if on a cool and careful examination, a system should appear to arise naturally, it may probably be the true one, but not otherwise.

One favourite idea which appears to have been chiefly instrumental in misleading Mr Bryant and some other writers on mythology, was the supposition, that all the heathen re-

ligious institutions had reference to the family of Noah, and the Noachian deluge.

That there were traditions of the general deluge in every nation, which had preserved any very ancient traditions at all, seems sufficiently established, and generally allowed: but to strain and distort every thing relevant and irrelevant to make it harmonize with that system, not even sparing history, authentic history itself, tends by no means to serve the cause of truth and revealed religion. And indeed when a case has been proved by sufficient respectable testimony, the addition of any number of doubtful or exceptionable witnesses, must be rather an injury than an advantage.

The Almighty has not left this signal exercise of his justice depending for a record on human tradition. The whole aspect of this globe, wherever it has been trodden by the peasant or explored by the philosopher, the heights of the loftiest mountains¹ and the recesses of the deepest caverns and mines², confirm the scripture account of the deluge: and declare to every age that there is a God who recompenses the wicked³.

The Egyptians and Sidonians, with their colonies, and connections, were not ignorant of the leading facts of Scripture history, having received them from their neighbours the Jews, with whom they had constant intercourse.

The Greeks had a tradition that Jupiter, provoked by the great wickedness of mankind, involved the whole earth

¹ On the Andes in S. America, Ulloa found bivalve shells, at an elevation of several thousand feet above the level of the sea; and among the same rocks, drift wood petrified, which appeared to have been drifted there at the same time. See an admirable essay on this subject, by the late Richard Kirwan, Esq. President of the Royal Irish Academy, published in their Transactions, Vol. VI.

² Near Maestricht, among other fossils, were found the head of a crocodile, some tortoise shells, sharks teeth, &c. Skeletons of Elephants and Rhinoceroses are often dug up in the northern part of Siberia, and an entire carcass not long since in wonderful preservation. Some caverns have been lately discovered in England, in which were found bones of antediluvian animals in great quantity and variety.

³ I think it probable that when the deluge retired, it left all the land of the globe, both continents, and what are now islands, connected by low plains, which were cut through by the action of tides and storms in successive centuries. What are now chains of islands, were I think at first chains of hills, and that Behrings straits, the straits of Gibraltar, and many others were probably not then open. The smaller animals might thus have time to extend themselves over the earth.

in one destructive flood, sparing only one pious pair. And in other nations we find notices nearly similar. This surely might satisfy the most anxious antiquarian, but not so—this does not satisfy Mr B.; Noah and his sons must be found in every thing; Jupiter must be Ham⁴; Isis must be the wife of Noah⁵; and the ship Argo must be the ark,—for the Greek writers say it was the first ship ever built.

To what lengths will rage for a favourite hypothesis sometimes carry an author! Strange, that Mr B. could make such an assertion. Must he not have known, if he had recollected himself for a moment, that the Greek authors declare on the contrary that the ship Argo was *not* the first ship, but that it was built after the model of the large ship of fifty oars, in which Danaus and his attendants came from Egypt to Greece? Nay more, that the circumstance was one of the greatest public notoriety, and that many of the most distinguished families in Greece traced their origin and parentage to persons, who were passengers in that very ship from which the ship Argo was copied?

He found Newton's views, both of chronology and mythology, diametrically opposite to his own; and he expresses his dissent in terms not over courteous, indeed scarcely decent. Finding also that the ancient Greek histories stood directly in the way of his own system, he removed the difficulty at once, by denying almost all the leading facts. He denies that there ever was such a place as Troy⁶, or such an occur-

⁴ For reasons that make it utterly improbable, if not impossible, that Ham and Jupiter Ammon could be the same, see Part III. Chap. II.

⁵ Referring to this subject, the learned and ingenious Sir W. Jones, after bearing testimony to the erudition of Mr Bryant, goes on to remark, "This part of the system is in my opinion carried too far; nor can I persuade myself, (to give one instance out of many) that the beautiful allegory of Cupid and Psyche had the remotest allusion to the deluge; or that Hymen signifies the veil which covered the patriarch and his family. These propositions however are supported with great ingenuity and solid erudition. But unfortunately for the argument, and unfortunately perhaps for the fame of the work itself, recourse is had to etymological conjecture, than which no mode of reasoning is in general weaker or more delusive."

⁶ The Trojan war is marked, not only, by the fall of that state, but also by its destructive consequences, to the Greeks themselves, and the death of many of their leaders. Also by the founding of many new States in Italy, Sicily and other countries. It is therefore recognised, not only, as might be expected, by the Epic poets, and writers of Tragedy, but also by all the respectable historians of antiquity. Not to multiply quotations, I shall just observe that the cautious

rence as the Argonautic expedition⁷, although he admits that all the historians of respectability have agreed as to the existence of both. He likewise denies the existence of Ninus, Semiramis, Sesostriis, Chiron, Cadmus, Pelops, Atlas or Italus, Dardanus, Minos, Zoroaster, Jason, Hercules, &c. &c. And this he calls clearing his way, although the actual existence of these persons is proved by the very strongest of historical evidence; by the uninterrupted belief of the ancients, and by their uninterrupted observance of commemorative institutions; of which ample monuments remain to this day.

In place of the heroes thus cruelly sacrificed, he gives a liberal supply of tribes of his own invention, for the existence of which he does not quote any sort of authority, perhaps expecting that the weight of his opinion will make such a reference unnecessary with his readers in general.

He says that the exploits attributed to Osiris could not have been performed by any one person, but were performed by Osirians,—it must have been so.

Those ascribed to Hercules were achieved by Herculeans—and so of others. But have not Alexander, Cæsar⁸, Timur, Zengis, Charles XII. and Buonaparte performed actions, equal or superior in courage, talent and atrocity?

and accurate Thucydides adverts to it as a great historical event, neither questioned nor questionable. He thus speaks of the ancient state of Greece. "Δηλοὶ δέ μοι καὶ τότε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθενείαν οὐχ ἤκιστα. πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῆ ἐργασαμένη ἢ Ἑλλάς." Thucydides, Bell. Pelop. Lib. 1. The fall of Troy was to the Greeks of that age, what the fall of Carthage was to Rome.

Herodotus learned in Egypt many particulars relative to the Trojan war, which had been recorded in that country; and among the rest, that Paris, when he was carrying off Helen, was driven by a storm to Egypt, and that Proteus who then reigned, detained her there until her husband Menelaus went for her after the war was concluded. The Trojans told the Greeks, that neither Helen nor her treasures came to their city, but the Greeks did not believe them. "Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληες καταγελάσθαι δοκέοντες ἰπ' αὐτῶν, οὕτω δὲ ἐπολιόρκειον, ἐς δ' ἐξείλω, ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἢ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυθάνοντο, οὕτω δὲ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληες αὐτὸν Μενέλεω ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτεά. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἀναπλάσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἶπας τὴν ἀληθῆ ἢ τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίῳ ἤρτησε μεγάλων, καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθία κακῶν ἀπέλαβε πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου χρήματα πάντα." Herodotus, Lib. II. c. 118, 119.

⁷ The Argonautic expedition was memorable in Asia by the destruction of two wealthy cities Colchos and Troy, and the death of both their kings; and in Greece by the spoils, trophies, and captives which enriched the conquerors.

⁸ The first of these was worshipped during his life, and the second deified immediately after his death.

Another favourite point with Mr B. is, to prove the extensive power of the family of Chus. He cannot comprehend those figures in ancient authors: *golden apples, golden sands, golden harvests*, &c. His skill in etymology tells him that the word ought to be *Chuseos* instead of *Chruseos*: and that the true meaning is, *Ethiopian apples, Ethiopian sands, Ethiopian harvests*, &c. The work abounds with verbal criticisms of this kind, supporting propositions equally weak and unfounded.

A moderate knowledge of mankind, would have shewn him, that the prevailing tendency in every age, is not to form characters altogether new and fictitious, by whose praise no man would feel his interest advanced, or his pride flattered. But that there has always existed in the world, a strong disposition to exaggerate whatever occurs that is great, wonderful, or extraordinary.

Hence it becomes the chief employment of the bard to gratify the vanity of his patron by extolling to the skies the deeds of his great ancestors, and from this source we derive the materials of all the ancient Epic poems and Romances.

CHAPTER VII.

OF DOCTOR HALE'S ANALYSIS OF CHRONOLOGY.

THIS in my opinion, is a work of great merit and value, being a copious and very luminous treatise on the subject, the offspring of great and laudable exertion, and highly respectable for the piety, learning and talent shewn in the execution¹. It is not however without many errors, and some of them sufficient to affect the credit of any author of minor reputation.

A strong attachment, which I am rather inclined to think well-founded, for the longer² system of chronology of the Old

¹ I must not omit to notice the Index, which is truly admirable, and must have cost the author prodigious labour.

² As to the question, so ably debated, between the longer and shorter chronology of Scripture, I must here inform my readers once for all, that this treatise has no reference whatever to that question.

The dates and times which I propose to examine and synchronise, are fortunately within that subsequent portion of Scripture, concerning which all parties are agreed; so that our enquiries do not any way affect either of the systems above mentioned.

Testament Scriptures, perhaps led Dr Hales to a somewhat similar predilection for the long chronology of the old tables of profane history, and this appears to have influenced both the judgement and feelings of the worthy author rather more than was desirable, in the conduct of a work such as that in which he was engaged.

He attacks Sir Isaac Newton's treatise on the same subject in the most unqualified terms. After quoting with approbation a note from the editor of Hesiod, in which Newton is charged with founding his chronological system upon old woman's stories³, the doctor tells us that he "miserably misunderstood the meaning of Hesiod," and that he "perverted the application of the passage in question."

Again, in p. 64, Vol. I. he says, "Had he exerted the same patient thinking⁴, to which he modestly attributes his success in philosophy and mathematics, the same cool and unprejudiced judgement, the same dislike to idle hypotheses (hypotheses non fingo) in his chronological studies, we should not have to regret the waste of his time, and the perversion of his great talents, for the last thirty years of his life." Again, after mentioning Newton's calculation for the length of reigns, the Doctor gives what he calls "a fairer and fuller induction."

We must now proceed to examine the materials which the Doctor himself has selected and given us, as sound, authentic, and substantial data.

Those who wish to see the evidence and arguments at both sides of the question, I refer to the works of Hales, Cunninghame, and Russell on one side: and on the other to Mr Clinton's *Faeti Hellenici*.

It is a curious circumstance, worthy of notice, although insufficient as foundation of an argument, that Laplace has computed, that the greater axis of the Earth's orbit coincided with the line of the Equinoxes about the year 4004 B. C. which is the date assigned to the creation by Usher and others who follow the chronology of the Hebrew.

³ "Mirari licet egregium hunc philosophum, in mathematicis demonstrationibus *δεινότερον*, sperasse, tam levibus argumentis, ab anilibus fabulis petitis, universam antiquorum chronologiam se posse subvertere." Hesiod *Variorum*, Ed. 1737.

As to the system here dignified with the title of "universa antiquorum chronologia," so far from meriting the name of universal, it is directly condemned by Herodotus, Josephus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Virgil, and the Carthaginian Annals; and it is so full of gross absurdities, interpolations, and contradictions, that I am only surprised that it could ever have imposed on the credulity of mankind.

⁴ Thirty years of the time of such a man as Newton, seems to imply some degree of patience before publication; an uncommon degree, in my humble opinion.

“I. Syncellus gives a list of Egyptian kings, in which “59 kings, from the Exode of the Israelites B. C. 1649, to “the final reduction of Egypt by the Persians, B. C. 350, “reigned 1299 years, or 22 years apiece.”

Syncellus was one of the Byzantine historians, and of all the ancient authors who have written concerning Egypt, is the most palpably and notoriously corrupted.

Of the 59 kings above mentioned, more than 20 are fictitious interpolations, as may be seen by comparing his list with Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other respectable historians who wrote prior to Syncellus, and as to the date 1649 B. C. which Dr Hales assigns to Tetmosis, who he says lived at the time of the Exodus, it is not only unsupported by authority of any kind, (in fact he does not offer any) but it is in reality many centuries from the true date, as I trust hereafter to prove.

“II. The Parian Chronicle and Eusebius furnish a list “of “30 Athenian kings, from Cecrops B. C. 1558, to Alcmaeon ending B. C. 754, who reigned 804 years, or 26½ years apiece.”

By no means do I wish to impeach the veracity of Eusebius; and as to the Parian Chronicle, the occurrences were, I doubt not, fairly transcribed from the public records of Athens. But those very records had been most grossly corrupted and interpolated, many centuries before the existence either of the Parian Chronicle or Eusebius.

This was most probably done by the priests, for the purpose of giving greater antiquity to the Eleusinian mysteries, Panathenæa, and other institutions. Perhaps also to make their records correspond, or at least keep pace with those of Argos, in which an entire dynasty had been interpolated, as will be shewn in its proper place.

But in whatever way we consider the subject, these 804 years, and the 30 reigns which are said to comprise them, are wholly inadmissible into the data of any such calculation, as they extend over the very period which we want to examine; a period which is emphatically styled the fabulous age.

“X. In Hindustan the Brahmins reckon 142 modern “reigns in a period of 3153 years, or nearly 22½ years apiece.”

Not to dwell upon the misapplication of the word modern to a term of 3153 years, the character of the Brahmins and

their forged records, given by Sir William Jones and other respectable Europeans resident in India, could not surely be unknown to Dr Hales; indeed he himself gives the following quotation on that subject from Captain Wilford:

“ In all their chronological lists, the compilers and revisers had no other object in view, but to adjust a certain number of epochs. This being once effected, the intermediate spaces are filled up with the names of kings not to be found any where else, and most probably fanciful.” Again, “ They often do not scruple to transpose some of those kings, and even whole dynasties; either in consequence of some pre-conceived opinion, or owing to their mistaking one famous king for another of the same name. It was not uncommon for ancient writers to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant, or from a remote predecessor to a remote successor, by leaving out the intermediate generations or successions.” And again, “ Through their emendations and corrections you see a total want of historical knowledge and criticism, and sometimes disingenuity is but too obvious.”

The Hindu records and chronology obtained a degree of notice in Europe, as well as among Europeans resident in Asia, on account of the astronomical tables and books of actual observations of the heavenly bodies which they were said to possess, and whose accuracy was highly extolled.

These observations were said to extend backward through a range of antiquity, which the infidel hailed triumphantly as taking precedence far, far enough of the Mosaic account of the creation and the deluge; and some writers of respectability were entrapped so far by specious appearances as to give considerable countenance to such reports, although emanating from persons so proverbial for forgery and fraud of every kind as the Brahmins.

The pen of Laplace however at length assailed these figments. Their long asserted claim to accuracy has been completely disproved; and it is now ascertained that they are mere retrospective forgeries, and of a date not very ancient. M. Laplace supposes them even subsequent to the time of Ptolemy.

That the astronomical knowledge of the Hindus is very moderate indeed, appears from their supposing the earth to

be 2,456,000,000 miles in circumference, that the moon is more distant than the sun, &c. They say that the *Surya Siddhanta*, which contains their great astronomical treatise, is 2,164,899 years old, and was given to them by a divine revelation. How could educated Europeans ever be induced to pay any attention to such monstrous fables!

I really cannot conceive how Dr Hales could think of introducing such materials into the foundation of his work, and of forming a scale from these apocryphal tables for the purpose of settling disputed dates and periods.

In the course of his work Dr H. has, I think, also given a great deal too much credit to the fragments which bear the name of *Sanchoniatho*, although it is now, I believe, generally understood that in reality no such person ever existed, but that those writings are the spurious production of a much later age. As to any historical value, indeed, they condemn themselves by carrying back the dynasties of the kings⁵ far beyond the Noachian deluge, and by other gross and palpable errors and falsehoods. Nor does Dr H. use these documents only in the way of illustration or collateral proof, but grounds upon them some serious and weighty deductions. For instance, he brings forward the evidence of *Sanchoniatho* to prove the existence of Idolatry in the family of Cain before the deluge; as to which opinion I must observe that the author, whoever he might be, could not know any thing of the Antediluvian world, except what is communicated in Scripture, which does not give the most remote hint of the kind; and this I think would not have been the case if there had been any foundation for it. In cautioning the Jews against their prevailing sin of idolatry, I think Moses would certainly not have omitted to refer them to a fact so tremendously admonitory as the deluge.

The prevailing sin of the Antediluvians, I am inclined to think was practical Atheism, a total neglect and contempt of the worship of God and of his government;—a state, to which longevity so great would naturally lead minds very depraved; and again this state would prepare men for the commission of every crime however abominable.

⁵ The very names of the more ancient kings in *Sanchoniatho* have all the appearance of fiction, of a Greek fabrication not very ancient.

Our blessed Lord himself, when speaking of the sinners who were destroyed by the deluge (Matth. xxiv. 37—39), seems to point out forgetfulness of God, and immersion in sensuality and worldly pursuits as their besetting sins and the causes of their destruction.

Berosus is another author⁶ that extends his history into Antediluvian times, of whom Dr H. has also made great use, and whose authority I think he has considerably over-rated⁷. That his object throughout this work was a zealous and candid search after truth, cannot be doubted; but unfortunately, his strong attachment to what is called the *longer chronology*, naturally led him to give undue weight to whatever favoured his own ideas, and often to consider as “a valuable coincidence” some apparent agreement between dates or passages in two authors, neither of whom deserved any attention or credit.

It would however be uncandid in the extreme, to insinuate that these strictures apply to the whole work, or even to the greater part of it. It contains, as I have already observed at the beginning of this Chapter, a great stock of valuable information, highly creditable to the author’s learning and industry; and also abounds with original ideas and observations, historical, scientific, and religious, equally honourable to his talents and piety.

The following table copied from Dr Hales, will give the reader a general view of his system.

⁶ For my own part I think neither Sanchoniatho nor Berosus entitled to any credit or attention whatsoever.

⁷ On Antediluvian history, Dr Hales makes an observation in p. 370 Vol. I. which seems to me so very judicious, as to merit particular notice, although the question to which it refers is by no means settled. “The book of the genealogy of the Antediluvian patriarchs, from Adam to Noah, is evidently represented “as a written record, Gen. v.—and indeed, how could it possibly record their “names and their generations, residues of life and total ages, without written “records? How could oral tradition hand down, through two and twenty centuries “to the Deluge unimpaired, thirty large and unconnected numbers rising from a “hundred to near a thousand years?” The Dr of course means that this could not have been done without a miracle, which he thinks not called for under the circumstances.

This subject is also very ably handled by Mr Davies in his *Celtic Researches*, and by some other writers on Biblical criticism both English and German.

There is a concise and popular view of the arguments and authorities bearing on this question, in Mr Horne’s excellent *Introduction to the study of the Scriptures*, Vol. I.

REMARKABLE ERAS ACCORDING TO DR HALES (VOL. I. p. 206).

	B. C.
Creation	5411
Julian Period (Jan. 1)	4714
Deluge	3155
Caliyuga, Indian Era of deluge	3102
Dispersion of Mankind	2614
Nimrod's reign in Assyria.....	2554
Menes reigns in Egypt.....	2412
Tcheu, or division of China into 12 provinces ...	2277
Abraham born	2153
Israelites settle in Egypt.....	1863
Cecrops reigns at Athens	1558
Sesostris reigns in Egypt	1308
Troy destroyed	1183
Solomon's temple founded.....	1027
Era of Iphitus (July 1)	884
... of Olympiads (July 19).....	776
Foundation of Rome (April 21)	753
Era of Nabonassar (Feb. 26)	747
... of Seleucidæ (Oct. 1)	312
... Cæsarea at Antioch (Sept. 1)	49
... Juliana..... (Jan. 1)	46
... Hispanica	38
Victoria Actiaca (Aug. 29)	30

CHAPTER VIII.

ERRORS AND DISCREPANCIES OF THE OLD CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

It is now time to place before my reader the true character of that *Universa Antiquorum Chronologia*, for presuming to dissent from which Newton has suffered so much animadversion.

The most full and respectable form in which I have met this system, is embodied in the chronological table of the Universal History; and the absurdities and contradictions with which this table abounds, are so gross and palpable, that I only

wonder that the system could hold any footing, so long after the expiration of the Middle age. The following brief extract will enable the reader to judge for himself.

Anachronisms and internal discrepancies in the chronological table of the Universal History. Vol. XX.

I. Ægialeus the son of Inachus founds Ægialea afterwards called Sicyon.....	B. c.	2090
Inachus founds Argos		1856
Making the son precede his father 234 years.		

This was occasioned by twelve fictitious reigns being interpolated in the kings of Sicyon, and only six being interpolated in the kings of Argos, as will be shewn hereafter. Moreover Telchin the third king of Sicyon was cotemporary with Apis and Argus, third and fourth kings of Argos.

II. Lynceus succeeds Danaus at Argos	1423
Argonautic expedition in the reign of Lynceus, and in which he was engaged	1267
Troy destroyed	1184
Difference about 240 years.	

Nestor was an Argonaut and cotemporary with Lynceus, and at the Trojan war.

III. Lycus becomes guardian to Laius.....	1390
Œdipus kills Laius	1276
Difference 114 years.	

IV. Telchin reigns at Sicyon	1993
¹ Apis king of Argos expelled by Telchin king of Sicyon.....	1712
Discrepancy 281 years.	

V. Cadmus builds Cadmea.....	1494
Europa carried from Phœnicia to Crete	1446
Polydorus succeeds Cadmus.....	1432
Theseus begins to reign	1235

Cadmus did not build Cadmea until at least two or three years after the carrying off of Europa, instead of 48 years before it.

Theseus began to reign during the short reign of Polydorus the son of Cadmus, or very soon afterwards.

Discrepancy nearly 200 years.

¹ Compare Table in Vol. XX. with Vol. V. p. 622.

	B. C.
VI. Argonautic expedition	1267
Laomedon begins to reign	1260
Priam succeeds Laomedon	1227
The Argonauts killed Laomedon and sacked Troy.	
VII. Argonautic expedition	1267
Theseus succeeds Ægeus	1235
On the contrary, the Argonautic expedition occurred about the 30th year of the reign of Theseus.	
I suspect that this gross anachronism was caused, by transposing the name of Pandion, during whose government the Argonautic expedition occurred. Pandion governed Athens long after the death of Ægeus instead of so long before him.	
VIII. Lynceus succeeds Danaus	1425
Argonautic expedition	1267
This Lynceus was one of the Argonauts, and a son of Danaus was one also.	
Discrepancy 158 years.	
IX. Erechtheus reigns at Athens.....	1398
His son in law Butes was an Argonaut.....	1267
Discrepancy 131 years.	
X. Acrisius married Eurydice the daughter of Lacedæmon son of Phoroneus king of Argos.	
Phoroneus began to reign	1807
Acrisius expels Prætus.....	1345
Making an interval of 462 years.	
XI. Cinyras builds Paphos and marries the daughter of Pygmalion	1394
Trojan war (Cinyras was friend of Agamemnon)	1184
Carthage built by Dido aunt to the wife of Cinyras, and sister to Pygmalion	869
Discrepancy above 500 years.	
XII. Hercules son of Alcmena born	1274
Argonautic expedition	1267

By this statement Hercules was only seven years old when he commanded the land forces against Colchos, Troy, and the colonies in Spain.

B. C.

XIII. Ægeus killed himself and was succeeded by The- seus	1235
At the same time Bacchus married Ariadne, and their sons Plyas and Eumedon were Argo- nauts. But in the same table they place that expedition in the year	1267

That is, 30 years before these were born, instead of 30 years after, thus making a discrepancy of 60 years. They also say that Medea, being deserted by Jason, was married to Ægeus, a man who was dead 30 years before the expedition which brought Medea to Greece.

The above are given merely as a specimen of what might be shewn, to prove that the old system was not only erroneous, but even too inconsistent with itself for any useful purpose whatever; and it is particularly to be observed, that the above errors are not casual and insulated, but systematic and germinating, pervading, vitiating and confusing the entire train of history.

CHAPTER IX.

CANONS OF CHRONOLOGY.

In prosecuting the study of chronology, a science so extended, so difficult, and from its peculiarly mixed nature, so liable to controversy; it is exceedingly desirable to have some fixed acknowledged principles, both to direct our enquiries and to moderate discussion; that the former may be the rational pursuit of some well defined object; and that the latter may promise some possible advantage and probable termination. I consider it no small merit in Dr Hales, that he has laid a foundation, and in my humble opinion a very good one, for the methodical arrangement of chronology as a practical science. In p. 63 of his first volume, the Doctor has favoured us with the following excellent maxims, which he says he deduced from Sir Isaac Newton's rules for Philosophical Investigation.

CANONS OF CHRONOLOGY.

- Rule I. To adhere to the Scriptural standard.
- Rule II. To begin with the Analytical method, and end with the Synthetical.
- Rule III. Not to adopt any date that shall be repugnant to any established date.
- Rule IV. Never to frame an hypothesis, nor to assign a conjectural date, except in case of downright necessity.
- Rule V. Carefully and critically to distinguish between different persons in different ages and countries, called by the same name, and on the other hand, to identify persons having different names in different authors, or at different times.

The following excellent maxim is from Dodwell, "A certioribus temporibus ad incertiora progrediendum."

The great danger of chronologists lies in their propensity, (the grand failing of polemics in general) to look at only one side of their own work. Larcher says very justly, that "It is easy to pull down the systems of chronologists: but by no means so to build up in their room one that can support itself against all difficulties: I do not even believe it possible." Larcher's Herodotus, Tom. I.

CHAPTER X.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HEROIC AGE.

IN the second Chapter, the reader has been informed of the circumstances which caused the transactions of a period commonly called the Heroic age, to come under the cognizance of the priest and the poet rather than of the philosopher and the historian.

When poetical license was thus countenanced by the established superstition, to which it became eventually a powerful auxiliary, all transformations were allowable, all figures were considered legitimate.

And as the records were all in the hands of one party, mistatements, interpolations and anachronisms, however gross and monstrous, were safe from detection¹.

Times and periods, records and legends, heaven and earth, were soon thrown into Chaotic disorder. Dynasties were reckoned by thousands and tens of thousands of years². In short, the whole world and its inhabitants seemed as if only created to supply characters and incidents for their monstrous dramas. To rectify such a multiplicity of errors accidental and intentional,—to reduce to order such complicated confusion, requires, in addition to any other qualifications, a quantum of patient labour which few indeed can conceive or justly appreciate, except those who have been engaged in similar undertakings.

Many great and learned men have laboured to understand and explain the mythological fables of Egypt and Greece: to trace the origin of the Cabiri: and to reconcile the chronology of profane, with that of sacred history. The chronological Indexes given in works of the greatest respectability, shew how entirely they failed as to the latter object. I have not met one of them which does not contain internal incongruities of great magnitude. The chronological Index of the ANCIENT UNIVERSAL HISTORY, which gives the result of the most successful enquiries made previous to its publication, contains a great number of monstrous discrepancies, some of which I have placed before the reader in the eighth Chapter of this part.

¹ Mr Clinton, in the true spirit of sound criticism, rejects the total and absurd scepticism of Niebuhr as to the authority of the ancient poets on the one hand as much as too great reliance on them on the other. He very judiciously recommends a middle course. See *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. I. Introduction, p. ii.

² For example, they reckoned in Egypt,

	Years.
From Vulcan to Alexander	48,863
From the reign of the Sun to Alexander	23,000
From Osiris to Alexander.....	10,000
From Hercules to Amasis.....	17,000
From Bacchus to Amasis	15,000
The Gods and Heroes reigned.....	18,000
From Orus, the last of them, to the 1st Olympiad...	15,000
From the first mortal king to Sethon.....	11,340

See Diogenes Laert. in *Proem. Herodotus*, Lib. II. c. 145, Diodorus Sic. Lib. I. &c.

As to the mythological fables, we have been favoured with almost as many systems and schemes of explanation as there have been authors upon the subject: and their well-meant labours have thus increased the perplexity of what was already extremely intricate.

In arranging the dates of the Heroic age, I was induced to make the destruction of Troy a cardinal point, because, in the first place, with it are connected the formation of some of the states in Italy and elsewhere². Secondly, because historians are nearly agreed as to the distance of time between that event and the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, which was a revolution of great general interest, and established a new dynasty in Sparta. And thirdly, because it is connected in a historical point of view, with the building of Carthage; an event, the date of which is well known and authenticated.

CHAPTER XI.

DATE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY.

THE three most remarkable events of the Heroic age are, the invasion of Greece by Osiris or Sesostris, also called the great Bacchus,¹ after his expedition to India,—the Argonautic expedition,—and the Trojan war. And fortunately these three events are connected with each other in a way to assist our chronological enquiries.

Many of those who fought at Troy were sons of Argonauts—and the Argonauts were either sons of those who reigned in Greece at the time of the invasion of Osiris—or of Osiris himself.

² “ ἢ τε γὰρ ἀναχάρησι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χροονία γενομένη πολλά ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ στάσει ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγένοντο, ἀφ’ οὗ ἐκπίπτουτες τὰς πόλεις ἐκτίζον.” “ For the late return of the Greeks from Ilium, caused not a little innovation, and in most of the cities there arose seditions, and those who were driven out built cities for themselves in other places.” Thucydides, Lib. 1. c. 12.

¹ That Osiris and Sesostris were the same person can be proved in various ways,—Osiris invaded Greece one generation before the Argonautic expedition. Sesostris founded Colchos about 30 years before that expedition—and gave it to Æetes, who lived until the Argonauts came and slew him. See Herodotus, Lib. 11. c. 104.

The Argonautic expedition was therefore one generation or about 33 years before the Trojan war: and the invasion of Greece by Osiris was two generations or about 66 or 67 years before that event.

Thus any historical light we can find as to the date of any one of these events, bears immediately on the other two, and on whatever is connected with them.

Among various ways of ascertaining the time of the destruction of Troy, I have chosen the four following as the most clear and intelligible.

First. By the building of Carthage, which I consider as an event safely and accurately connecting the memorials of the Heroic age with authentic history.

Carthage was destroyed in the year B. C. 147, after having existed as a state 737 years². It was therefore built³ in the year B. C. 884.

Cinyras was the friend of Agamemnon⁴, and reigned in Cyprus some time before the Trojan war began, and was expelled from his kingdom by Teucer, seven years after that war had terminated⁵. Cinyras we are also informed was son in law to Pygmalion⁶ the brother of Dido or Elissa, the founder of Carthage. And Carthage they say was begun in the seventh, and dedicated in the fourteenth year of the reign of Pygmalion⁷.

³ "Mox sermone verso Carthago dicta est, que post annos septingentos triginta septem exciditur quam fuerat extracta." Solinus, c. 30. The termination *go* may possibly signify daughter, and Carthago probably means the daughter of Cartha, which was the birthplace of Dido. Vir-go, ærugo, and some other words are perhaps formed in the same manner.

² Newton thought this number referred to the date of its sacennial dedication. In this he was mistaken.

⁴ "Δεύτερον αὖ θάρηκα περὶ στήθεσσι ἐδυε,
Τόν ποτε οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε, ξεινήιον εἶναι.
Πεύθετο γάρ Κύπρωδε μέγα κλέος, οὐνέκ' Ἀχαιοί
Ἐς Τροίην νήεσσιν ἀναπλευσεσθαι ἐμελλον."

Homer, Iliad. xi. 19.

⁵ See Virgil and his scholiast Servius, and the Parian Chronicle. Pausanias says that Teucer married the daughter of Cinyras, and that Evagoras was descended from them. Pausanias, Lib. i. c. 2. Such circumstances were not uncommon among the ancients; first a war or invasion, and afterwards a peace cemented by an intermarriage.

⁶ Apollodorus Athen. says, that Cinyras married Metharme, the daughter of Pygmalion.

⁷ Josephus speaking of the Tyrian kings, thus concludes, "Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἑβδόμῳ ἔται ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ φυγῆσα ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλιν ψικδόμησε Καρχηδόνα." Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. i. c. 18.

From all these circumstances, viewed in connection, it is evident, that Agamemnon, Teucer, Pygmalion, and Dido were cotemporary, and that, in all probability, the building of Carthage must have succeeded to the destruction of Troy almost immediately, that is to say, within a very few years, and consequently, that the war could not have begun before the end of the tenth century B.C. or about the year B.C. 900, and ended about 890 B.C.

The second reference which I shall make on this subject, is to the authority of Virgil, who was unquestionably one of the best informed men of the Augustan age; and from his connection with men of the highest rank and greatest learning then living, had access to all the best sources of information, and in fact to many valuable documents which are not now in existence, but which have perished in the general ruin of the Roman empire⁸.

We must therefore suppose Virgil too well acquainted with history and with historical facts at that time not very remote, to fall into any very material error. But Virgil decidedly places the fall of Troy seven years before the building of Carthage, addressing the following words, as spoken at Carthage, to Æneas⁹,

"nam te jam septima portat
Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus æstaa." *Æneid* i. 756.

And I must here observe, that Virgil does not at all appear to make the voyage of Æneas synchronise with the building of Carthage by a poetical licence. On the contrary, he interweaves the account of the fall of Troy with the founding of Carthage by particular historical facts relative to both events.

He makes Dido tell Æneas, that she saw Teucer the son of Telamon who fought at Troy and came to her fa-

⁸ See an excellent article in Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1832, on "The scene of the last six books of the Æneid," in which the authority of Virgil is supported by other respectable ancient authors against the charge of gross anachronism.

⁹ Homer seems well informed of the success of Æneas in Italy, when he makes Neptune say,

"Νῦν δὲ δὴ Ἀλκίνοσ βίη Τροάσσου ἀνάξει,
Καὶ κείδης κείδων τοὶ κέν μετόπισθε γένουσαι." *Πιάδ.* xx. 307.

ther's court after the Trojan war, to request his assistance in the conquest of Cyprus.

"Atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire
 Finibus expulsum patriis, nova regna petentem
 Auxilio Beli. Genitor tum Belus opimam
 Vastabat Cyprum." *Æneid* i. 619.¹⁰

I have further to observe, that this Belus, father of Dido and Pygmalion, appears to have been the Eth-Baal king of Sidon, mentioned in Scripture as the father of the notorious Jezebel the wife of Ahab king of Israel¹¹.

Thirdly, I shall now apply to the subject of our enquiry, a standard measure of time fully known and acknowledged by all chronologers, ancient and modern. That the length of three generations is on the average equal to a century was a fact very early known to historians¹². And Newton has been severely censured for preferring reigns to generations in his calculations.

1. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus who died 272 B.C. was great great grandson of Tharypus, who was fifteen generations in descent from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles.

¹⁰ Strabo also mentions Teucer thus, "Ὁπου Τεῦκος προσερμίσθη πρῶτον Σαλαμίνα κτίσας τὴν ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἐκβληθεὶς, ὡς φασιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Τελαμῶνος." Strabo, Lib. xiv.

¹¹ Ahab began to reign in Israel B.C. 918, and married Jezebel the daughter of Eth-Baal 𐤇𐤃𐤁𐤀 king of the Sidonians. Ahab reigned until B.C. 897. Pygmalion was the son of Belus king of Sidon, and began to reign 7 years before the building of Carthage, that is, B.C. 891. He was therefore most probably brother to Jezebel, who was killed B.C. 844.

We are also told by Homer, that Phalix king of Phœnicia was a friend to the Greeks at the Trojan war. Eth-Baal (or THE BAAL), Belus and Phalix, are but dialectic varieties of the same name and were probably the same person. Φ and B interchanging very commonly in those times and languages.

Josephus quotes Menander, saying that in the time of Eth-Baal king of Tyre there was a want of rain, which lasted a whole year. This was undoubtedly the drought recorded in Scripture, which occurred in the reign of Ahab. This* drought occurred B.C. 906, by the marginal Chronology of the Bible. If Eth-Baal was then reigning, he must have been in all probability Belus, the father of Pygmalion.

The table of Tyrian kings has two names Badesor and Mettinus, as reigning between Eth-Baal and Pygmalion. But they are, I have no doubt, either repetitions; being other names of Eth-Baal or Pygmalion; or fictitious names interpolated, a practice but too common in the construction of the ancient tables. Moreover, Eth-Baal was the eighth king of Tyre, in the table, from Abibalus inclusive; which fills satisfactorily the 170 or 180 years from the foundation of that state.

¹² "Γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἑκατὸν ἔτα εἶσι." Herod. Lib. II.

* Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, Book VIII. Chap. xiiii. Sect. 2.

There are therefore 19 generations from Pyrrhus to the elder Pyrrhus who fought at Troy—19 generations are equal to 633 years, which added to 272 B.C. gives 905 B.C. for the date of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus.

Pyrrhus¹³,
15 generations.
Tharypus,
Alcetas,
Arybba,
Æacides,
Pyrrhus.

2. Hippocrates the physician, died 361 B.C. and was 17 generations distant from Æsculapius, who was one of the Argonauts. Seventeen generations are equal to 567 years, which added to 361 B.C. gives 928 B.C. for the time of Æsculapius.

3. Phidon the Argive, appears from authentic history to have been cotemporary with Clisthenes of Sicyon and Solon of Athens, who were commanders in the expedition against Cirrha, 592 B.C.

Phidon was the eleventh in descent from Hercules. Ten¹⁴ generations are equal to 333 years, which added to 592 B.C. give 925 B.C. for the time of Hercules, who died about 915 B.C. and about twenty-five years before the fall of Troy.

Hercules flourished between 944 B.C. and 925 B.C. After performing some exploits in Greece, which the poets magnified into miracles, he was chosen to command the land forces in the Argonautic expedition.

4th and lastly. The date of Phidon the Argive is connected by Herodotus with some important and well established facts in Grecian history, in a way so decided and circumstantial, as at once to destroy the credit of the old Tables, to which this testimony of Herodotus is directly opposed, while it exactly coincides with our views of the subject.

Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, commanded the allied forces against Cirrha, the Athenians being led by Alcmaeon, accompanied by Solon as an adviser in case of difficulty. This war is set down in the Tables 592 B.C., a date too early by some years, but not so much as to affect the present question.

¹³ Pausanias Attica.

¹⁴ Parian Chronicle.

Now Herodotus informs us (Book vi. Chap. cxxvii.), that this Clisthenes had a daughter named Agarista, whom he determined to marry to the most distinguished and honourable man in Greece, and gave public notice to that effect. Young men of the first rank, from various places, were her suitors. Among the rest Herodotus particularly notices Megacles, the son of that Alcmaeon the Athenian, who visited king Croesus in Lydia, after entertaining his messengers in Athens. Herodotus also very particularly notices among those suitors, Leocedes son of Phidon, prince of the Argives, who instituted measures in Peloponnesus and was the most insolent of all the Greeks. He removed the Agonothetæ from Elis, and afterwards exercised the office himself at Olympia¹⁵. Phidon was therefore cotemporary with Clisthenes, Alcmaeon, Solon and Croesus, who all lived from 600 B.C. to 550 B.C.

But Phidon being the eleventh in descent from Hercules (see Parian Chronicle), the Tables, to make his date correspond with the Mythology, placed him at 895 B.C. about 300 years too early, deducting ten generations or 333 years from 1228 B.C. their date for Hercules. But deducting ten generations or 333 years from 930 B.C., the true date of Hercules gives 597 B.C. for the date of Phidon¹⁶, which agrees with the statement of Herodotus, and confirms the other dates.

Again, Phidon had three brothers, Caranus (or Gavanes), Æropus and Perdiccas, who being driven by him from Argos, settled in Macedonia. From Perdiccas to Alexander, who died 454 B.C. there were seven¹⁷ reigns or 155 years, which added to 454 gives 609 B.C. for the date of Phidon. What further proves the correctness of this statement, Solon was born between 630 and 638 B.C. And Alcmaeon was grandfather to the wife of Pisistratus, who reigned between 550 and 520 B.C.

¹⁵ "Ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου, Φεΐδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Λακεδῆναι Φεΐδωνος δὲ τοῦ τέ μέρτε ποιεῖσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι, καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, οὗ ἐξασσῆσθαι τοὺς Ἑλλείων ἀγωνοθέτας, αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε." Herod. Lib. vi. c. 127.

¹⁶ Phidon flourished from about 610 B.C. to 586 B.C.

¹⁷ Herodotus, Book VIII. c. 139.

Alexander king of Macedon died	454 B.C.
Add 7 reigns or 155 years before him	155
<hr/>	
¹⁸ Kingdom of Macedon founded by Caranus and Perdiccas in the 11th descent from Hercules}	609
Add 10 generations or 333 years	333
<hr/>	
Hercules flourished ¹⁹	942

which agrees with the date of Osiris his father, the Argonautic expedition in which he was engaged, and the Trojan war in which his sons are particularly mentioned by Homer among the Grecian warriors.

I am not surprised that the advocates of the old system appear annoyed and perplexed by this passage of Herodotus. They have therefore laboured to remove the difficulty, by altering the text of that author. Dr Musgrave first suggests, that the word *παῖς* may perhaps be spurious, as he found two manuscripts without it. He afterwards however very candidly retracts this suggestion, declaring, that for his own part he is inclined to believe that the word *παῖς* is genuine and no interpolation. Yet he thinks there is some corruption in the passage. Another learned commentator, Dr Russell, would allow the word *παῖς* to remain as genuine, which it undoubtedly is, and would amend the passage so as to suit his theory, by only changing *τοῦ* (illius) into *οὐ* (non), which would remove all difficulties at once, simply reversing the present reading from "It was that Phidon who did so and so" to "It was *not* that Phidon who did so and so."—But the reader must perceive that if commentators were allowed to treat the text of the ancient historians in this manner, they could easily make them say any thing to suit any system.

Beside the general respectability of Herodotus as an historian, his writing in 445 B.C., of what occurred about 592 B.C. entitles his statement to entire confidence. The Parian Chro-

¹⁸ The branches went on contemporary for some time, thus:

Caranus, Cœnus, Thurimas.

Perdiccas, Argæus, Philip, Æropæus, Alcetas, Amyntas, Alexander.

But the elder branch failing after Thurimas, the descendants of Perdiccas possessed the entire kingdom.

¹⁹ The Theban Hercules flourished from about 944 B.C. to about 916 B.C. middle date 930 B.C. as above stated.

nicle appears to be in this, as in most other cases, correct in the circumstances, but corrupted in the date.

As to Pausanias (who differs 150 years from the Parian Chronicle) attempting to settle the invasion of Elis by Phidon the Argive as having occurred in the eighth Olympiad; this is mere guess-work, or at best the result of retrospective calculations²⁰.

That Pausanias examined such public records as existed in Greece in his time, there seems no reason to doubt. But it does not appear that they kept a regular record of the Olympiads at the time referred to, or for a very long time after.

I find one learned advocate for the old tables, Dr Russell, stating that those games were originally instituted by Pelops who settled in Peloponnesus about B.C. 1350; "according (he says) to the Parian Chronicle²¹." But this is quite incompatible with the date B.C. 1184 assigned by them for the fall of Troy, where the grandsons of Pelops (real or adopted) were chief commanders. Pelops must have lived about a century nearer to that event, whenever it occurred. Again, the same author says, "they were repeated by the Theban Hercules about B.C. 1325."

But all agree that the sons of that hero fought at Troy, and that he was the particular friend of Philoctetes, one of the Greek princes much noted in that expedition.

There is therefore above a century of contradictory statement here also. But in short the whole system is a mass of absurdities and contradictions.

I trust I have now proved satisfactorily, as far as ancient historical subjects admit of proof, that the destruction of Troy occurred at or about 890 B.C.; and that the Theban Hercules flourished about 935 B.C., being the son of Alcmena by Osiris, who came to Greece 966 B.C.

The return of the Heraclidæ was two generations or about 66 years after the Trojan war began, as can be proved in various ways. At present it will suffice to say, that Oxylyus, the leader of the Heraclidæ, was the grandson of Thoas who fought at Troy.

²⁰ The 48th Olympiad is about the truth. See Pausanias Book VI. Chap. xxii. The Eleans had then some hard struggles.

²¹ How this is extracted from the Parian Chronicle, I am unable to discover. I cannot find any reference of the kind in that document.

The reader may have perceived that in fixing those dates, I have made no reference to the length of reigns, wishing to avoid disputed ground as much as possible.

The theory relative to the length of reigns and their use in chronology will be discussed as we proceed.

I shall now endeavour to settle another historical question, the Revival of the Olympic games by Iphitus, whose genealogy is thus given.

Andræmon brother-in-law to Hercules.	
Thoas who fought at Troy.	
Hæmon	
├───┬───┘	
Oxylus Laias	Praxonidas Iphitus.
Hercules died	925 B.C.
aged 40. Four generations.....	133

Iphitus about 40	792
Revival of Olympiads	776

	Difference ... 16 yrs.

By this calculation Iphitus revived the Olympiads when he was about 56 years old, and in the middle of his reign, which seems probable enough. But the Tables place him 884 B.C., and make the three generations occupy 300 years to 1184 B.C.²² and do not say who presided in 776 B.C.

²² That is, the three generations from Thoas to Iphitus.

CHAPTER XII.

DATE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY,—OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

THE destruction of Troy has been in this treatise made a cardinal point, in examining and ascertaining, as nearly as the subject will admit, the dates of the other occurrences of the Heroic Age. It may therefore be reasonably expected, that I should reply to any objections worthy of notice, made against a serious retrenchment of the date assigned to that event in the old tables.

The objection generally made is, that we are upsetting the course of ancient chronology and resisting the concurrent testimony of ancient historians.

How far the ancient system of chronology is entitled to a particle of confidence, I have endeavoured to shew the reader in Chap. VIII. In fact it has no claim even to be called a system, as it no way harmonises with itself, which every system true or false ought to do.

It is full of contradictions and anachronisms, many of them truly enormous, each amounting to many centuries.

A more unsafe guide could not possibly be found, and any rational attempt to discover a better system, whether successful or not, would be, so far, a laudable undertaking.

In the next place, as to the ancient historians. Let us do them justice, which is all they require to command the respect of posterity. Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pausanias, Diogenes Laertius, and some others, deserve in general our full credit to whatever they personally assert, and their writings collectively form a treasury of information as to ancient affairs truly valuable.

But what have they said as pledging their veracity or the weight of their respectable authority in support of the dates given in the tables?—not one syllable.

On the contrary, from their testimony, sometimes direct, sometimes incidental, we are able not only completely to prove the utter falsehood and gross absurdity of those tables, but also to obtain materials for their correction on sound and satisfactory principles.

We must consider the ancient historians as giving us information of three different kinds.

1st. The results of their own observations and reports of cotemporary transactions. In this they appear to deserve all reasonable confidence and credit.

2dly. They give us quotations and references to authors more ancient than themselves. But as to the earlier historians, unfortunately having no prose authors to refer to, they were obliged to depend for assistance on the poets of preceding ages, for any quotations in the way of information or embellishment. But the ancient Greek poets indulged their fancies with a licence utterly incompatible with the graver purposes of history.

3dly. The ancient historians give us the legendary traditions current in their own times, and handed down through many centuries of previous ignorance and barbarity. It is no disparagement to the credit of the historian, to say that we receive these as they are given, merely as traditions of an age when very few indeed could write, and not many could read what was written. When demigods and Heroes were the chief personages, and their supernatural exploits furnished the materials for the mythological poet, and when the priests required the people to believe every fable however monstrous and absurd. Moreover the priests were deeply interested in a system of chronological deception well suited to such an age. To give fictitious antiquity to their deities and religious institutions, they falsified the length of reigns, interpolated some and transposed others; just as it suited their purpose without fear of detection.

We need not therefore be surprised, in finding that the Greeks were utterly ignorant as to their own more ancient chronology. About the year B.C. 500 things began to be more regularly recorded¹, and not many years after that date history became a regular province of literature, in the hands of Herodotus. But whatever refers to occurrences before that date, must be received as very uncertain, having seldom any

¹ In the year 496 B.C. we begin to have a regular list of Athenian Archons, previous to that date we have blank spaces occurring every few years, amounting to 159 years, between 496 and the assumed date of their commencement 754 B.C. The Spartan kings also after this time (B.C. 500) reign like other kings. In short history is no longer subject to poetry and heathen priestcraft.

support of cotemporary respectable evidence. Moderns may indeed talk of the concurrent testimony of ancient history, but the ancient Greeks themselves knew of no such thing. They on the contrary were exceedingly divided (as might naturally be expected) with regard to the more ancient dates. Although the memory of Lycurgus was so much, and so deservedly venerated and connected with their civil institutions, yet the best informed among the Greeks could not agree within one or two hundred years as to the age he lived in. Plato assigned him 300 years before Socrates, or about the year B. C. 700, which is I believe the truth² but the tables place him B. C. 907, two centuries different.

Any question concerning the date of Lycurgus affects the dates of all the earlier Spartan kings and their cotemporaries in other states; consequently affecting the date of the return of the Heraclidæ and the Trojan war, both of which events were calculated by the reigns of the Spartan kings.

But as to the great disagreement of the Greek writers concerning the more ancient dates, I must again refer the reader to Chap. viii. of Part I, where they are given verbatim from the Chronological Index itself.

To convince any reasonable person that the earlier Spartan reigns have been grossly falsified, it seems only necessary to consider, that they make the more ancient reigns before Leotychides 491 B. C., nearly twice as long as those of his successors, when such matters were checked by authentic history, and an age comparatively enlightened.

There are tables of the Archons of Athens. But they are manifestly the corrupt fabrication of a time not very ancient. In the time of Thucydides they could not tell when Pisistratus, the grandson of Pisistratus the tyrant, was Archon, although during his Archonship he set up two altars at his own expense,

² The ancients said, that Terpander the poet and musician who flourished B. C. 675 was the cotemporary and friend of Lycurgus, and wrote his laws in verse, as a memorial of their friendship. This would agree with Plato's account, but not at all with the old tables. There are five reigns before Polydectes and ten reigns from him to Leotychides 491 B. C., a medium of these places the accession of Polydectes B. C. 721. Polydectes reigned nine years, and Charilaus began to reign about 712 B. C. Terpander would, by this reckoning, flourish until about the 36th year of Charilaus. Lycurgus is generally said to have framed his system of laws for Sparta between the first and 20th year of that reign. These dates harmonise perfectly.

one in the forum of the twelve gods, the other in the temple of the Pythian Apollo³. What is still more extraordinary, they had no memorial when Pisistratus the tyrant, or Solon their great legislator, filled the office of Archon, which they must have done repeatedly. It was about the year 500 B. C. they first became a regular record. Beside other corruptions, the extension by means of blank spaces alone, prior to the year 496 B. C. amounts to 159 years.

The table of Olympiads handed down to us, seems more entitled to credit. The misfortune is, that there is no cotemporary reference made to Olympiads in the times we are considering, nor for many centuries afterwards. Timæus Siculus, who flourished about 262 B. C. was the first author of any respectability who noted, or rather calculated the dates of occurrences by Olympiads. But retrospective computations, looking back so many centuries and founded on traditional reports are of but little value.

Various Greek authors have stated the time they supposed to have intervened between the fall of Troy, and one or other of the Olympiads. But these statements are all liable to the same fatal objection, being based only on retrospective calculations, traditions of interested heathen priests, or mere conjecture, without even a shadow of cotemporary evidence.

No one ought to believe that which is utterly improbable, except on testimony the most respectable. But the ancient system requires us to believe that those kings who lived in times of sanguinary violence and gross ignorance, reigned on an average twice or three times as long as those kings who reigned in the same and other countries in times civilized and settled.

And this monstrous absurdity we are required to receive, not on direct cotemporary evidence, but on the strength of barbarous traditions, the fictions of heathen priests, or the calculations of writers ignorant of chronology.

As to the rationale of calculating by reigns, and its foundation in the principles of human nature, together with the way in which generations and reigns may be applied with safety and advantage to the purposes of chronology, I refer the reader to Chap. xvi.

³ Thucydides, Lib. vi.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE DATE OF THE REIGN OF OSIRIS OR SESOSTRIS.

I AM now come to that part of my subject, concerning which the greatest difference of opinion, and the sharpest literary contests have been excited and still continue to exist in the learned world. The reign of Sesostris, King of Egypt, is, in the opinion of some writers of great eminence, the link which connects sacred with profane chronology; as they think he must have been the king called Shishak, or Sesak, in the Bible. This opinion, on the other hand, has been opposed by some men of very high character, both as scholars and divines; and indeed the controversy has been carried on with more heat and asperity than was either to be desired or expected from those engaged in it.

Among others, Newton turned his powerful mind to this subject, as a relief from studies of a more abstruse nature. He threw so much additional light upon the records of those dark and remote ages, and arranged the arguments in a manner so clear and masterly, that he was generally hailed as the restorer of order and sound principles in chronology.

But still there were writers on the other side by whom his work was fiercely attacked, and I am sorry to be obliged to add, that by some of them, the memory of this truly great and venerable man has been even treated with insult and ridicule. This opposition on a subject admitting debate, ought the less to surprise us, when we reflect that his Theory of Gravitation although supported by what we consider irresistible proofs, that is, by mathematical demonstration, was nevertheless obstinately controverted among others by Des Cartes, a man of uncommon acuteness and one of the ablest mathematicians in that age.

His labours as a commentator on ancient history, deserved any thing but contempt, and although there are many errors and inaccuracies to be found in the course of his laborious work, every candid person acquainted with the subject, must I think, allow that he rose far superior to any

or all of his predecessors, in that department of literary investigation.

As these gentlemen could not deny his scientific powers, they very sagaciously assigned them as the very cause of his total unfitness for discussions of any other kind. And some of them went so far as to insinuate, that a very great mathematician, especially if he should have the additional misfortune of being a good astronomer, must necessarily be unfit for the consideration and pursuit of general subjects: or in other words, must be deficient in common sense. The truth is, that Newton was eminently gifted with clear discernment and sound judgement.

But to return to my subject. How men really learned and talented have contrived to involve this question, and then to lose themselves in a labyrinth of their own creation, is truly surprising. It seems as if a child could scarcely have missed his way.

Give a child an outline of the history of Sesostris¹. Tell him, that after conquering the greater part of Africa, he set out for the conquest of India with an army of Egyptians, Libyans, Ethiopians, &c. to the number of several hundred thousand men. Shew him by the map, that, as the way from Egypt to India lay by the land of Judah; brushing as it were its southern border; it was therefore very improbable that the Jews should be undisturbed by his great military movements, and still more improbable that such an expedition would not be noticed by their historians.

You therefore desire him to examine the Bible, and inform you whether such a king of Egypt and such an expedition are any where mentioned in Scripture.

I need scarcely say, that he will readily turn to the 12th chapter of the second book of Chronicles, and read for you the second and third verses.

“And it came to pass, in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem (because they had transgressed against the Lord) with twelve hundred chariots, and three score thousand horsemen, and the people without number that came with him out of Egypt, the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians.”

¹ Herod. Lib. II. c. 102. et seq. Dirod. Sic. in loco. Strabo in loco.

A more exact coincidence between two histories is not to be met with; even in the name Sesostris² so evidently formed of Sesac and Osiris.

But, says Mr Bryant, if this was the same person, why did he not also make war against the ten tribes?

This question is very fully answered in Scripture. The ten tribes were the allies of Shishak, governed by Jeroboam, a creature of his own³; and what was at least of equal importance, they were at that time in determined hostility towards the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and had likewise gone far in conforming their worship to the idolatry of the Egyptians. (See 1 Kings xii. 28). It seems even highly probable, that this invasion of Judah by the king of Egypt, was at the instigation of Jeroboam, whose interest and security seemed to require that the king of Judah, his rival, should be humbled and checked by a superior power.

Be this as it may, the treasures of the temple and palace at Jerusalem, protected by only two tribes, and those tribes so circumstanced, seemed a prey soliciting such a captor, as a noble beginning of his Asiatic harvest⁴.

But let us now enquire how this will agree with the general history and chronology.

Sesac went forth from Egypt in the year B. C. 971, will this synchronise with the Indian expedition of Sesostris?

I trust I have already shewn, that the destruction of Troy must have occurred about the year B. C. 890; and that the invasion of Greece by Osiris or Sesostris, preceded that event by about 76 years, has been proved in a variety of

² Ses-Ostris for Ses-Osiris, the τ being merely euphonic, like the δ in *ἀνδρόδ*, the β in *μυσηβρία*, &c. The name Sesostris signifies Sesac-dominus. The name Shishak *שִׁשַׁק*, from *שִׁבִּיב* bibit, has the same meaning with Bacchus, which is derived from *בִּבְבָא* a bottle. It means a good bottle companion. Many ancient nations thought a capacity for hard drinking highly honourable. Cyrus the younger, in a letter soliciting the alliance of one of the Greek States, boasts of this qualification. And Alexander the Great valued himself much on the strength of his head. An exploit in hard drinking cost him his life.

³ "Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam, and Jeroboam arose and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon," &c. 1 Kings xi. 40.

⁴ "So Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, he took all." 2 Chron. xii. 9.

ways. See Chap. xi. It therefore occurred about the year B. C. 966. And I must here observe that in calculating these dates, I have used as data only such facts, and reasoned on such principles, as are generally acknowledged by the learned world, and are I believe unquestionable.

Osiris or Sesostris, before he invaded Greece, spent a year or two in Asia Minor, during which time he married Ariadne, the daughter of Minos king of Crete, and was engaged in many other transactions with Tros, Tantalus, Midas, &c. &c. This brings us back to about the year B. C. 968 for the return of Sesostris from India⁵. And as his expedition to that country occupied three years, he must have begun it in or about the year B. C. 971, which precisely agrees with the account given of Sesac in Scripture.

As a further proof, Clemens Alexandrinus informs us that Isis was cotemporary with Lynceus, and that they lived in the eleventh generation after Moses. Asa king of Judah, was the eleventh in descent from Aram, the cotemporary of Moses in the tribe of Judah. Asa began to reign in the year B. C. 955, which exactly coincides with the dates given above.

Again, after the death of Osiris and Python, Isis was married in Greece to Jasios, who was one of the victors at the first celebration of the Olympic games, and Atalanta, the daughter of Jasios, was at the famous Calydon hunting match, being then in the bloom of youth. This hunting match occurred about the year B. C. 930 (see Chap. xi.). Isis must therefore have lived about the time above stated, all the dates and occurrences harmonise perfectly.

The last authority which I shall produce, is that of Josephus, with which I shall conclude what I have to say upon this subject. Josephus tells us plainly, that Sesac and Sesostris were one and the same person; and that Herodotus had narrated the actions of Sesac under the name of Sesostris, erring, as he expresses it, only in the name⁶.

⁵ This expedition of Bacchus to India, synchronises exactly, as far as we have any information on the subject, with the date when the eastern writers say that Buddha or Fo appeared, so that there seems but little doubt of their being the same. See Part III. Chap. 1.

⁶ "Μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας καὶ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦν Ἡρόδοτος, περὶ μόνον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πλανηθεὶς ὄνομα." "Herodotus of Halicarnassus has also recorded this expedition, having erred only as to the name of the king."

This was a case which lay exactly within his range and powers of enquiry. The situation and circumstances of Josephus, as a Jew of rank and learning, and likewise as the favourite of the Emperor Vespasian, gave him all the requisite facilities and opportunities for investigating a question concerning the histories of Israel and Egypt; two countries of which he knew more, perhaps, than any other man that ever lived. His general character for veracity, I must add, has never been impeached.

The authority of Josephus, on subjects connected with the history and antiquities of his own nation, have therefore been justly considered by the learned world as most respectable, as inferior only to that of Scripture.

Dr Hales was particularly anxious to do away or discredit the authority of Josephus on this disputed question: and the way he took is quite a literary curiosity. In a note on the passage he says, we must not place confidence in Josephus, who is sometimes in error, see such a page forward; when we turn to that page we find only, Josephus is sometimes mistaken, as for example, in the case of Sesac and Sesostris. See such a page referring us back to the former note.

I shall now place before the reader, what would be under any circumstances strong presumptive evidence, but which taken in addition to what has been already stated, amounts to a proof most satisfactory and conclusive. I shall place in two parallel columns, the kings of Judah as mentioned in the Bible, and the kings of Egypt during the same period as given by Herodotus.

Sesac Cot. Rehobam 975, B. C.	Sesostris,
Abijah,	Pheron,
Zerah's incursion, Asa, 955,	Incursion of Actisanes,
	Proteus about 930, Trojan War,
Jehoshaphat 914,	Rhamsinitus,

And again, "*Τιμωρὸν δὲ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἕβρεω ὁ θεὸς ἐπιπέμπει τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖα Σούσακον, περὶ οὗ πλανηθεὶς Ἡρόδοτος τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ Σεσόστριε προσέπτει.*" "God, in punishment for their offences against Him, sent Shishak (Σούσακον) king of the Egyptians, concerning whom Herodotus erroneously ascribes his actions to Sesostris." Joseph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. VIII. c. 10.

⁷ Josephus must have had access to many sources of information, which are not now in existence. The Alexandrian library was in itself a rich repository of Egyptian, Greek, and general literature and historical documents.

Joram,	Cheops,
Ahaziah,	Cephrenes,
Joash,	Mycerinus,
Amaziah,	Asychis,
Uzziah,	Anysis,
Jotham,	Sabaco,
Ahaz,	Anysis restored,
Tirhaka Cot. Hezekiah 726 =	Sethon ^a Senecharib Cot. 718,
Manasses,	12 Cotemporary princes,
Amon,	Psamiticus,
Josiah, 641 =	Necho, Nebuchadnezzar Cot.

Thus, eleven reigns in Egypt from Sesostris to Sethon, occupy nearly the same time with eleven kings of Judah from Rehoboam to Hezekiah. This was natural enough.

CHAPTER XIV.

DATE OF OSIRIS OR SESOSTRIS, OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

DR HALES thought, that the Sesac of Scripture was Cephrenes: and of course makes Cephrenes cotemporary with Rehoboam, thereby committing the monstrous absurdity of making five kings of Egypt¹ reach from Rehoboam to Hezekiah, being an average of 50 years to each reign, and thus making them also equivalent to eleven reigns of the kings of Judah. I need not say whether Dr H's opinion or that of Josephus is most agreeable to history or even to common sense.

Dr Russell in the third Volume of his Connection, p. 205, expresses great confidence in Syncellus and the old tables. I trust however that I have exposed the falsehood of both in Chap. VII. and VIII. He ridicules the idea of identifying Sesac with Sesostris (p. 349). After acknowledging that this identity has the full support of the authority of Josephus, he adds, "But whatever might be the conclusions of the Jewish historian, it is certain that Herodotus did not identify the great Egyptian conqueror with the obscure prince who plundered Jerusalem and carried away the golden shields with which the magnificent Solomon had decorated his guards."

^a Tirhaka was cotemporary with Sethon, and probably held Upper Egypt.

¹ Cephrenes, Mycerinus, Asychis, Anysis and Sabaco.

Now let us read how this character of Sesak as an "obscure prince"² on which Dr R. here rests his argument, is supported. Only three pages before (p. 346), Dr R. thus describes his outset, quoting the Old Testament. Shishak came "with twelve hundred chariots, and three score thousand horsemen, and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians." Was this the equipment of an obscure prince? So far from it, that all the other expeditions on record sink into insignificance when compared with it. At p. 206 of the same volume, Dr R. says "Reasons have been already given on the authority of Herodotus, sufficient to prove that Sesostris flourished three hundred and thirty years before the reign of Rehoboam³. But as the opinion of Newton has been received with favour by some modern chronographers, it may not be unseasonable to fortify at greater length the ground which we have occupied in opposition to his hypothetical views.

"The first difficulty that occurs in our enquiries arises from the different names by which he is designated in the works of ancient authors. Thus he has been variously called Sesostris, Sesoosis, Sesochis, Sesonchosis, Sethos, Sethosis, Rameses, Ramestes, Vexores, Ægyptus, Osymandias." If identity of names has any weight with Dr R., he has given here proof quite sufficient, Sesochis⁴ or Sesac being given here as one of the names of Sesostris.

Dr R. again says (p. 347) "The appellation used in Scripture is not to be found in any chronological work quoted either by the native writers Manetho and Eratosthenes, or by the Greeks, Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus." Now as Dr Russell reckons Sesostris to have been the son and successor of Mæris (pp. 191 and 204) he might have seen that Diodorus Siculus makes Sasyches succeed Myris. I suppose no one will deny that these mean Sesac and Mæris.

In another part of his work (p. 209) Dr R. himself seems to give up the point by saying, "It may be admitted

² Dr R. will not even dignify him with the title of king.

³ I think I find the very contrary. We must have read Herodotus with very different eyes.

⁴ The Greek authors generally gave a Greek termination to Egyptian and Asiatic names. Thus Inach (or Enoch) becomes Inachus (*Ἰναχος*).

that some of the Greeks confounded the name of Sesostris with Shishak or Soussakim, and called the great conqueror Sesoehis." Now what better guide can we have than the judgment of learned Jews and Greeks concerning ancient Egyptian records? Again we read at p. 348⁵, "The term too employed in the books of Kings and Chronicles, Shishak or Shusak, appears to be one of ridicule or contempt, descriptive it is thought of the licentious habits in which the Egyptian sovereign is supposed to have indulged." The word Shishak, without so much circumlocution, means simply a hard drinker, and is equivalent to his other title Bacchus, a bottle companion; and however disgraceful such titles would be thought now, they were then thought very honourable. To be able to drink more wine than other men was anciently considered as part of the character of a hero.

At p. 240⁶ we have the following table:

5th Dynasty 342 years.

	Y.	B. C.
1. Sethos, Sesostris, or Osymandias.....	33	1308
2. Rampses or Pheron	61	1275
3. Cetas, Proteus or Ramesses	50	1214
4. Amenophis IV.	40	1164
5. Rampsinites	42	1124
6. Cheops or Chemmes	50	1082
7. Cephrenes, Cephres, or Sesah ⁷	56	1032
8. Mycerinus or Cherinus	10	976
His death.	342	966

6th Dynasty 293 years.

A Chasm	151	966
1. Bochoris or Asychis.....	44	815
2. Anysis.....	2	771
3. Sabacon or So	50	769
4. Anysis again	6	719
5. Sebecon or Sethos	40	713
Sennacherib invades Egypt		711
End of the period.	293	673

⁵ Russell's Connection, Vol. III.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ On what authority is the name Sesah inserted here? None, I suspect.

On the above table I have to observe that Amenophis IV. No. 4, is the same person with Proteus No. 3. Herodotus indeed tells us plainly that Proteus was succeeded by Ramp-sinitus. Again the chasm of 151 years at the head of the 6th dynasty has no foundation in history or fact. Pheron the son of Sesostris reigned about 10 years instead of 61 as stated above. In these three items only we have

$$51 + 40 + 151 = 242 \text{ years}$$

to be corrected in the above, beside the extra length given to all the longer reigns in such tables. As to the chasm, Herodotus simply says that Asychis reigned after Mycerinus. I cannot therefore see any ground for calling these two separate dynasties.

CHAPTER XV.

ANCIENT CALCULATION OF EPOCHS.

As the reigns of the kings of Sparta were used as a principal element in ancient chronological calculations, I here insert them¹ as in the old tables.

<i>Agidæ.</i>	B. C.	<i>Proclidæ.</i>	B. C.
1. Eurysthenes.	1102	1. Procles	1102
2. Agis.....	1059	2. Sous	1060
3. Echestratus.....	1058	3. Eurypon	1028
4. Labotas	1023	4. Prytanis	1021
5. Doryssus.....	986	5. Eunomus	986
6. Agesilaus	957	6. Polydectes	907
7. Archelaus	913	7. Charilaus (Lycur- gus regent) ...	898
8. Teleclus	853	8. Nicander	809
9. Alcamenes	813	9. Theopompus.....	770
10. Polydorus	776	10. Zeuxidamus	723
11. Eurycrates I.	724	11. Anaxidamus	690
12. Anaxander.....	687	12. Archidamus I. ...	651
13. Eurycrates II.....	644	13. Agasicles	605
14. Leon	607	14. Ariston	564
15. Anaxandrides.....	563	15. Demaratus	526
16. Cleomenes I.	530		

¹ See PAUS. Lib. III.

<i>Agidas.</i>		B. C.	<i>Proclidas.</i>		B. C.
17.	Leonidas I ² .	491	16.	Leotychides	491
18.	Plistarchus	480	17.	Archidamus II.	469
19.	Plistonax	466	18.	Agis I.	427
20.	Pausanias	408	19.	Agasilans	397
21.	Agisipolis I.	397	20.	Archidamus III.	361
22.	Cleombrotus	380	21.	Agis II.	338
23.	Agisipolis II.	371	22.	Eudamidas I.	330
24.	Cleomenes II.	370	23.	Archidamus IV.	295
25.	Aretus or Areus	309	24.	Eudamidas II.	268
26.	Acrotatus	265	25.	Agis III.	244
27.	Arcus II ³ .	264	26.	Archidamus V.	230
28.	Leonidas II.	257	27.	Euclidus	225
—	Cleombrotus usurper	243	28.	Lycurgus elected	219
—	Leonidas II. restored	241			
29.	Cleomenes III.	235			
30.	Agisipolis elected	219			

The Spartan Biarchy abolished.

Some of the ancient chronologers made two additional reigns by inserting Lycurgus and Cleombrotus II. as actual reigns.

1. Before we proceed to ascertain the dates of the foundation of the Grecian States, I must inform the reader, that the more ancient dates in the old tables were neither taken from any actual records, nor chosen arbitrarily, but were in fact the results of ingenious although unsound calculation. And as those dates were calculated by various persons and in various ways, we need not be surprised that tables, formed merely by throwing these discordant materials together, are full of incongruities, as well as altogether erroneous in reference to absolute time⁴.

² Persian war began, B. C. 504.

³ The Parian Chronicle, B. C. 264.

⁴ When events are referred to Olympiads prior to about 500 B. C. these references are in general only retrospective, and require collateral support. Of this the more learned of the ancients were aware. "τοὺν μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπὸν ἐστίν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγομένους· ὡς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὀφέ φασιν Ἰππίαν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἡλείου, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὀρμύμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν." "Cæterum ætates ad amussim exigere haud promptum sit, maxime si reducantur ad Olympionicas: quorum sero breviarium Eleum Hippiam ferunt nullis certis fultum argumentis edidisse." Plutarchi in Numa.

I must observe also as to the date 1184 B. C. for the fall of Troy, so far is it from being supported by the general consent of ancient chronologers, (as is strenuously asserted by some modern writers,) that this date is admitted in only one out of the five ancient calculations by which they fixed the founding of the various Greek states. In the other calculations 1129 and 1209 B. C., or rather the corresponding numbers deduced from the Parian Chronicle, have been adopted.

2. The framers of the Parian Chronicle, which is the oldest attempt at a regular chronicle in existence, appear to have reckoned thus. From the accession of Arcus 264 B. C. (the same date as the Chronicle itself) there are 26 reigns of Agidæ⁵. Before them we have three in succession, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, and Cleodæus. This brings us to the death of Hyllus, who was killed 20 years before the fall of Troy⁶. *Now for the Calculation*, $26 + 3 = 29$ reigns in succession, which, at three to a century, as they reckoned, make 966 years, from which deduct the current year, and we have 965 to the death of Hyllus, from which deducting 20 gives 945 years for the fall of Troy, which is the number given in the Chronicle. This added to 264 years gives 1209 B. C. as before stated.

The interval between the fall of Troy and the return of the Heraclidæ, set down as 80 years, was not therefore matter of record, or even of tradition. But they reckoned

Some of these discrepancies and anachronisms are set before the reader in Chap. VIII.

In accounting for the ignorance of the earlier chronologers as to the just value of hereditary reigns, Mr Clinton judiciously observes, "The duration of some remarkable reigns might possibly be transmitted, but it is not likely that the years of any entire series were accurately preserved." *Fæsti Hellenici*, Vol. I.

The materials from which they calculated the average length of reigns were very erroneous, partly through the uncertainty of tradition,—partly through heathen priestcraft.

⁵ The Parian Chronicle does not notice the return of the Heraclidæ; and it places the fall of Troy at 945 years from the time of Diognetus—that is 1209 B. C. Some say that there is a dislocation in the Chronicle. But, in truth, the early part is full of dislocations and anachronisms.

⁶ The death of Hyllus, which occurred about 20 years before the fall of Troy, was a very convenient element in calculation to those who calculated epochs by the reigns of the Heraclidæ. Having calculated to the death of Hyllus, they had only to deduct 20 years to find the date of the fall of Troy.

three generations or 100 years from the return of the Heraclidæ to the death of Hyllus, from which deducting 20, left 80 years to the fall of Troy.

Since the ancient chronologers computed remote dates by calculations from dates recent and authentic, we are certainly justified in opposing to them calculations, the result of improved science and accumulated experience.

3. Again, it was the opinion of some chronologers, that reigns averaged 30 years. Now before the fall of the Spartan monarchy in 219 B. C. there had reigned 31 Agidæ⁷ and 28 Proclidæ, the medium of which is $29\frac{1}{2}$ reigns, which at 30 years each amount to 885 years, which they considered the duration of the Spartan Biarchy. This added to 219 gives 1104 B. C. for the date of the return of the Heraclidæ, to which adding 80 years gives 1184 B. C. for the fall of Troy.

After thus fixing on 885 years as the duration of the Spartan monarchy, they divided the time before Leotychides and Leonidas among the early reigns to the best of their judgment.

I have not ascertained to whom the honour of this calculation belongs; Plutarch informs us, that both Eratosthenes who wrote about 200 B. C. and Apollodorus who wrote about 115 B. C., computed periods by the reigns of the kings of Sparta⁸, in which course they were followed by Diodorus Siculus.

4. Calculation for dating the Foundation of Sicyon.

In calculating the duration of this state, they took an average of 37 years, and reckoned 26 reigns to the return of the Heraclidæ, who subjugated it.

These 26 at 37 years average amount to 962 years, which added to 1129 B. C., the Parian date for the return, and deducting the current year, gives 2090 B. C., the date given in the old tables. The numbers stand thus,

$$1129 + 962 - 1 = 2090.$$

5. Foundation of Argos.

They reckoned 18 Argive kings before the fall of Troy at 36 years average, which makes 648 years. This added

⁷ Including Cleombrotus.

⁸ "οἱ δὲ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βεβασιλευκότων ἀναλεγόμενοι τὸν χρόνον, ὡς περ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ Ἀπολλόδομου, οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερον ἀποφαίνουσι τῆς πρώτης ὀλεμκιάδος." Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

to 1209, the number deduced from the Parian Chronicle, and deducting the current year, gives 1856 *b. c.*, the date marked in the tables. $1209 + 648 - 1 = 1856$.

6. Foundation of Sparta.

They reckoned 12 Spartan kings before the return of the Heraclidæ at 30 years average, which makes 360 years. This added to 1129, the Parian number, gives 1489 *b. c.*, the date given in the tables.

7. Foundation of Athens according to the Parian Marbles.

They reckoned 11 kings before the fall of Troy, and to these they allowed 34 years average, making 374 years, which added to the Parian number 945 (1209 *b. c.*) and deducting the current year, gives 1318 years before the archonship of Diognetus—that is 1582 *a. c.*, which is 25 years before the other tables.

$$945 + 374 - 1 = 1318, \text{ or, } 1209 + 374 - 1 = 1582 \text{ } a. c.$$

8. Foundation of Athens according to the tables.

Eleven kings as above, before the fall of Troy, at 34 years average make 374 years. This added to the table number 1184, and deducting the current year gives 1557 *a. c.*, the date given in the tables. $1184 + 374 - 1 = 1557$.

It is amusing to see the ingenious and laborious ways taken by commentators to account for the difference between the Parian Chronicle and the other tables. Whereas the difference was only what would naturally occur between two calculations beginning at different periods and using different averages⁹.

9. The last calculation but one must have been made by the author or compiler of the Parian Chronicle. It could not have been made earlier, because it has for its root the archonship of Diognetus, nor could it have been made later, for it is inserted in the Chronicle.

⁹ The numbers in the two processes stand thus:

	Reigns.	Average.	Years.		B. C.
Parian Chr.	26 ×	33½ =	866,	which + 80 - 1 = 945,	which + 264 = 1209
Tables	*29½ ×	30 =	885,	which + 80 = 965,	which + 219 = 1184
				Difference.....	25

* The half of 59 reigns, made out by reckoning Lyeurgus or Cleombrotus.

The other calculation for the date of Cecrops must have been made after the year 219 B. C., perhaps by Eratosthenes, but more probably by Apollodorus Atheniensis. The calculations concerning Sicyon, Argos, and Sparta appear to be the work of three different persons. They were made since the Parian Chronicle and grounded upon it.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE LENGTH OF REIGNS.

ALTHOUGH the ancients calculated their chronological tables by the reigns of kings, they appear to have erred more in estimating the duration of reigns than in any other historical question¹ differing as much from each other as from the truth.

They seem to have had no idea of forming a rationale on the subject, or of any such application of science in historical investigations, for the purpose of detecting or preventing gross fallacies or errors. The case of reigns is nevertheless a mere case of reversionary interest, and like all other cases of tenure and reversion, is subject to calculation according to laws now well understood, having been long since reduced to a regular science, and in daily application to the affairs of life in the purchase and sale of annuities, reversions and various other transactions.

From the average age of persons marrying, and from calculations founded on historical facts, chronologers both ancient and modern have agreed in considering three generations in general equal to a century, thus valuing one generation at $33\frac{1}{3}$ years².

¹ They very commonly stated their kings to reign 40 or 50 years, and sometimes even 90 or 100 years. I often find what appears to have been the length of a king's life set down as the time he reigned.

² "Γενεαί γὰρ τρεῖς ἑκατὸν ἐτεῶ ἐστί." Herod. Lib. II. "Ἐἰς μέντοι τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τρεῖς ἐγκαταλέγονται γενεαί." Clem. Alexandrin. Strom. I.

As generations are reckoned indiscriminately by any children, whereas reigns are in general by the eldest sons, reigns must be considerably shorter on the average, as is fully proved by all authentic history.

As the average length of generations is a point thus admitted and agreed upon by the writers on both sides, I need not waste the time and patience of the reader by any proofs of its correctness. But as some who agree to this are still sceptical as to reigns, I shall proceed to prove that their average length also depends on principles sound, satisfactory and intelligible.

The following sketch of general principles will I trust be found sufficiently clear and convincing.

I. Men are in general at maturity at about 21 years of age.

II. Kings are generally induced by their feelings and interest, and those of their subjects to marry as soon as convenient after that age.

III. The probability is that a son who shall live to succeed his father shall be born (if there be one) when his father is about $24\frac{1}{2}$ years old. Quere, why not before? Because a daughter or two may be born first.

IV. The abstract theory is that a son shall probably survive his father, and that a king shall survive his predecessor just as many years as he was born after him; the chances of longevity being equal in theory³. Nor is this mere theory.

From the birth of William I. 1027 to the birth of George IV. in 1762, 32 Sovereigns have been born in 735 years, the distance of births averaging 23 years nearly.

From the death of William I. in 1087 to the death of George IV. in 1830 are 743 years in 32 reigns of the same sovereigns, average $23\frac{1}{2}$.

V. It follows directly from the above propositions, that a son reigning in immediate succession would probably reign $24\frac{1}{2}$ years. That is the theory.

Let us compare this result with the historical facts.

In England since the Conquest, 16 Sovereigns have succeeded their fathers, and their reigns amount to 392 years, being on an average $24\frac{1}{2}$ years. This is the average in cases of direct hereditary succession.

We shall next consider the casualties to which direct succession is liable.

³ Theory can only estimate things by their average.

VI. The average length of reigns is shortened by kings dying without issue, and being succeeded by a brother or cousin of nearly the same age, who of course does not in general reign very long. A revolution may have the same effect.

Example. In England 16 sovereigns have reigned since the Conquest as brothers, cousins, &c., whose reigns added make 297, and average $18\frac{1}{2}$ years. This lowers the general average to $21\frac{1}{2}$ years.

VII. A casualty of an opposite kind occurs sometimes, although very rarely. A monarch's next heir may die before him, leaving a grandson to succeed to the throne. This has a natural tendency to produce an unusually long reign⁴; and consequently to lengthen the general average.

Example. Richard II. and George III. succeeded their grandfathers, and their reigns added make 82 years, and average 41 years. This raises the general average by about one-ninth, that is, to $22\frac{2}{3}$ in English reigns.

VIII. A minority arising merely from a prince dying before his successor is of mature age, does not alter the average length, since what is taken thus from one reign is added to that which succeeds.

It was only natural that I should take my examples from English history, as that with which we are best acquainted. It is however also very suitable, as containing a fair proportion of casualties, and wars foreign and domestic.

Since the Conquest two English kings were killed in battle, six were murdered, and one compelled to abdicate the throne. Thus nine reigns out of thirty-four have been closed prematurely and violently.

It is worthy of remark, that the long reigns of Louis XIV. and XV. and George III. all occurred since Newton wrote.

The case of a grandson succeeding is one which has occurred very seldom in modern, and scarcely ever in ancient

⁴ That is, equal to two ordinary reigns, there being two successions in the genealogy, although only the last lived to reign,

Edward III.

The Black prince of Wales.

Richard II.

George II.

Frederick, prince of Wales.

George III.

history. Perseus, Zeuxidamus, and Archidamus II. are the only cases I can recollect in all ancient history. In those times of war and violence, courage and prudence were the great requisites in a prince, and a minor was in general set aside in favour of some more efficient competitor, especially if he had an uncle who was popular and ambitious.

I shall now proceed to lay before the reader various calculations illustrating the foregoing theory by practical results grounded on historical records of various nations.

Sir Isaac Newton's calculation for the purpose of estimating the average length of reigns.

	Kings.		Years.	Average.
Judah,	18	who succeeded Solomon	390	22
Israel,	15	after Solomon	259	17
Babylon,	18 ^b	Nabonassar and his successors	209	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Persia,	10	Cyrus, &c.	208	21
Syria,	16	Seleucus and successors	244	15 $\frac{1}{4}$
Egypt,	11	Ptolemies	277	25
Macedon,	8	Cassander, &c.	138	17 $\frac{1}{4}$
England,	30	since the Norman Conquest	648	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
France,	24	Pharamond, &c. ^c	458	19
Do. next	24	Louis the bald, &c.	451	18 $\frac{3}{4}$
Do. next	15	Philip Valois, &c. from 1328 to Louis XIII. 1643	315	21
<hr/>			<hr/>	<hr/>
	189	reigns, occupying	3597	19

See Newton's Chronology.

DR HALE'S CALCULATION FOR THE LENGTH OF REIGNS.

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

2. The Parian Chronicle and Eusebius furnish a list of

^b Our accounts of Babylon are much too uncertain to form the ground work of any calculation. The three reigns which are best authenticated, those of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil Merodach, and Belshazzar, appear to average about 24 years.

^c France, in all 63 reigns in 1224 years, average 19 $\frac{1}{2}$.

30 Athenian kings from Cecrops b. c. 1558 to Alemæon ending b. c. 754, who reigned 804 years, or $26\frac{2}{3}$ years apiece.

3. Herodotus mentions 22 kings of Lydia, Argon, &c. beginning b. c. 1223 and ending with Candaules b. c. 718, who reigned 505 years, or near 23 years apiece.

4. The 18 kings of Judah, Rehoboam, &c., b. c. 990, and ending with Zedekiah b. c. 586 and the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, reigned 404 years or $22\frac{2}{3}$ apiece.

5. In England, 31 kings from William the Conqueror A. D. 1066, to the end of George II. 1760 reigned 694 years or $22\frac{2}{3}$ apiece.

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

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

8. In Spain, 32 kings from Ferdinand the Great A. D. 1207 to Charles III. ending 1788, reigned 761 years or near 24 years apiece.

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

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

“The average of these ten cases is $22\frac{1}{3}$ years to a reign, “in a series of 454 kings in 10105 years. From this great “scale of comparison therefore we are abundantly warranted “to fix the average standard of reigns at $22\frac{1}{3}$ years, which “will give the proportion of generations to reigns as $33\frac{1}{3}$ “to $22\frac{1}{3}$, or as 3 to 2 nearly.” Hales’s Chronology, Vol. I. p. 304.

I have already shewn at p. 24 what unsound materials are introduced into the above calculus. However, as the admission of fictitious reigns kept pace with the suppositious dates and eras, the errors nearly compensate each other.

I shall now give another calculation for the same purpose; and that I may keep it clear, not only of the errors above

pointed out, but of all other errors as far as possible; I shall not admit into it any materials which are not, as far as I can learn, both well established, and also universally acknowledged as certain and authentic.

	Kings.		Years.	Average.
Judah,	19	David to Zedekiah	467	24½
Israel,	16	Jeroboam to Hoshea	254	16
Persia,	10	Cyrus to Darius	208	21
Egypt,	11	Ptolemies	277	25
England,	34	from Norman Conquest to 1837	771	22½
France,	44	Charlemagne to Louis XVI.	1025	23½
Scotland,	33	Malcolm to James VI.	687	21
Spain,	13	Ferdinand to Charles IV.	329	25½
Poland,	32	Ladislaus to Augustus	685	21½
		212 reigns, which occupied	4703	22½

nearly.

The average thus found is exceedingly useful in scrutinizing the length of doubtful periods, and in estimating the probable length of any period in which the number of reigns is known but not the number of years; or vice versa, when the time can be nearly determined, but the number of reigns may be disputed or doubted.

The result thus obtained, must always be compared carefully with the general history, and if necessary, corrected by it. Thus we may approximate to the probable truth very nearly, and this in fact is all that an historical question either requires or admits.

The above tables (the most copious of which is from a zealous and powerful opponent) prove sufficiently, that the rationale of reigns given above is not chimerical, but is deeply founded in the very principles of our nature. Any unprejudiced person, referring to these copious documents, and seeing the reigns of so many hereditary kings, belonging to ages and countries so remote from each other, so different in climate and habits of every kind; I say any one seeing these reigns nevertheless agree so nearly in length, and their variations so easily and satisfactorily accounted for, will surely be inclined to believe, that such agreement has not been accidental, nor occurred without some fixed principle.

Objections have been made by some advocates for the old tables, to any calculations founded on the average length of reigns, as being uncertain and inconclusive. Those objections have arisen wholly from want of sufficient acquaintance with the solid principles on which these calculations are grounded, and the legitimate uses to be made of them.

The differences sometimes found between ancient authors, and the inconsistencies sometimes found even in the same author or document, have made the early history of Greece and other nations a perfect chaos (see Chap. VIII). To decide between conflicting authorities of a remote age, we can have no resource except in a cool unprejudiced reference to the possibilities and probabilities of the case. Now for the purpose of proving a statement to be incorrect as to date, and ascertaining the amount of error, the most certain way that has hitherto been discovered, is to ascertain if possible the number of generations or hereditary reigns, from some well authenticated date to the date in question.

This test will enable us to detect any gross anachronism, and also will point out the medium of probability as to the amount of correction required.

It has been also objected, that these results do not apply to the Roman Emperors, or to the Popes. But of course no one could think of applying them to any but hereditary reigns. They certainly could not apply to the ephemeral reigns of Emperors, raised suddenly to the throne by a shout of the Prætorian bands, and as hastily dethroned and murdered, nor will they suit the reigns of Popes, almost always elected in the decline of life.

The following very judicious remarks of Mr Clinton seem applicable here. "The average proportion is obtained, when the longer reigns of some are compensated by the shorter reigns of others. But this compensation only happens in long tracts of time, comprehending all the vicissitudes of turbulent and quiet periods, or of longer and shorter lives, such as will be found in a long series of reigns. An average will be true of twenty or thirty successive reigns, and yet may not be true of five⁷." *Fast. Hellenici*, Vol. I. p. 336.

⁷ From 6 to 12 reigns will in general allow compass quite sufficient to rectify any irregularity arising from a very long or a very short reign.

The argument of Dr Hales, that there being one minority in the Agidæ, and two in the Proclidæ, the reigns ought therefore to be taken as equal to generations, is quite unfounded. Minority is in general caused by a king dying prematurely, and a son a minor succeeding. What is thus taken from his reign, is probably added to that of his successor, neither more nor less. How then can this alter the average? Ten such minorities would not alter the chronology at all.

The only exception is when the immediate heir dies before his father, and yet old enough to marry and leave issue to inherit the throne.

This rare case has occurred, as far as I know, only six times within any authentic records, although the reigns in Dr Hales's table occupy collectively above 10,000 years. It occurred twice in Sparta, twice in England, and twice in France². This therefore can effect the average of reigns very little. It raises the Spartan reigns from $21\frac{1}{2}$ to 22 years average. In fact a minor succeeding scarcely ever occurred in very ancient times. The times were too fierce and warlike.

Among some excellent observations on this subject in Mr Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici* (Vol. I. p. 339), I have to notice what I suppose is a typographical error. Speaking of exceptions to the general average of reigns, he says, "Five kings of France, of the house of Bourbon reigned from A. D. 1589 to 1793, 204 years, giving an average of $50\frac{1}{2}$ to each³." But five reigns in 204 years average not $50\frac{1}{2}$ but $40\frac{1}{2}$ years. Moreover, this was a singular case, unknown either before or since,

² Five instances of a grandson, and one of a great grandson, in 454 reigns occupying 10,105 years. See Dr Hales's Table.

³ It is an awful circumstance worthy of remark, that since the massacre of St Bartholomew, there has not been one mature regular succession on the French throne. Three kings and one queen were murdered, with various dethronements, revolutions, minorities, and regencies.

The above 204 years were thus occupied as to the natural succession from father to son.

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Henry IV. | 5. The Duke of Burgundy. |
| 2. Louis XIII. | 6. Louis XV. |
| 3. Louis XIV. | 7. The Dauphin. |
| 4. The Dauphin. | 8. Louis XVI. |

204 years divided by 8 gives an average of $25\frac{1}{2}$ years for direct succession of eldest sons in France, which does not differ much from that in England. See p. 58.

so far as we have any historical record, a grandson succeeding a great grandson in immediate succession. Dr Hales's table, which states reigns to the amount of 10,105 years, gives no other instance: in all rational probability there may never occur such another. This is only an additional proof that there is in human affairs no general rule without an exception. But this is surely no argument against the existence or value of general rules and principles, fairly grounded on facts and experiments¹⁰.

The above uncommon average, produced by joining these two uncommon reigns in one calculation, may be rectified by extending it to 12 reigns. If we take from Henry II. 1547, to Charles X. 1830, inclusive, we have

	283 years.
Deduct at the French Revolution	11 years interregnum.
	272

which in 12 reigns gives an average of $22\frac{2}{3}$ years.

The case of George III. rectifies itself in six reigns, thus—
From Anne 1703 to William IV. 1837 inclusive, there are six reigns in 134 years, average $22\frac{2}{3}$.

I have seen some observations on this subject by Dr Musgrave, an eminent physician in Queen Anne's reign. But he seems to have been utterly ignorant of the first principles of the subject, and even of the existence of any. We must however take into the account, that almost all the valuable works on the rationale of lives, annuities, and reversionary interests, were produced since Dr M.'s time.

He says that ancient reigns ought to be taken as longer than generations. This is contrary to common sense, as well as to the general testimony of authentic history. The 25 authentic reigns of Sparta (the last 13 Agidæ and 12 Pro-

¹⁰ Although these extraordinary cases have occurred so seldom (that is, such reigns as Louis XIV. and XV. and George III.), being exceedingly rare cases in modern history, and, as far as I can find, unknown in ancient authentic records; still it is a suitable question, how the chronologer is to treat them when they do occur.

In the first place, on what ground can we pronounce such a case extraordinary? I think we may fairly do so, when we find one reign in any country stand cotemporary with several reigns, not in one only, but in various other countries.

In such a case, I should say, we ought to take the whole number of concurrent European reigns, and make an average from them.

clidæ) average 21½. Dr M. also argues, that the casualties to which kings were anciently subject, made it matter of uncertainty, and that we therefore ought to allow their reigns to have been extremely long, 40 or 50 years at least. The chances of war, treason, rebellion, and murder, in such times, seem likely enough to have shortened the lives and reigns of kings. But how they could possibly be lengthened by such contingencies I really cannot comprehend.

I should not have noticed remarks so puerile and unphilosophical in a writer now considered obsolete, if I had not seen them quoted as authority in a late publication by Dr Russell, a writer of considerable talent.

CHAPTER XVII.

RETURN OF THE HERACLIDÆ.

THE latest circumstance actually belonging to the Heroic age, is the return of the Heraclidæ to take possession of Peloponnesus. The ancients in general placed this event eighty years after the destruction of Troy¹. This they estimated by allowing 100 years for the three successors of Hyllus, and as Hyllus died 20 years before the fall of Troy, this made the interval just 80 years. This however requires scrutiny and correction. In fact every interval, reported to exceed 20 or 30 years of those dark ages, requires careful scrutiny, and is in general found on examination to err more or less in excess.

The death of Hyllus, the son of Hercules, occurred as nearly as can be ascertained, 20 years before Troy was destroyed; after him reigned Cleodæus, Aristomachus, and Aristodemus in lineal succession; as all these were cut off in the prime of life, we cannot allow more than 75 years for the three reigns. This deducted from 910 B. C. the date

¹ Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἰ νῦν ἐξηκοστῶ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου θλώσειν ἐξ Ἄρρης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλομένην ᾤκησαν (ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸν πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῆ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ἧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν)· Διωρεῖε τε ὄγδοηκοστῶ ἔτει ξυνηρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον. Thucydides, Bell. Pelop. Lib. 1.

of the death of Hyllus, gives 835 B. C. for the return of the Heraclidæ, which therefore occurred 55 years after the fall of Troy.

But as this is an event of importance in its chronological bearings, being the commencement of the Spartan Biarchy, I shall endeavour to establish its date by other means also. It will therefore be my next object to connect it with some other event, whose date is well known and established, as belonging to settled times and authentic history.

For this purpose, I shall take the reign of Leotychides King of Sparta, who commanded in the battle with the Persians at Mycale, an event important in the general history of Europe and Asia.

This date is made the more memorable by the battle of Plateæ, which was fought at the same time. Leotychides began to reign B. C. 491.

From the accession of Leotychides to the end of the Spartan Biarchy, there were $12\frac{1}{2}$ reigns which occupies 272 years, making an average of 22 years nearly for each reign. This agrees within a small fraction with the mean rate $22\frac{1}{3}$, found by a calculation made on very extensive and carefully scrutinized data, which has been given in Chap. xvi., and is likewise confirmed by Dr Hales's calculations, given at p. 304 of the first Volume of his Analysis.

Now computing backward, from the accession of Leotychides B. C. 491, to the return of the Heraclidæ, there are 15 reigns of Proclidæ, and 16 reigns of Agidæ, that is, $15\frac{1}{2}$ reigns on an average, which at the rate of $22\frac{1}{3}$ years, make 344 years. Add these numbers,

	B. C.
Accession of Leotychides	491
$15\frac{1}{2}$ reigns from the return of Heraclidæ	344
	835
From return of Heraclidæ to fall of Troy.....	55
	890

But the old long chronology places the return of the Heraclidæ in the year B. C. 1104, thereby allowing 613 years for the 15 reigns preceding Leotychides, which would be an

average of 41 years for each reign, a rate utterly absurd, and contrary both to reason, and to all authentic history.

Again, Sennacherib king of Assyria invaded Judea and Egypt, in or about the year *b. c.* 714, Hezekiah being king of Judah²; and Sethon being king of Egypt³. Now from Sethon exclusive to Proteus, in whose reign Troy was taken, Herodotus reckons eight reigns, and we may be certain there were no more.

	<i>B. c.</i>
Date of Sennacherib's invasion.....	713
Add eight reigns at 22½	178
	891
Deduct.....	55

Return of Heraclidæ 836

A result which agrees sufficiently with those already given from authorities, and calculation of other reigns.

But if we were to admit the dates given in the old tables, we must subtract 713 from 1184, which would leave 471 years for those eight reigns, that is, requiring an average of 59 years for each reign, which is absolutely ridiculous.

The coincidence of so many independent proofs and calculations, exceedingly increases the ratio of probability in favour of the correctness of the result, as far indeed as any historical subject is capable of confirmation. Scepticism itself seems to require no more.

CHAPTER XVIII.

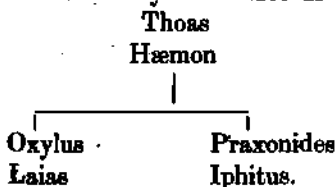
DATE OF REVIVAL OF THE OLYMPIADS.

ALTHOUGH I trust I have already brought forward abundant proofs of the falsehood and gross absurdity of the old tables, as to what occurred before the fifth century *b. c.* (see Chap. VIII.) I cannot avoid giving an instance in addition, which is interesting, as it relates to the revival of the Olympiads by Iphitus, which is placed by the tables at 884 *b. c.* Iphitus was great grandson of Thoas who fought at Troy,

² 2 Kings xviii.

³ Herod. Lib. ii. c. 141.

as they say 1184 B. C.; thus making three generations equal to 300 years instead of 100 years. Let us analyse this case.



From Thoas, about 900 B. C. to Oxylus are two generations or 66 years to the return of the Heraclidæ, about 835 B. C. Then we have Oxylus and Laias, two reigns or 45 years, which brings us to 790 B. C. Laias died without issue and was succeeded by Iphitus his cousin, about 790 B. C., which makes him revive the Olympiads about the middle of his reign at 776 B. C. All which is quite probable and consistent.

It is strange enough, although they say Iphitus restored the Olympiads in 884 B. C., they do not say who restored them again in 776 B. C. when Corcebus was victor.

Dr Hales states two generations to be equal in general to three reigns¹ which appears correct. From Hippocrates to Æsculapius the Argonaut are 17 generations; there were three generations from the Argonauts and Æsculapius to the return of the Heraclidæ under Oxylus; deducting these leaves 14 generations from their return to Hippocrates. Now from the return of the Heraclidæ to 361 B. C. there reigned at Sparta 23 Agidæ and 19 Proclidæ, average 21 reigns, which answers to 14 generations exactly.

Again, from Pyrrhus 272 B. C. to Neoptolemus and the Trojan war, there were 19 generations according to Pausanias; deduct two generations (from Thoas to Oxylus) and we have 17 generations from the return of the Heraclidæ to Pyrrhus 272 B. C. During this time there were 25 reigns of Agidæ². These comparisons are on the whole very satisfactory.

¹ See his Table of Reigns at p. 61.

² The Proclidæ were rather fewer in this interval; such differences occur occasionally.

CHAPTER XIX.

DATE OF THE FIRST MESSENIAN WAR AND OF LYCURGUS.

ALTHOUGH the first Messenian war is not within what is called the Heroic age; the anachronism in the date assigned to it in the tables is so gross, that I feel bound to endeavour to correct it. Pausanias informs us that from Theras, the uncle and guardian of Eurysthenes and Procles, to Euryleon who commanded in a battle in the 5th year of the war, there were six generations. The old tables make the war begin in 743 B.C., which dates this battle in 738 B.C. From this to 1104 B.C., their date for the return of the Heraclidæ, are 366 years, which would allow 61 years for each generation, a rate quite absurd and contrary to all history.

Let us take six generations or 200 years from the return of the Heraclidæ, as already proved about 835 B.C. This gives 635 B.C. for Euryleon¹ and 640 for the beginning of the war which lasted 19 years, and ended 621 B.C., shewing an error of 103 years.

Again, Alcamenes began the war and took Amphea in the first year, died soon after and was succeeded by Polydorus who died the same year in which the war ended. He therefore reigned about 18 years; but the tables make him reign 52 years.

Nicanor son of Clarilus was the other king in the beginning of the war; he outlived Alcamenes a short time (probably two or three years) and was succeeded by Theopompus, who with Polydorus commanded the two wings of the Spartans, and Euryleon the center, in the battle with Euphræes².

Theopompus died the year after the end of the war 620 B.C., and consequently reigned about 16 or 17 years. But they make him reign 47 years³.

¹ What confirms this statement strongly, there were 9½ reigns of Agidæ and 8½ reigns of Proclidæ during this time, medium nine reigns during the six generations; there were also nine reigns in Arcadia. ² Pausanias, Lib. v. c. 8.

³ In examining dates previous to what concerned the Persian war, I find the small numbers given in general with tolerable correctness, but the larger numbers, such as 30, 40, 50 and upwards, are in general too great by one-half, or at least one-third.

I have found even some reigns set down at near three times their true length.

The following statement is I believe nearly correct.

Polydectes was ten reigns before Leotychides, and five reigns after Procles, dividing the time from 835 to 491 B. C. gives 721 B. C. for the beginning of his reign.

B. C.

Polydectes reigned 9 years to	712	
Charilaus	52	660 Lycurgus was his guardian.
Nicander	24	636
Theopompus.....	16	620.

Some of the ancients were led to think Lycurgus cotemporary with Iphitus who revived the Olympic games, because one of the discs bears his name. But this disc appears to have been given in the 18th Olympiad, when the Quinquertium to which that game of discs or quoits belonged, was added according to Pausanias. And this agrees with Lycurgus being the friend of Terpander the poet and musician, who flourished until the 25th Olympiad 676 B. C., which were impossible, if Lycurgus legislated for Sparta in 776 B. C., and still more absurd according to those who date Lycurgus 884 B. C., that is, above two entire centuries before Terpander.

Every thing seems to establish that Lycurgus flourished from 712 to 690 B. C. as guardian and legislator, that is, from the 16th to the 21st Olympiad, after which he lived much honoured until his death.

Thucydides thought that Lycurgus legislated a little more than 400 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war; but this is easily explained. The ancients not only estimated reigns too long by one third or more, but their estimate of the equinoctial precession, which they also mixed up with their chronology, misled them. They thought it was one degree in 100 years, instead of about $71\frac{1}{2}$ years. We must therefore reduce the above by 100 years.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE ATHENIAN ARCHONS.

As the compilers of the ancient chronological tables antedated the return of the Heraclidæ about 270 years, and the reigns of the earlier Spartan kings in proportion, they were necessitated, for the sake of connexion and consistency, to make the Athenian Archons undergo a similar process. For it is generally received, and with apparent correctness; that Codrus was killed, and royalty ceased at Athens about 34 years after the return of the Heraclidæ; when not satisfied with the Peloponnesus, they attempted also the conquest of Attica¹.

The 13 first Archons, called Medontidæ, who held the office for life, are represented in the tables to have continued 316 years, from 1070 to 754 B. C. Other authors say, they continued somewhat above 200 years, which is much nearer the truth, although still far beyond it.

The seven decennial Archons were said to begin 754 B. C. and to continue 70 years: which is certainly incorrect. Hippomenes, the 4th of them, was deposed before half of his term had expired, Eryxias, the last of them held office only nine years; and how many of the others governed their full time in that turbulent unsettled age, is very questionable. Considering the circumstances and contingencies, I think they probably continued about 52 years, and no longer certainly.

As to the annual Archons, the old tables state them as commencing 684 B. C.; and yet they give the names of only 42 before the year 500 B. C.², making blank years to the number of 141: a mode of reckoning, as to the successors to an office so conspicuous and important, which entirely destroys its own credit.

¹ That is, 1070 B. C. by the tables, and 801 B. C. by our way of reckoning.

² The Archons before 500 B. C. are antedated, almost to double their distance from that date, in most cases. The Parian Chronicle has given to the earlier Archons dates found by calculation, and exceedingly erroneous.

Those who compiled the lists of Archons, appear to have inserted whatever names they found in any author, with what appeared the probable date, according to the traditional chronology of that age, which added centuries without scruple. Many Archons must have died in office, as was the case with the Roman Consuls. It was perhaps also often difficult or impossible, after a lapse of time, to ascertain whether the person in question had been first Archon, or an inferior colleague in office; although, if actual records had been preserved, this could not occur. Moreover we look in vain in these lists for some Archons of great power and celebrity; Pisistratus, Pericles, &c. I think that even the name of Solon was omitted at first, and that they afterwards tried to remedy the omission by erasing the name of Critias, and writing Solon instead of it².

The chief difficulty in correcting the dates of the Archons, arises from the circumstance, that until the Athenians and Spartans became very powerful after the Persian war, they had little public intercourse,—at least none worth recording; either friendly or hostile, which might enable us to compare and correct one account by another in points of chronology.

The capture of Amphea by the Spartans in the first year of the first Messenian war, is the earliest fact noticed in history which throws light on the subject; it is at least the most ancient that I have met with.

This capture of Amphea, as Pausanias informs us, occurred in the fifth year of Æsimeides, the second decennial Archon of Athens⁴: a coincidence which is confirmed by other circumstances. Again, Pausanias says that Euryleon, who commanded the center of the Spartans in the fifth year of that war, was six generations from Theras, the uncle and guardian of Eurysthenes and Procles, at the return of the Heraclidæ⁵.

² Solon stands in some lists, where Critias is in others. I think Solon's name ought to stand between Henochides and Aristocles. He was Archon the year before he framed his laws.

⁴ "Τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Ἀμφείας, Αἰσιμήδης Ἀθηναῖος ἤρχεν ὁ Αἰσχόλου πέμπτον ἔτος." Pausanias, Lib. IV. c. 5.

⁵ Pausanias, Lib. IV. c. 7.

We have therefore the following dates in connexion :

	B. C.
Æsimeles chosen, being the second decennial Archon	644
Ampeha taken the first year of the war.....	639
Battle in which Euryleon commanded, being six generations, or 200 years from the return of the Heraclidæ	635
End of the first Messenian war, which lasted 19 years	620

Dates which will, I trust, be found nearly correct.

Charops, the first decennial Archon, we may therefore set down as elected 654 B. C. after the life Archonships had continued 147 years, from 801 to 654 B. C.

This allows an average of $11\frac{1}{3}$ years only for the 13 first Archons. The low average here shews, that one of the ways which the Athenians took to reduce and keep down the power and influence of the chief Archon, was to elect to that office none but elderly inactive men. It would appear as if they chose the oldest candidate that was at all eligible. This, by causing more frequent elections, exceedingly increased the power of the people, or rather of the demagogues. It is on the same principle, that the Cardinals in general elect an old man to the Papal chair; and the Popes consequently reign on an average only about six years.

	B. C.
Archonships instituted	801
Charops first decennial Archon	654
Creon first annual Archon	602

This leaves only 59 years unaccounted for, instead of 141.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF DRACO, SOLON, AND PISISTRATUS.

THE Archonship of Draco is set down in the tables 625, and his legislation 623 B. C.; in the reign of Eurycrates II., and Archidamus, kings of Sparta. As the reigns of those kings and the Archons of that time are all antedated at least from 50 to 60 years, I must date the legislation of Draco accordingly between 575 and 570 B. C.¹, which agrees with the statement of Josephus, that he was not much earlier than the government of Pisistratus.

It appears from Herodotus, as already stated, that Solon was cotemporary with Phidon the Argive prince; but this refers to the early part of Solon's life. When Alcmaeon was sent with the Athenian quota against Cirrha, Solon was sent with him as an aged counsellor, and to give more weight and solemnity to their proceedings. I think this occurred about 570 B. C., when Solon was about 60 years old.

Newton gives reasons, which I think make it probable, that Croesus reigned from 558 to 544 B. C.; in which year he dated the taking of Sardis by Cyrus.

According to this view, which I believe is nearly correct, Solon was Archon 562 B. C.; and legislated the year after, that is, 561 B. C. He then travelled for about ten years, until 551, when he found Pisistratus assuming sovereignty. Solon finding his opposition ineffectual, travelled again, and died abroad 549 B. C.

When Croesus sent to Delphos, Pisistratus reigned at Athens, and Leon and Agasicles at Sparta. As to the visit of Solon to Croesus, I think the authority of Herodotus conclusive, that it occurred during his ten years' tour, and towards the end of it, two or three years before his death.

The following dates will, I believe, be found nearly correct.

¹ The Athenians soon banished Draco and his laws, which need not surprise us very much.

	B. C.
Solon born	628
Phidon flourished between 610 and	580
Draco legislated between 575 and.....	570
Cirrha taken about	570
Solon Archon	562
—— legislates	561
—— travels for ten years	561
Crœsus reigns in Lydia	558
Pisistratus reigns at Athens ^a	551
Solon travels again and dies abroad	549
Crœsus sends to Delphos	546
Cyrus takes Sardis	544
—— takes Babylon	538
—— dies	529
Pisistratus dies	518
Pisistratidæ driven from Athens	508

^a Critias being Archon, and not Comias, as the hiatus is erroneously supplied by the editors of the Parian Chronicle.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

COLLOCATION OF THE EVENTS OF THE HEROIC AGE.

I SHALL NOW proceed to examine the order of occurrences and internal chronology of the Heroic age. The simplest and clearest way will be, to take some great leading event as a cardinal point or Zero; and for this purpose the destruction of Troy seems every way suitable, both from its important consequences, and the general interest which it excited¹.

I shall then insert in their order those events which are well ascertained, and not disputed. And by them I trust every other circumstance worthy of notice will be easily regulated with sufficient exactness.

In a *retrospective view* such as I have proposed taking, the first event which we meet with before the fall of Troy, is the beginning of the Trojan war; and this not being disputed, we shall set down at ten years distance.

The elopement of Helen with Paris, is placed in the old tables five years prior to the beginning of the war, which seems sufficiently exact.

And the accession of Menestheus may be safely taken from the Parian Chronicle at 22 years before the end of the war².

¹ The Trojan war was one of very great and general interest, being not only destructive to that state, but likewise the cause of great troubles in Greece after its termination. It was also the occasion of founding many new cities and states in Italy and other countries. "Ἡ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία γενομένη πολλά ἀναόχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὡς ἐπιπολὸν ἐγίγνοντο, ἀφ' ἧν ἐκπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις ἐκτιζον." Thucydides, Bell. Pelop. Lib. 1.

The Trojan war was as momentous to Greece as the Punic wars were to the Romans.

² "Ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἰς Τροίαν ἐστρατεύσαντο, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Μενεσθέως τρεῖς καὶ δέκατον ἔτος." Parian Chronicle. The war began in the 13th and ended in the 23rd year of his reign.

We shall now look back to the Argonautic expedition; and as the leading characters engaged in it Hercules, Peleus, Neleus, Laertes, &c.³, were the fathers of those who signalized themselves in the Trojan war, we shall therefore place it one generation before the Trojan war; that is, according to the general estimation of chronologers, at 33 years from the beginning, and 43 from the end of the war. In placing it at that distance of time we cannot greatly err, but in fact, we shall as we proceed, find this reckoning confirmed by many collateral circumstances⁴.

The grand hunting match at Calydon, by collecting the most remarkable characters then living in Greece⁵, and by its disastrous consequences to so many of those concerned, became an object of historical notoriety. It is marked in the old tables three years after the Argonautic expedition, which seems too early; I think five years near the truth.

The Theban war, in which Tydeus son of Œneus king of Calydon was a chief actor, occurred not long after the Calydonian hunt. After weighing all the circumstances, I have placed it about 30 years before the fall of Troy.

The death of Hercules occurred about four or five years after that war. The war of the Epigoni occurred about 14 years after the former war⁶, and therefore is set down at 16 years. This date, and that of the Theban war connected with it, will be further confirmed by the circumstance that Diomedes, Thersander, and some others⁷, were engaged both in the war of the Epigoni, and in the Trojan war.

The death of Minos the Great is likewise an event worthy of notice, and from circumstances, must have occurred about 45 years before the Trojan war, and 55 before its end.

³ See a list of the princes engaged in the Argonautic expedition, in the Appendix.

⁴ The old tables place the Argonautic expedition 83 years before the fall of Troy, although Nestor was engaged in both. Mr Clinton makes the interval 42 years, which is about the truth. He thinks Nestor was about 60 years old at the beginning of the Trojan war, and 70 at the end of it, which I believe is correct also.

⁵ See list of those engaged, in the Appendix.

⁶ It could not be sooner on account of their ages.

⁷ See list of the seven chiefs and Epigoni, in the Appendix.

Retrospective view as taken above.

	Years.
Minos the Great dies (aged about 70) before the fall of Troy	55
Argonautic expedition sailed	44
----- returned	42
Calydonian hunt.....	36
Theban war	30
The Theban Hercules dies.....	26
Menestheus begins to reign at Athens	22
Agamemnon begins to reign (by the tables)	17
The Epigoni war against Thebes	16
Paris carries off Helen	15
Trojan war commences	10
Troy destroyed	0

Any one acquainted with history who will take the trouble of examining the transactions above noticed, as to their relative bearing on each other, their general probabilities, and the way in which they harmonize, will, I trust, agree with me, that the above collocation must be very near the truth.

Our next object will be to ascertain at what time Osiris or Bacchus visited Greece. This event synchronises with the accession of Theseus, which the old tables set down 51 years before the fall of Troy, an interval too short, as we shall shew presently.

The following noted persons were living at the time of the expedition of Osiris :

In Phrygia,—Tros or Laomedon[†], Ganymede, Midas.

In Lydia,—Tantalus, Niobe.

In Thrace,—Lycurgus, Œagrus.

In Thessaly,—Ixion.

In Bœotia,—Pentheus, Actæon, Labdacus or Laius, Antiope.

In Attica,—Æthra, Theseus.

In Argos,—Perseus, Electryo, Mestor, Sthenelus, Alcmena.

In Sicyon,—Epaphas or Epopæus, Laomedon.

In Sparta,—Tyndarus, Leda, Hippocoon.

In Corinth,—Sisyphus.

[†] In the chapter on Troy, I shall prove that Tros and Laomedon were only different names for the same king.

In Arcadia,—Lycaon, Calisto.

In Pisa,—Pelops.

In Calydon,—Æneus.

In Crete,—Minos, Dædalus.

Æneus, who entertained Osiris, was grandfather to Diomedes.

Pelops was either actual or reputed grandfather of Agamemnon.

Laomedon was grandfather to Hector.

Minos was grandfather to Idomeneus.

Many others might also be added who flourished at that time, whose grandsons were engaged in the Trojan war.

We may therefore safely place the invasion of Osiris at two generations, or about 67 years before the Trojan war began.

Moreover, most of those princes who constituted the flower of the military strength of Greece at the time of the Argonautic expedition, were either born during the residence of Osiris in Greece, or very near that time. We therefore cannot be far from the truth in dating his arrival in Greece about 33 years before the sailing of the Argonauts.

The beginning of the reign of Theseus, as I have already observed, synchronises nearly with the arrival of Osiris in Greece: but Theseus came to the throne *imberbis*, supposed to be but little more than twenty years of age. Now his misadventure in company with Pirithous, a little before the Argonautic expedition, occurred about the fiftieth year of his age and thirtieth of his reign. As that expedition certainly must have occurred about 36 to 33 years before the Trojan war; therefore the arrival of Osiris and the accession of Theseus may be dated about 67 years before that event⁹.

Minos the Great died about 55 years before the destruction of Troy, aged about 70; he was therefore born about 125 years before that event¹⁰. And Cadmus, the reputed uncle

⁹ The old chronology placed the beginning of the reign of Theseus at 51 years before the fall of Troy. This was occasioned by their transposing the short reigns of Erichthonius and Pandion, as will be explained in our notice of the Athenian records. The tables also place the Argonautic expedition 32 years before the accession of Theseus, although all historians place it about 30 after his accession; and this is confirmed by all the circumstances.

¹⁰ The idea of two kings of Crete of the name of Minos has no existence in the more ancient and authentic authors. Homer, Hesiod, Thucydides, Herodotus,

of Minos, probably came to Greece from 127 to 130 years before that event¹¹.

That the arrival of Cadmus in Greece is thus dated with tolerable exactness, in fact sufficient for our present purpose may be inferred from various circumstances.

I. Pentheus, son of Agave and grandson of Cadmus, was a young man and killed by the Bacchanals, at the introduction of their orgies into Bœotia; Cadmus himself being, it is said, present and then old. The interval, being in the female line, must be reckoned at about 50 years¹².

II. Actæon, another grandson of Cadmus, was soon after put to death for approaching too near Diana the daughter of Osiris when bathing¹³.

III. Semele a daughter of Cadmus was one of the young and beautiful Greeks brought to Sesostris, and was his favourite concubine¹⁴.

That the reign of Cadmus was not of extraordinary length is rendered also most probable, by the circumstance of his resigning the government to Polydorus on his being appointed leader of the Enchelæ against the Illyrians.

and Strabo knew of but one Minos, the son of Asterion and Europa, the father of Deucalion the Argonaut, and the grandfather of Idomeneus, who fought at Troy.

Herodotus makes Minos and Rhadamanthus, the sons of Europa, cotemporary with Ægeus. And Apollodorus says that Minos, the father of Androgeus and Ariadne, was the son of Jupiter and Europa.

The second Minos was introduced to keep pace with the fictitious reigns in the Athenian records.

¹¹ The name Cadmus, is supposed by some to have been given to him because he said that he came from *Καδμῆ* *Cadmah*, the East. Mr Clinton thinks Cadmus came to Greece not more than 130 years before the fall of Troy. *Fasti Hellen.* Vol. I. p. 139.

¹² "Τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φασὶν ἐπιφανεστάτους εἶναι Πενθέα μὲν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, Μύρμανο καὶ τὸν βασιλέα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς, Λυκούργου παρὰ τοῖς Θραξί." "Of those punished by him (Osiris) they say the most noble were Pentheus among the Greeks, Myrhanus king of the Indians, and Lycurgus of the Thracians." *Diod. Sic. Lib. III.*

¹³ The mythologists said he was transformed into a stag, and killed by his own hounds. But Pausanias tells us that he was sewed up in the skin of a stag which he had just killed, and then hunted to death by his own dogs, a cruelty practised often towards Christians in the first century.

¹⁴ — ἐν δὲ τὴν πηγὴν ἐνιδεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν λουμένους Ἀρτεμίδος ἐν τῇ πηγῇ. Σπησίχορος δὲ ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἔγραψεν ἐλάφου περιβαλεῖν δέρμα Ἀκταίωσι τὴν θεοῦ, παρασκευάχουσαν οἱ τὸν ἐκ τῶν κυνῶν θάνατον." Pausanias, *Lib. IX.*

¹⁴ Her father could not probably be then more than about 75 years old, nor less than 25 to 30 years old when he built Cadmea.

I am gratified to find Mr Clinton's view of this part of the subject so nearly coinciding with my own. At p. 139 of Vol. I. of his *Fasti Hellenici*, there is the following abstract, which I place beside mine.

Years. MR CLINTON.

130. Cadmus.

100. Pelops.

78. Hercules born.

42. Argonauts.

30. First Theban war.

26. Death of Hercules.

24. Death of Eurystheus.

20. Death of Hyllus.

18. Accession of Agamemnon.

16. Second Theban war.

10. Trojan expedition.

0. Troy taken.

Dates given in this Chapter.

130. Cadmus arrives in Greece.

100. Pelops ditto (both round numbers).

76. Hercules born.

44. Argonauts sailed, returned 42.

30. First Theban war.

26. Death of Hercules.

24. Atreus succeeds Eurystheus.

20. Death of Hyllus.

17. Agamemnon succeeds Atreus.

16. Second Theban war.

10. Trojan war begins.

0. Troy destroyed.

The date given above for Pelops coming to Greece must be very near the truth. It could not be later; for Nicippe his daughter by Hippodamia, was mother to Eurystheus, born about the same time with Hercules, that is, 74 to 78 years before the fall of Troy. The interval between which and 100 is barely sufficient for Pelops settling in Greece, marrying, &c., to the birth of his grandson.

Again, the arrival of Pelops could not probably have been earlier; for his father Tantalus was at war with the king of Troy, and was conquered and punished by Osiris for carrying off Ganymede.

This occurred just before the accession of Theseus, that is, about 33 years before the Argonautic expedition, and 77 years before the fall of Troy. We cannot suppose Tantalus at that time more than 65 to 70 years old; born about 145 years before Troy fell, and Pelops born about 123 years, and coming to Greece about 100 years before that event.

Pelops was cotemporary with Perseus, whose mother Danae was sister to Evarate the mother of Hippodamia, both of them

being daughters of Acrisius. Moreover, Nicippe the daughter of Pelops married Sthenelus the son of Perseus.

But the old legends say that Pitheus, the grandfather of Theseus, was son of Pelops by Hippodamia, which is a monstrous anachronism. For Theseus was born about the same time that Pelops was married, that is, 53 years before the Argonautic expedition.

So far from Trœzen and Pitheus being sons of Pelops, they must have been before his time, and many years probably. I must also observe that neither Pelops nor any of his successors had any footing near Trœzen, until after the death of Eurystheus, who was succeeded by Atreus about 24 years before the Trojan war: Atreus being then about 70 years old. From that time the Pelopidæ predominated in the peninsula until the return of the Heraclidæ, who were Inachidæ. Trœzen and Pitheus were probably sons of Prœtus, who actually reigned in those parts.

Before I had seen Mr Clinton's work, I put the Argonautic expedition at one generation or 33 years, and the birth of Hercules 66 years before the fall of Troy; I also put the arrival of Cadmus at from 117 to 120 years before that event. But seeing his work led me to reconsider these three dates, and to take their distance of time from the beginning of the Trojan war, as they now stand in the above abstract. I feel pleasure in thus candidly acknowledging where I am indebted to that talented writer.

So far our way has been plain and smooth, as all disputed ground has been carefully avoided. I must next endeavour to ascertain, as exactly as the case will admit, the distance of time between the fall of Troy and the settlement of the Egyptian colonies in Greece.

As to the savage or half savage tribes who inhabited those countries before the colonies migrated from Egypt, but little is known or worth knowing. Cimmerians, who came round the Black Sea from Scythia, probably occupied the interior as hunters and shepherds. The descendants of Tiras had crossed the Bosphorus from Asia Minor and settled in Thrace. And the ferocious Pelasgi led a sort of amphibious piratical life on the islands and sea coasts. The wandering and unsettled state and habits of these tribes is described by Thu-

cydides with his usual spirit, in the beginning of his work, and to him I refer my reader, if he should wish to consult the best ancient authority on the subject¹⁵.

CHAPTER II.

OF ARGOS AND MYCENÆ.

THE Greek state which claims our first notice is that of Argos and Mycenæ; both on account of its antiquity, and because for a considerable time it held the first place among the Greek states, exceeding all the others both in wealth and power.

At the time of the invasion of Greece by Osiris, Persius reigned at Mycenæ¹, which he had made the capital of his dominions, and improved so much, as to be considered its second founder. And his three sons, Electryo, Mestor, and Sthenelus, appear to have been governors under him, residing in different cities of Argolis².

The ancient table of the Argive kings is an excellent example of the system of interpolation so generally practised by the heathen priests and historians; and is valuable, as it shews upon examination, in what manner those corruptions most probably found their way into ancient records.

Kings of Argos before the invasion of Osiris, according to Pausanias and Apollodorus.

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Inachus. | 10. Danaus. |
| 2. Phoroneus. | 11. Lynceus. |
| 3. Apis. | 12. Abas. |
| 4. Argus. | 13. Prætus. |
| 5. Criasus. | 14. Acrisius. |
| 6. Phorbas. | 15. Perseus. |
| 7. Triopas. | 16. Electryo. |
| 8. Crotopus. | 17. Mestor. |
| 9. Sthenelus. | 18. Sthenelus. |

¹⁵ For farther references and copious information on this subject, I refer the reader to Mr Thirlwall's work on Greece, and the *Fasti Hellenici* of Mr Clinton.

¹ Probably so named after Mycenè, a daughter of Inachus.

² Pausanias says that Electryo reigned at Midea, a city of Argolis. Pausanias, Lib. iv. c. 25.

A very superficial examination will be sufficient to discover the gross absurdity of this statement.

Electryo, the grandfather of Hercules the Argonaut, is placed six reigns after Lynceus, in whose reign the Argonauts sailed, whereas he ought of course to stand two or three reigns before him.

Again, Lacedæmon the son of Phoroneus married Sparta the granddaughter of Lelex, and their daughter Eurydice was married to Acrisius king of Argos. But in this list Acrisius is placed twelve reigns, which are there reckoned to occupy 462 years, after Phoroneus, whose granddaughter he married. At first I knew not what to do with anachronisms so monstrous; but on further examination I discovered that Abas, and the names following him, were only repetitions of Apis and the other six kings which follow Phoroneus, with some difference of epithet and dialect. The following list will I trust be found correct.

Inachus³.

Phoroneus⁴.

Abas or Apis⁵.

Prætus or Argos⁶, } Brothers.

Acrisius or Criasus⁷, }

Perseus or Phorbas.

Electryo or Triopas, } Brothers and cotemporary.

Mestor or Crotopus, }

Sthenelus,

³ *Ἰναχος* seems to be an Egyptian dialectic reading of Enoch (perhaps pronounced Eenauch) with the Greek termination, which they in general added to foreign names.

⁴ Phoroneus appears to be an Egyptian name a little modified.

⁵ Abas or Apis is Egyptian-Hebrew.

⁶ Prætus, almost the same with Proteus. These four first names are Egyptian, as is Phorbas also. Pausanias says that Acrisius had Argos for his share. Prætus had Heraeus, Midea, Tiryntha, and the maritime parts of Argolis. "*Καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέμενεν ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ. Προῖτος δὲ τὸ Ἑραῖον καὶ Μίδειαν καὶ Τίρυνθᾶ ἔσχε, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς θαλάσση τῆς Ἀργείας. Σημεῖά τε τῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι οἰκίσεως Προΐτου καὶ ἐς τὸδε λείπεται.*" Pausanias, Lib. II. c. 16.

⁷ Eurydice, the granddaughter of Phoroneus, was married to the king of Argos. Criasus was the king of Argos, cotemporary with the grandchildren of Phoroneus. But history informs us that this Eurydice was married to Acrisius, king of Argos. Criasus must therefore, in all probability, be the same person, the name being corrupted.

Danaus or Armaïs.

Lynceus⁶.

This removes all discrepancies. The grandson of Phoroneus marries his granddaughter; and Hercules, the grandson of Electryo, coincides with Lynceus and the Argonautic expedition.

Osiris invaded Greece in the latter part of the reign of Perseus, and as near as we can judge about eight years before his death, which therefore occurred about 69 or 70 years before the fall of Troy. Perseus being the fifth king of Argos, five reigns or 111 years added to 69, places the founding of Argos about 180 years before the fall of Troy and 170 B.C.

I shall here give the synchronisms of the other states and occurrences, according to Tatian and Clemens Alexandrinus, as quoted in the *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. I. p. 8. These ancient documents I consider valuable. I have noted below the anachronisms, together with some other remarks.

Tatian.

γενεαὶ εἴκοσι.

Inachus.

Phoroneus,

ᾠγγυγός ἐφ' οὗ κατακλυσμός.

Apis,

Argius.

Criasus.

Phorbas,

Ἀκταῖος ἀφ' οὗ Ἀκταία ἡ Ἀττική.

Clemens.

Inachus.

Phoroneus,

ὁ ἐπὶ ᾠγγύγου κατακλυσμός. (1)

Σικυῶνος βασιλεῖς Αἰγιάλεος, Εὐρώψ, Τέλχης. (2)

ἡ Κρητὸς ἐν Κρήτῃ Βασιλεία. (3)

Apis,

Τρίτος ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου. (4)

Phorbas,

Ἀκταῖος ἀφ' οὗ Ἀκταία ἡ Ἀττική. (5)

⁶ Several petty princes reigned at the same time in the different cities of Argolis. Atreus, Eurystheus, Adrastus, Sicyon, and perhaps some others, were cotemporary.

Tatian.

Τρίορας,
 Προμηθεὺς, Ἐπιμηθεὺς Ἄτ-
 λας.
 ὁ διφυῆς Κέκροψ.
 Ἴώ.

Crotopus,
 ἡ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐκπύρωσις.
 ἡ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐπομ-
 βρία.

Sthenelus,
 ἡ Ἀμφικτύονος βασιλεία.
 ἡ Δαναίου παρουσία.
 ἡ ὑπὸ Δαρδάνου τῆς Δαρδ.
 κτίσις.
 ἡ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς Κρήτην
 ἀνακομιδή.

Danaus.

Lynceus,
 ἡ τῆς Κόρης ἀρπαγή.
 ἡ Τριπτολέμου γεωργία.
 ἡ Κάδμου εἰς Θήβας πα-
 ρουσία.
 ἡ Μινῶος βασιλεία.

Abas.

Proetus,
 ὁ Εὐμόλπου πόλεμος.

Acrisius,
 ἡ Πέλοπος διάβασις.
 ἡ Ἴωνος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας
 ἄφιξις.
 ὁ δεῦτερος Κέκροψ.
 αἱ Περσέως καὶ Διονύσου
 πράξεις.

Clemeus.

Τρίορας,
 Προμηθεὺς, Ἄτλας, Ἐπιμη-
 θεὺς. (6)
 ὁ διφυῆς Κέκροψ. (7)
 Ἴώ. (8)
 Τριόπας ἐβδομῇ γενεᾷ ἀπὸ
 Ἰνάχου. (9)

Crotopus,
 ἡ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐκπύρωσις.
 (10)
 ἡ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐπομ-
 βρία. (11)

Sthenelus,
 ἡ Ἀμφικτύονος βασιλεία.
 (12)
 ἡ Δαναίου παρουσία. (13)
 ἡ ὑπὸ Δαρδάνου τῆς Δαρδ.
 κτίσις. (14)
 ἡ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς Κρήτην
 ἀνακομιδή. (15)

Danaus.

Lynceus,
 τῆς Κόρης ἡ ἀρπαγή. (16)
 ἡ Τριπτολέμου γεωργία.
 (17)
 ἡ Κάδμου εἰς Θήβας πα-
 ρουσία. (18)
 ἡ Μινῶος βασιλεία. (19)

Proetus,
 ὁ Εὐμόλπου πόλεμος. (20)

Acrisius,
 ἡ Πέλοπος διάβασις. (21)
 Ἴωνος ἄφιξις. (22)
 ὁ δεῦτερος Κέκροψ. (23)
 αἱ Περσέως καὶ Διονύσου
 πράξεις. (24)

<i>Tatian.</i>	<i>Clemens.</i>
Perseus.	_____
Sthenelaus.	_____
Eurystheus.	_____
Atreus.	_____
Thyestes.	_____
Agamemnon.	Agamemnon, κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἔτος Ἰλίου ἔαλω. (25)

Remarks on the foregoing synchronisms.

Phoroneus.

1. The Ogygian flood, perhaps correct.
2. Ægialeus founds Sicyon, right⁹. As this reign was rather long, Euryps might also be cotemporary with Telchin, partly so. But Telchin was chiefly cotemporary with Apis, whom he dethroned.
3. Cres reigns in Crete, perhaps right.

Apis.

4. The third from Inachus, right.

Phorbas.

5. Incorrect; Actæus was not cotemporary with Phorbas, but with Inachus.

Triopas.

- 6 and 8. Triopas is another name for Electryo. Ino, Io, Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Atlas were his cotemporaries¹⁰.
7. Cecrops was not cotemporary with Triopas, but with Inachus.
9. Argius and Criasus being brothers and cotemporary kings, Triopas was the 6th king, and as to the general chronology, was not in the 7th generation, but in the 4th.

⁹ This confirms the time given for the foundation of Sicyon in Chap. 111.

¹⁰ This confirms the identity of Triopas, &c. with Electryo, &c. as already proved by other arguments. Osiris invaded Greece in the time of Electryo, and was accompanied by his nephews, Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Atlas, sons of his brother Python.

Crotopus.

10. Incorrect; the death of Phaeton belongs to the reign of Danaus, or that of Lynceus.
11. Deucalion's flood, very uncertain, perhaps right.

Sthenelus.

- 12 to 15. Incorrect; Amphictyon was cotemporary with Apis.
13. Danaus came to Greece after the death of Sthenelus.
14. Dardanus was cotemporary with Apis.
15. Europa came to Crete in the reign of Apis.

Lynceus.

16. Correct; Proserpine cotemporary.
17. Correct; Triptolemus cotemporary.
18. Incorrect; Cadmus in the reign of Apis.
19. Incorrect; Minos probably died in the reign of Danaus.

Prætus.

20. Incorrect; Eumolpus cotemporary with Eurystheus.

Acrisius.

- 21, 22, 24. Incorrect; they belong to the reign of Perseus.
23. Incorrect; Cecrops II, if a real person is meant, belongs to the reign of Eurystheus¹¹.

Agamemnon.

25. Correct.

¹¹ The second Cecrops might possibly refer to Theseus, and be a title with which he was saluted by his friends on some public occasion, perhaps on his instituting the Panathenæa—or possibly at his return from captivity at Thesprotis, when he resumed the government from the hands of Erechtheus or Pandion. Cecrops II. is said to have reigned 40 years, which is about the length of the reign of Theseus. But this is more fully discussed in treating of Athens in Chap. v.

CHAPTER III.

OF ÆGIALEA OR SICYON.

THE chronology of this little kingdom has been carried to the most ridiculous length, even as far back as the time of Abraham or Noah. The following is given as a list of its kings, and the calculation in Part I. Chap. xv. was made from it. Pausanias also gives a list, but the names marked * are not in it.

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ægialeus. | *14. Marothus. |
| 2. Europs. | 15. Coronus. |
| 3. Telchin. | 16. Corax. |
| 4. Apis. | 17. Epaphas or Epopæus. |
| 5. Thelxion. | 18. Lamedon. |
| 6. Ægyrus. | 19. Sicyon. |
| 7. Eurymachus. | 20. Polybus ¹ . |
| 8. Lencippus. | 21. Janiscus. |
| *9. Mossapius. | 22. Phæstus son of Hercules. |
| 10. Peratus. | 23. Adrastus ² . |
| 11. Plemnæus. | *24. Polyphides. |
| 12. Orthopolis. | *25. Pelagus. |
| *13. Marathon. | 26. Zeuxippus. |

In this table all the names standing between No. 4 and No. 17 are certainly interpolated; in fact there are not any actions or events recorded of these fictitious reigns. Newton saw the gross absurdity of this table, and discovered in what part of it the interpolation had been made. He was however, I think, mistaken in supposing that Apis, No. 4, and Epaphas No. 17, were the same king "split in two," as he expresses it. Apis and Abas are indeed only the same name differently written. But Epaphas, which is a name altered for the sake of euphony from Ap-Abas, means the

¹ I suspect Polybus, Janiscus, and Phæstus are the same.

² Pausanias places Adrastus next after Polybus, with whom he had been guest, and soon after his death returned home to Argoe. I do not think he ever reigned at Sicyon, however they said he reigned only four years, which must have been before the first Theban war.

son of Apis or Abas. We find this name variously spelt, Epaphas, Epopæus, Aphobis, &c. By striking out the names between Apis and Epaphas, who were both cotemporary with Pelops, the chronology of Sicyon will be found to agree with the history of Argos, Apis king of Argos having been dethroned by Telchin king of Sicyon. And although this is distinctly recorded in history, yet in the old chronological tables Telchin is placed about 250 years before him³.

Again, Apis, the fourth king of Sicyon, was cotemporary with Pelops, and was flourishing according to Pausanias, until Pelops began to extend his power in the Peloponnesus⁴.

Moreover, Pelops was cotemporary with Perseus, being husband to Hippodamia, the daughter of Evarate the daughter of Acrisius; and Nicippe the daughter of Pelops was married to Sthenelus the son of Perseus. Apis the fourth king of Sicyon was not much earlier therefore than Perseus.

But by the Old Tables.	B. C.
Apis fourth king of Sicyon reigns.....	1973
Pelops comes to Greece	1322
Perseus kills Acrisius	1314
Atreus reigns	1208
Anachronism 650 years and upwards.	

The series when corrected stands thus:

1. Ægiæus brother to Phoroneus.
2. Europs.
3. Telchin, who dethroned Apis the third king of Argos.
4. Apis was cotemporary with Pelops according to Pausanias.
5. Epaphas or Epopæus, who built the first temple to Minerva, was cotemporary with Pelops, and died soon after Polydorus king of Thebes.
6. Laomedon.

³ Some historians noticed this great discrepancy, but were unable to explain or rectify it.

⁴ "Αιγιαλέως δὲ Εὐρωπα γενέσθαι φασίν, Εὐρωπος δὲ Τελχίνα, Τελχίνος δὲ Ἄπιος. οὗτος ὁ Ἄπιος ἐς τόσονδε ἠέξισθη δυνάμειος πρὶν ἢ Πέλοπα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικέσθαι, ὡς τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ χώραν Ἀπίαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι." Pausanias, Lib. II. Chap. v.

7. Sicyon.
8. Phæstus son of Hercules.
9. Zeuxippus.

The kingdom of Sicyon was founded most probably about 20 or 30 years after that of Argos, and about 150 or 160 years before the destruction of Troy³. Epaphas built a temple to Minerva, and was killed by Nycteus soon after the death of Polydorus king of Thebes. This appears to have occurred during the residence of Osiris and his court in Greece.

The kingdom of Sicyon was subdued by Agamemnon after the death of Zeuxippus, and he made it tributary to Mycenæ. Under him the state was governed by the priests of Apollo, which hierarchy continued until the return of the Heraclidæ, when it was finally incorporated with the state of Argos.

CHAPTER IV.

LACEDÆMON OR SPARTA.

THIS kingdom, which in after ages became so famous and so powerful as to engage singly in a contest with the Persian empire, received its former name from its founder Laco or Laco-Daimôn¹, the son of Phoroneus; and the latter name from Sparta his queen, who was daughter to Eurotas, the son, or as some say with less apparent probability, the grandson of Lelex an Egyptian, who migrated to Greece at or about the same time with Inachus, and settled in that part of the Peloponnesus, afterwards called Laconia, from Laco the son of Phoroneus above mentioned.

Lacedæmon or Sparta was therefore founded between two and three reigns, or about fifty years after Argos, that is, about 130 years before the destruction of Troy.

³ Apollodorus (Lib. III. Chap. 1.) says Ægialeus was the brother of Phoroneus, and Clemens Alexandrinus expressly states that Ægialeus, the founder of Sicyon, was cotemporary with Phoroneus.

¹ Daimôn appears to have been a title among the Greeks nearly equivalent to βῆρ, or Belus, among the Asiatics, given to heroes or founders of states. See Part III. Chap. 1.

Spartan kings. See Pausanias, Lib. III. Chap. 1.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Lacedæmon. | 9. Menelaus their brother in law. |
| 2. Amyclas. | |
| 3. Argalus, } brothers, | 10. Nicostratus and Megapenthes. |
| 4. Cynorta, } cotemporary. | |
| 5. Œbalus. | 11. Orestes son of Agamemnon. |
| 6. Tyndarus. | 12. Tisamenes. |
| 7. Hippocoon's usurpation. | — Heraclidæ, &c. |
| — Tyndarus restored ² . | |
| 8. Castor and Pollux. | |

The only material error which I have been able to detect in the above series, is with regard to Amyclas, who appears to have been the same with Œbalus, and father to Tyndarus, Hippocoon and Hyacinthus.

The following list is, I believe, tolerably correct.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Lacedæmon. | 6. Menelaus son in law to Tyndarus. |
| 2. Argalus and Cynorta ³ . | 7. Nicostratus and Megapenthes. |
| 3. Amyclas or Œbalus ⁴ . | 8. Orestes grandson of Tyndarus. |
| 4. Tyndarus. | 9. Tisamenes. |
| — Hippocoon's usurpation. | — Heraclidæ, &c. |
| — Tyndarus restored. | |
| 5. Castor and Pollux. | |

As Eurydice the daughter of Lacedæmon was married to Acrisius king of Argos; and Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus king of Argos was married to Œbalus king of Sparta, the histories of Argos and Sparta are each a check upon the other, in a way which is very useful and satisfactory⁵.

² Castor and Pollux, assisted by Hercules, attacked and killed Hippocoon, and reinstated Tyndarus.

³ Whether these brothers reigned jointly or in succession is uncertain, but the former seems more probable.

⁴ Pausanias declares positively that Amyclas was the name of the father of Hyacinthus, others that Œbalus was his father. I believe both parties were right. Hyacinthus was certainly cotemporary with Tyndarus, and his father, of course, was probably cotemporary with Œbalus, and king of Sparta. We may therefore safely conclude Amyclas and Œbalus to be two different names for the same king.

⁵ The absence of fraudulent interpolation in their early records does great honour to the Spartan character.

Tradition reports that Lacedæmon, the grandson of Inachus, married Sparta, the granddaughter of Lelex; and that Acrisius, the great-grandson of Inachus,

CHAPTER V.

OF ATHENS.

WE come next to discuss the chronological accounts of Athens, the most interesting by far of all the Greek states; the nurse of Poetry and the Arts, of Heroes and Philosophers¹.

The following list of the Athenian kings is given by the ancient historians.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Cecrops. | 10. Theseus. |
| 2. Cranaus. | 11. Menestheus. |
| 3. Amphictyon. | 12. Demophoon. |
| 4. Erichthonius. | 13. Oxyntes. |
| 5. Pandion. | 14. Amphydas. |
| 6. Erechtheus. | 15. Thymætes. |
| 7. Cecrops II. | 16. Melanthus. |
| 8. Pandion II. | 17. Codrus. |
| 9. Ægeus. | |

The above table, so gravely handed down to us, and as gravely supported by the Parian Chronicle, is nevertheless most shamefully corrupted and interpolated. This may have been done, either to make it keep pace with the falsified chronology of Argos, the corruptions of which have been already explained; or, which seems still more probable, for the purpose of giving greater antiquity to the Eleusinian Mysteries and Panathenæa.

An attentive examination and comparison of cotemporary records will however place this matter in its true light.

married Eurydice, the great-granddaughter of Lelex, who was also great-granddaughter of Inachus. All this was very natural in the families of two Egyptians, settling near each other in a strange country. But by the tables, Acrisius stands No. 14 of Argive kings, and yet he married the daughter of the third king of Laconia.

Lempriere says that Lelex came from Egypt about 200 years before the fall of Troy, which is not far from the truth, about 20 years too much probably.

¹ Thucydides asserts the priority of the Athenians in laying aside the ancient ferocity of manners, and adopting more refined and courteous habits.

“*Ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο, καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τριφερώτερον μετέστησαν.*” Thucydides Bell. Pelop. Lib. i.

According to the Parian Chronicle, Cadmus built Cadmea in the fourth year of the reign of Amphictyon king of Athens, sixty-three years after the arrival of Cecrops in Attica. This is unusually correct, being only 10 years too much. Further, we are informed that Pentheus, the grandson of Cadmus, was killed by the first Bacchanals when Osiris invaded Greece. Semele and Ino, two of the daughters of Cadmus, were moreover young at that time.

We shall now compare the statements :

ATHENS.	Years.	THEBES.
Amphictyon ²	8	
Erichthonius.....	50	Two generations from
Pandion.....	40	the marriage of Cadmus,
Erechtheus.....	50	which being in the female
Cecrops II.....	40	line, and Pentheus dying
Pandion II.....	25	young, could not be more
Ægeus.....	48	than about 50 years.
	<hr/>	
	261	

Here we see seven reigns of Athens, occupying by report 261 years, made to stand against two short generations in Thebes, occupying about 50 years.

Again, Minos the Great was the nephew or reputed nephew of Cadmus, and born in the reign of Amphictyon king of Athens. And his great actions were performed in the reigns of Ægeus and Theseus; and he died at Syracuse only 55 years before the fall of Troy. The interpolated chronology of the heathen priests would therefore make him live 280 years. To remedy this glaring inconsistency, they divided Minos into two kings, making the first son of Asterion, and the second father to Androgeus. They also give us two Ariadnes, the first married to Bacchus, and the second carried off by Theseus. The most respectable authors do not agree to these fictions; they mention only one Minos and one Ariadne.

By thus checking the history of one state by that of another neighbouring cotemporary state, we are able to de-

² Amphictyon reigned 12 years, Cadmus came to Greece in the fourth or fifth year of his reign.

tect the transpositions and interpolations. And it is a curious fact, that we are indebted to the Bœotians, a people proverbial for their stupidity, for the means of correcting the records of the acute and learned Athenians. The question, why the Spartan and Bœotian records come to us so pure and correct, while those of Argos and Athens are so much corrupted, deserves attention. The reason I believe was this: they had no great institutions of a religious kind with heathen priests and priestesses, such as belonged to Juno Argiva, the Panathenæa and Eleusinian mysteries. They had not therefore the same motives to give a fictitious antiquity to their annals. They appear to have been satisfied to receive their religious opinions and rites from their more ingenious or more superstitious neighbours.

The ancients made two most absurd anachronisms in their history of Ægeus. They gave him for his first wife Æthra, the daughter of Pittheus king of Troezen, who they said was the son of Pelops, whereas Pittheus was some years older than Pelops, (see p. 83). Again, for a second wife they gave him Medea, the daughter of Æetes, king of Colchos, who married him they say, after she was forsaken by Jason, which must have occurred above 30 years after the death of Ægeus.

It is fortunate for historical research, that the interests of the heathen priests led them rather to add and to interpolate, than to deface and destroy the records committed to their care; so that, by a careful and dispassionate scrutiny of documents, and an attentive comparison of authors and passages, the truth, or something very near it may still be discovered.

In the case now before us, the five reigns placed between Amphictyon and Ægeus are clearly interpolated, part of them being transposed from their true place in the history of Athens, and the remainder being fictitious.

I have already shewn at p. 80, that from the destruction of Troy to the beginning of the reign of Theseus, must have been about 76 or 77 years, which is proved by various circumstances. But the old chronological tables make this interval only 51 years, which number they produce by the length of the reign of Theseus before his confinement at These-

protis 30 years³, and the reign of Menestheus 21 years. This error would annihilate the term which elapsed between the Argonautic expedition and the accession of Menestheus⁴, during which many remarkable events occurred. The release of Theseus, the revolution and counter-revolution at Sparta, the Calydonian hunt, the first Theban war, and the death of Hercules, all occurred in this interval.

Here we have a deficiency of 25 or 26 years, being the sort of interregnum or unsettled state, which began with the confinement of Theseus at Thesprotis, and ended with his final expulsion from Athens.

During this period, Athens appears to have been governed by the Hierophants or priests of Minerva.

And although Theseus returned more than once in this time, and exercised the government occasionally, these seem to have been omitted, as not long enough to be worthy of notice. For instance, he joined Adrastus against Creon after the first Theban war, and is said to have killed Creon in the dispute about burying the slain. He afterwards joined Hyllus against Eurystheus who was killed with his five sons in that war.

Erichthonius⁵, who is placed next after Amphictyon in the

³ Theseus carried off Helen when he was about 50 years old, and had reigned 30.

⁴ The confusion of dates was much increased by their putting the Argonautic expedition 30 years before the accession of Theseus instead of 30 years after it. See Apollonius Rhod. de Argon. Hercules, the general, and some other chief leaders of the Argonauts, were born between the second and sixth years of the reign of Theseus; and again, their sons were chiefs at the Trojan war. Now we cannot allow, with any probability, from the birth of the parents until their children were fit to command armies less than 60 years, to which add ten years of war, and you have 70 years, or more.

⁵ Erichthonius is mentioned in some of the legends as the first Greek that used a chariot⁶; but I believe the true meaning is, that he introduced chariot racing into Greece. Being lame from his birth, this was perhaps the only active amusement in which he could partake; but that the Greeks had chariots of some sort before his time there can be no reasonable doubt.

The chariots used in Europe in very ancient times were coarse unwieldy machines, little if at all better than our carts, as they may be seen sculptured on old monuments, &c. and they were generally drawn by oxen. Their horses also we have reason to think were of a very poor description.

Sesostris brought with him Egyptian chariots which were then famous, (see 1 Kings x. 28, 29) and a number of fine Arabian horses, some of which he gave as presents to his friends and favourites. We read that he gave some to Troas;

⁶ Themiſtius ſays it was Erichtheus that firſt put horſes to a chariot.

tables, was Hierophant or priest of Minerva at the very time we have now mentioned, and gained the first prize at the Panathenæa, which games were only then instituted. Erechtheus is only a corrupt abbreviation of the same name, and by a careful scrutiny we shall find that they held the same office at the same time, and therefore must have been the same person⁶.

Erechtheus governed Athens when the Eleusinian mysteries were instituted; and this appears to have been precisely the time when Theseus was a prisoner at Thesprotis. Moreover Butes the Argonaut, the son of Pandion and Zeuxippe, who was also priest of Minerva and Neptune, married Chthonia the daughter of Erechtheus⁷. But this would be impossible if Erechtheus was five reigns, and 193 years before the Argonautic expedition, as set down in the tables.

Pandion appears to have succeeded Erichthonius or Erechtheus, both in the priesthood and government, and to have continued until some time after the Theban war, on which occasion he gave his daughter Progne to Tereus a Thracian prince, who had a short time before settled near Chæronea⁸.

Upon the whole, it appears to me that Erichthonius and Pandion were not, strictly speaking, kings of Athens, but only governors in the absence of Theseus⁹. But as the Panathenæa and his brother Python gave a horse to the city of Athens as a public present of great value, which it certainly was.

In the defeat and rout of the Egyptians no doubt many horses were captured: after that event horse racing and chariot racing were soon publicly established in Greece; how much fine horses were valued there, is evident from the many royal and noble names compounded of Hippos, as Hippocrates, Hipparchus, Hippomenes, Hippodamia, &c.

⁶ The same actions and circumstances are ascribed to both names by ancient authors. Homer says that Erechtheus was the son of the earth, and was nursed by Minerva. Themistius says that Erechtheus first joined a chariot to horses; and Plato mentions Erechtheus as him that was represented in the basket. On examination it appears that Erichthonius was really the son of Minerva by Hephaistos, by whom she likewise had Hypsipyle, Queen of Lemnos, and according to Cicero another son named Apollo. Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, Lib. 111.

⁷ The name Chthonia seems plainly a contraction of Erichthonius, and makes it probable that she was his daughter.

⁸ The old tables make Tereus come from Thrace in the second year of Lynceus, King of Argos, which seems correct.

⁹ The two reigns or governments of Erichthonius and Pandion were very short. They both died prematurely, the former in battle, and the latter of grief.

næa were instituted at the time of Erichthonius¹⁰, and the mysteries of Ceres were imported into Greece from Egypt likewise in his time; to give artificial antiquity to these institutions, the priests it would appear transposed his reign, placing him above 300 years before the fall of Troy instead of 30 or 40.

The second Pandion seems to be merely a repetition of the first for the purpose of extending the series¹¹. And I think that the second Cecrops must mean Theseus himself, who was, we know, considered as a second Cecrops, a second founder of Athens, even more honoured than the first.

Moreover, we are told that Cecrops I. built a temple to Minerva. This could not possibly have been done by him, as will be shewn in Part III. but was actually done by Theseus. Cecrops is also said to be the first who worshipped Jupiter in Greece, and sacrificed an ox to him. This also refers to Theseus certainly. But the priests had good reasons for transferring these acts to the first Cecrops. When he

¹⁰ The Parian Chronicle says that the Panathenæa were instituted in the reign of Erichthonius, and that Danaus came to Greece in the fourth year of that reign. And Herodotus says that the Eleusinian mysteries were brought to Greece by the Danaides. We shall shew hereafter that Danaus came to Greece about the 20th year of the reign of Theseus, when Erichthonius might be in office as Hierophant four years, although not yet governing the state. The Panathenæa were, beyond doubt, instituted by Theseus in honour of his great patroness Pallas Athene, as their name testifies, when the dedication of the city took place, and it received the name of Athens.

¹¹ What the ancients relate of the two Pandions is full of manifest inconsistencies. Dr Lempriere observes, that "some authors have confounded the two Pandions together, in such an indiscriminate manner, that they seem to have been only one and the same person."

The old tables make Pandion I. reign 203 years, and Pandion II. 73 years before Theseus, and yet they say that Pandion I. waged war against Labdacus, King of Thebes. But Labdacus came to the throne about the same time with Theseus; and Tereus, the son-in-law of Pandion, was cotemporary with the Argonauts and Lynceus. These, in fact, were all cotemporary. The war in which Pandion was concerned, was that against Eteocles, in which Theseus interested himself also.

I feel some degree of pleasure in correcting an imputation cast on the early part of the life of Theseus, that he ungratefully deserted Ariadne at the Isle of Naxos, after she had delivered him from captivity or death. Both Pausanias and Diodorus inform us, that she was taken by superior force from Theseus, and that distraction for her loss caused him to forget to make the signal concerted with his father. "Τὴν δὲ Ἀριάδην ἢ κατὰ τινα ἐπιτυχίῳ δαίμονα, ἢ καὶ ἐπιτηδὲν αὐτῇ λοχίῳ, ἀφείλετο Θησεία ἐπιπλεύσας Διώνυσος στόλῳ μείζονι." Pausanias, Lib. X. Cap. XXXIX.

united the twelve towns of Attica, incorporating them into one civil constitution, he named the city after his great friend and patroness Pallas Athene, and was I believe on that occasion saluted as the second Cecrops.

When corrected, the series will stand thus :

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Cecrops. | 8. Menestheus. |
| 2. Cranaus. | 9. Demophoon. |
| 3. Amphictyon. | 10. Oxyntes. |
| 4. Ægeus. | 11. Amphydas. |
| 5. Theseus. | 12. Thymætas. |
| 6. Erichthonius or Erechtheus. | 13. Melanthus. |
| 7. Pandion. | 14. Codrus. |

Pausanias informs us, that while Theseus was in confinement at Thesprotis, the sons of Tyndarus came with an army and took Aphidna, and placed Menestheus on the throne¹², who, when Theseus was set at liberty by means of Hercules, fearing

¹² Paus. Lib. I. Cap. xvii. This must have been just before the Argonautic expedition, if as Pausanias says further, that when the Dioscuri were bringing Helen from Aphidna to Sparta, she was delivered at Argos of a daughter, who was named Iphigenia, and was left with her sister Clytemnestra, and that Helen was afterwards married to Menelaus. Pausanias, Lib. I. Cap. xxii.

On examination it appears to me that Helen was not the daughter of Osiris, nor born until some years after his death, and many years after his residence in Greece.

The twins which Leda had by Osiris were certainly the Dioscuri, as their name testifies and their entire history confirms. Whereas the history of Helen proves the contrary with regard to her. It has been always said that she was a very young girl when carried off by Theseus*, which was a short time before the Argonautic expedition†. Again, she was about 60 at the time Troy fell, and consequently 45 when she eloped with Paris. These accounts agree together perfectly, but not at all with her being the daughter of Osiris.

But the Greek mythologists usually represented their heroes and heroines to be children of some god or goddess; and Helen was a person too remarkable every way to be neglected.

	Before Troy fell.	a.c.
Castor and Pollux born	74	964
Clytemnestra born;	82	952
Helen born	80	950
..... carried off by Theseus.....	45	936
..... recovered by her half brothers	45	936
..... married to Menelaus	30 to 35	926
..... elopes with Paris	15	906
Troy destroyed.....	0	890

* Plutarch. in Theseo.

† Apollon. Rhod. Argonaut.

‡ Circumstances related of Clytemnestra shew that she could have been but very little older than Helen when Troy fell.

that Theseus would drive him out again, flattered the people, and persuaded them to exclude Theseus, who thereupon sailed for Crete, but was driven by a storm to Scyros, where he was at first received kindly, but afterwards murdered by Lycomedes.

Thucydides informs us, that "from the time of Cecrops, and their first series of kings down to Theseus, Attica had been inhabited in several distinct towns, each having its own Archons and Prytaneum." "But when Theseus reigned, being both wise and powerful, he not only improved the country, but likewise dissolved the Councils and Archonships of the towns, and having established one Council and Prytaneum in the present city, compelled all the inhabitants to resort thither on their public affairs, but left each person his private property undisturbed¹³."

Whether Theseus, by collecting to Athens the public offices and municipal rights of the twelve Attic towns, had displeased the chiefs who formerly governed them, or from some other cause not explained in history, there was always after that time a party in Athens disaffected to his person and government. When released from Orcus, although shut out of Aphidna by Menestheus, he was certainly received at Athens, and reigned there for a short time. About this time he mediated the truce between the hostile parties at Thebes, relative to the burial of the slain, which is said to have been the first truce ever made for such a purpose¹⁴.

About this time also Theseus joined with Hyllus, the son

¹³ "Ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλείων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐν Θεσείᾳ δει κατὰ πόλεις ἤκειτο, πρυτανεῖδ τε ἔχουσα καὶ ἄρχοντας"——"Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θεσεύς ἰβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ Ξυνοτοῦ καὶ δυνατός, τὰ τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν, καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῆς νῦν πόλεως οὖσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυμμάκισσε πόλιντας καὶ νεωμμένους τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους, ἄπερ καὶ προτοῦ, ἠνάγκασε μὲ πῶλοι ταύτη χρῆσθαι." Thucydides, Lib. II. Cap. xv.

¹⁴ "Συνέπραξε δὲ καὶ Ἀδράστῳ τὴν ἀναίρησιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ πεσόντων, οὐχ ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ, μάχῃ τῶν Θεβαίων κρατήσας, ἀλλὰ σπείσας καὶ σπεισάμενος, οὗτω γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι." Plutarch in Theseo. Plutarch says also, that Theseus assisted the Lapithæ against the Centaurs, and was with Meleager at the Calydonian hunt.

The ancients say that Theseus was nearly related to Hercules; this was probably true, but not in the absurd way asserted by them, which would make their two mothers cousin-germans to Agamemnon and Menelaus. That Theseus was older than Hercules appears, among other circumstances, from his introducing Hercules to the sacred mysteries, "Καὶ τὴν μύησιν Ἡρακλεῖ γενέσθαι Θεσεῖω σπουδάζωντος." Plut. in Theseo. He was probably older by about 22 years.

of Hercules against Eurystheus, whom they killed in battle. But some new quarrel arising between him and his subjects, they finally expelled him.

He was succeeded by Menestheus, a relative of Erichthonius, as Pandion had died about this time of grief for the disgrace and misfortunes of his daughter.

In the reign of Amphictyon, the third king of Athens, Eurotas and Lacedæmon reigned at Sparta, according to the Parian Chronicle, &c. And Cadmus in the same reign built Cadmea, being 53 years after the coming of Cecrops from Egypt to Attica.

From these circumstances, Cecrops must have migrated from Egypt, at or about the same time with Inachus, Lelex, &c.; and as there are eight reigns from Cecrops to the return from Troy¹⁵, all this makes it probable that Cecropia was founded about 180 years before the destruction of Troy¹⁶.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THEBES.

KINGS of Cadmea or Thebes.	Pausanias, Lib. IX. Cap. v.
1. Cadmus.	6. Laodamas and Thersander.
2. Polydorus.	7. Tisamenes.
3. Labdacus or Laius.	8. Autesion.
— Usurpation of Amphion.	9. Damasichton.
— Labdacus restored.	10. Ptolomeos.
4. Œdipus.	11. Xanthus.
5. Eteocles and Polynices.	

As to the chronology of Thebes, I have little to add to what has already occurred, through its connection with the

¹⁵ Including the interregnum.

¹⁶ The reigns from the Trojan war.

Demophon reigns about.....	23 years.
Oxyntes	12
Aphydas	1
Thymetes	8
Melanthus	24
Codrus.....	21
	89

To 34 years after the return of the Heraclidæ, 801 B. C.

history of other states. Labdacus and Laius were only two names of the same king, the latter being a contraction of the former, a thing very usual in those times. The circumstances do not well allow time for two reigns in hereditary succession, including also the reign of the usurper Amphion¹. Besides, it is stated that Labdacus and Laius were both left minors, and both left in the guardianship of the same person Lycus. I can therefore have no doubt of their identity.

Labdacus appears to have been a feeble prince, he was dethroned by Amphion, and at his death recovered the sovereignty. But he was soon after killed in mistake by Œdipus, who was said to be his son, and who married his widow and mounted the throne.

Most of the other circumstances related of Œdipus appear to be only poetical fictions; however, it furnished a horrible subject for the Greek tragedian. The Theban history is confused, not only by the fictions introduced into it, but also by the cotemporary princes who reigned in different parts of Bœotia, being called kings of Thebes. Athamas, Echion, Aristæus, and Cadmus their father-in-law, all reigned in Bœotia at the same time.

As to Œdipus, it appears to me much more probable that he was the son of Jocasta before her marriage, and therefore put away privately by her parents, than that it was done by Labdacus under the direction of an oracle². Eteocles and Polynices were his sons by Euryganea his first wife, as we read in Pausanias. Indeed they must have been born several years before he was married to Jocasta, which occurred nine years, by the tables, (which appear here correct) before the Argonautic expedition. But the sons of Œdipus must have been born about 20 years before it, that is, about 60 years or more from the fall of Troy; for the Epigoni must have been born 38 years before that event.

Cadmus founded Cadmea 53 years after the founding of Athens, and 127 years nearly before the destruction of Troy.

¹ Theseus began to reign soon after the death of Polydorus, and continued until about seven years after the death of Eteocles and Polynices; he stands thus against three Theban reigns, more would be very improbable. Theseus reigned in all 54 years, including the governments of Erichthonius and Pandion. The tables make him reign only 30 years.

² Œdipus was little, if at all younger than Labdacus, therefore could not be his son.

CHAPTER VII.

OF TROY OR ILIUM.

Nothing is known with any degree of certainty concerning the origin of this state. According to the most probable account, it was founded by Scamander a native of Crete, who gave his own name to the principal river of the country, and called the largest mountain in the neighbourhood Ida, after the mountain of that name in Crete.

Scamander was succeeded, it is said, by his son Teucer, who having no male issue, left the kingdom at his death to his son-in-law Dardanus, a Thracian or Samothracian prince¹, who brought with him from Thrace a tribe called Brygians or Phrygians, from whom the country in which they settled received the name of Phrygia.

Dardanus had a sister named Harmonia, who was married to Cadmus the founder of Thebes². This circumstance is useful in connecting the chronology of Troy with that of Greece. According to ancient authors, the following kings reigned at Troy.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Scamander. | 5. Tros. |
| 2. Teucer. | 6. Ius. |
| 3. Dardanus. | 7. Laomedon. |
| 4. Erichthonius. | 8. Priam. |

From a careful scrutiny of this list and of those passages in ancient authors which relate to the subject, it appears that one and the same king is repeated here three times under the different names of Tros, Ius and Laomedon, concerning whose identity, after much laborious investigation, I can have no doubt whatever.

After the fullest examination in my power, I am inclined to think that Ius was probably his proper name, and that

¹ Some said that Dardanus came originally from Italy, but this seems rather improbable.

² Diodorus says that Cadmus—“*γῆμαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἰασίωνος Ἀρμονίαν*” οὐ καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληες μυθολογοῦσι, τὴν Ἄρεως.” Dioid. Sic. Lib. v.
Dardanus and Jason were brothers.

the two others were titles or epithets of some kind³. In the first place, Cadmus came to Greece about 130 years (round numbers) before the destruction of Troy. Dardanus began to reign at Troy 14 years afterwards, that is, 116 years before the fall of Troy.

Now Laomedon was killed by the Argonauts about 44 years before that event, after reigning 36 years, so that his reign began about 80 years before Troy's destruction and 970 B. C., that is, two or three years before Osiris came into Asia Minor. Between this and 116 the beginning of the reign of Dardanus, there are only 36 years for the reigns of Dardanus, Erichthonius, Tros and Ilus, which is palpably absurd and impossible, supposing them to be, as asserted, in regular succession from father to son.

As it stands in the tables we have five reigns occupying by their report 256 years, in a space which in reality could not exceed about 72 years at the very most.

Dardanus	31
Erichthonius	75
Tros	60
Ilus	54
Laomedon	36
	256

In this list of reigns the only one which seems to be correct is that of Laomedon, who certainly reigned about 36 years, having begun to reign before the invasion of Osiris and continued until the Argonautic expedition.

Moreover, Phineus king of Bithynia was son-in-law to Dardanus king of Troy, having taken his daughter Idæa as his second wife; Phineus was also cotemporary with Laomedon and with the Argonauts, whom he entertained on their way to Colchos. But the tables make Dardanus die 225 years before the death of Laomedon, who died during the Argonautic expedition, which is altogether absurd.

Again, it appears that Tros, Ilus and Laomedon must have been the same person, from the following circumstances.

³ Tros might possibly be a corruption of Thrax, and denote his origin; or rather, in fact, seems nearer to the original name תירס *Tiras*. Laomedon of course means a king or ruler. It was usual anciently with kings to have various names or titles.

Tros reigned when Osiris⁴ and the other Egyptian deities were in Asia Minor, and walled in the city of Troy. Laomedon also reigned and walled in Troy when the Egyptian deities were in Asia Minor; and Tros, Ius and Laomedon were all called founders of Troy.

Again, Osiris or Jupiter carried off Ganymede the son of Tros, but Cicero expressly makes Ganymede the son of Laomedon⁵; and we are told that Laomedon had a son named Tithonus, who was thus carried off⁶. But the name Tithonus seems to be only a corruption of Titanus, and given him on his adoption into the royal or Titan family of Egypt; for the Universal History informs us from ancient authorities, that on account of his great courage and conduct in war, he was admitted into the rank of the Titanes⁷ of Egypt; so that evidently Tros and Ganymede were the same with Lao-

⁴ Both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say, that Osiris and his son Horus were the Jupiter and Apollo of the Greeks.

⁵ "Nec Homerum audio, qui Ganymedem a diis raptum ait propter formam, ut Jovi pecula ministraret. Non justa causa, cur Laomedonti tanta fieret injuria." Tusc. Quæst. Lib. I. Cap. LXV.

⁶ The king of Egypt made Ganymede or Tithonus governor of Chusiana or Susiana and Assyria, but not of the southern Chus or Ethiopia. The poets said that he married Aurora, or in plain language settled in the east.* From Assyria or Susiana he sent an army under his son Memnon to assist his brother Priam against the Greeks, and the line of their march was remembered for centuries in the countries through which they passed.

The fall of Troy is placed by Diodorus Siculus in the reign of Teutamus in Assyria. This was the Proteus of Herodotus and others. Some chronicles place the fall of Troy in the 32nd year of his reign, which seems not far from the truth. The kings of Egypt held Assyria at that time and long afterwards.

"Καὶ τὸν μὲν Πρίαμον βαρυνόμενον τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ βασιλεύοντα τῆς Τρωάδος, ἰπῆκον δ' ὄντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν πρῶτον περὶ βοήθειας, τὸν δὲ Τεύταμον μυρίου μὲν Αἰθίοπων, ἄλλους δὲ τοσούτους Σουσιανῶν σὺν ἄρμασι διακοσίοις ἐξαποστέλλαι, στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντα Μέμνονα τὸν Τιθάνου. καὶ τὸν μὲν Τιθῶνον κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ὄντα στρατηγὸν τῆς Περσίδος εὐδοκίμειν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ μάλιστα τῶν καθεστημένων ἐπάρχων."

"Priam, King of Troy, oppressed with the war, being subject to the king of Assyria, sent to him for assistance, and Teutamus sent him ten thousand Ethiopians, and as many Susians with two hundred chariots, having made Memnon, the son of Tithonus, general. Tithonus was at that time in the highest favour with the king of any of his princes, being general over Persia." Diod. Sic. Lib. II. Cap. xxii.

Assyria was then subject to Proteus or Teutamus, King of Egypt.

⁷ Univ. Hist. Vol. V. p. 545.

* The Prophet Isaiah (Chap. xiv. 12.) thus addresses Assyria: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!"

medon and Tithonus; and again others made Tithonus to be the son of Ilus.

Further, Tros is usually called Dardanides, and although this in itself is not a decisive proof, yet on examination of dates and circumstances he does appear to have been in fact the son of Dardanus, and probably younger brother to Erichthonius; for Dardanus began to reign about 113 to 116 years before the fall of Troy; and at the invasion of Osiris 36 years afterwards, Tros must from various circumstances have been at least about 40 years of age, that is, born rather before Dardanus began to reign, and not long after he was married to the daughter of Teucer; therefore he could not in any course of probability have been his grandson, but must have been his son⁶.

We may also try the consistency and probabilities of the account thus:

	Years.
Accession of Dardanus after that of Cadmus	14
Reigns of Dardanus, Erichthonius and Laomedon } three reigns at 22½ (see Chap. x.).....	67
	81
Accession of Theseus after that of Cadmus, see p. 81.	50
From accession of Theseus to Argonautic expedition } and death of Laomedon	30
	80

These agree sufficiently.

The reigns of the Trojan kings when corrected will I think stand as follows:

1. Scamander.
2. Teucer.
3. Dardanus.
4. Erichthonius.
5. Tros, Ilus, or Laomedon.
6. Priam.

The kingdom of Troy appears therefore to have lasted six reigns, which extended about 140 years from its foundation to its destruction.

⁶ As Dardanus was cotemporary with Amphictyon whose reign was enormously antedated, they antedated and interpolated the Trojan reigns to make them correspond.

To conclude, Cadmus began to reign in Bœotia, and Asterion or Saturn in Crete, in the reign of the following kings :

Amphictyon at Athens,
 Acrisius at Argos,
 Telchin at Sicyon,
 Lacedæmon at Sparta,
 Teucer at Troy, and
 Hiram at Tyre, (as will be shewn hereafter.)

CHAPTER VIII.

OF EGYPT.

IT is not the object of this part to notice the more remote antiquities of Egypt, or its first settlement as a kingdom, as those matters are beyond the limits of what is called the Heroic age, to which period I purpose to confine the present enquiry.

I shall therefore begin with the occupation of Lower Egypt by the shepherd kings, an occurrence noticed by all chronologers and historians, but concerning which scarcely any agreement can be found among them.

Some authors, among whom is Doctor Hales, place it before the time of Abraham¹; others take various subsequent dates; and there are not a few who think that these shepherds were the children of Israel, and that their expulsion ought to be referred to the Exodus of Scripture.

Of the ancient authors who have written concerning the affairs of Egypt, the following are considered the most respectable :

¹ Doctor Hales makes Abraham visit Egypt in the reign of the second shepherd king, Apachnas.

Manetho placed the expulsion of the shepherds a little before the building of Jerusalem and the temple, which is not far from the true date. He adds, that while the shepherd kings reigned in Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt had its own kings.

By the building of Jerusalem is here meant the buildings and fortifications erected by David, when he took it from the Jebusites, and made it the royal residence, about 1043 n. c. II. Samuel v. 6.

	B. C.
Herodotus of Halicarnassus flourished	445
Manetho, priest of Heliopolis	261
Eratosthenes, keeper of the Alexandrian library, died, aged 82	194
Diodorus Siculus	44
	A. D.
Josephus, the Jewish historian	93
Africanus, a Christian historian	222
Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia	325
Syncellus, a Byzantine historian, time uncertain.	

As to the anonymous legends of the Egyptian priests with their endless dynasties, extending to thousands and tens of thousands of years, they are unworthy of any serious notice, and were evidently framed merely for the purpose of astonishing the ignorant and baffling the inquisitive.

I shall now lay before the reader the series of Egyptian kings, from the invasion of the shepherds to the destruction of Troy, as stated by various authors; and some, which appear to be only repetitions of the same dynasties, shall be placed in separate columns. I shall also endeavour to separate the genuine from the fictitious reigns.

As to the numbers affixed to the tables of Egyptian kings, and which subsequently contributed much, I believe, to the mistaken views of their relative antiquity, I think the following is probably the true explanation. When learned men undertook the history of Egypt, either for publication or by command of one of the kings, they copied out the lists which were deposited in the archives of the various cities, temples, libraries, &c., many of which differed in character, language, dialect, and names or titles; and some of which were defective or mutilated. These various lists they numbered, for the sake of reference, as state papers and other documents are usually numbered by compilers, which numbers in a subsequent age were thought to have respect to chronological order, by persons who ignorantly took them for lists of different dynasties.

1. Herodotus.	2. Manetho, as quoted by Josephus.	3. Diodorus Siculus.	4. Africanus.	5. Africanus, No. V. dynasty of Elephantines.
	<i>Shepherd Kings.</i> Salatis. Bœon. Apachnas. Aphobis. Janais. Asis. ²		<i>Shepherd Kings.</i> Saites. Bœon. Pachnan or Apachnas. Staan. Arcles. Aphobis.	
Menes.	<i>Egyptians.</i> Haliaphramuthosis Tetmosis 25	<i>Egyptians.</i> Menas or Mneves. * * * * Busiris. * * * * Busiris. * * * *	<i>Egyptians.</i> Amos, or Amosis, or Tethmosis 25	Usercheres ... 28
* * *	Chebron ⁴ 13		Chebros 13	Sephres 13
Nitocris.	Amenophis 20	Osymanduas ⁵ 8 descendants.	Amenophthis ⁶ 21	
* * *	Ameses, a woman 21	Uchercus 12 generations.	Ameris 22	
	Mephres 12		Misaphris ... 13	
	Mephramuthosis 21		Misphramuthosis 26	Nephercheres 20
* * *		* * * * *		
Mœris.	Thmosis 9	Myris.	Tuthmosis ... 9	
Sesostris.	Amenophis 30	Sasyches ⁷ .	Amenophis or Memnon 31	Sisiris 7
	Orus 36	Sesoosis I ⁸ .	Horus 37	Cheres..... 30
	Achencheres..... 12	Sesoosis II. * * * * *	Acheres I. ... 32	Rathuris 44
	Rathosis 9	Amasis ⁹ or Amosis.	Rathos..... 6	
	Achencheres I.... 12	Actisanes the Ethiopian.	Chebres 12	
	Achencheres II. . 12		Acheres II... 12	
	Armais 4	Mendes or Marus. * * * * *	Armeses 5	Mercheres ¹⁰ ... 9
	Rameses 1		Rameses 1	Thercheres... 44
	Harmeses Mi-Amun 66			
Proteus.	Amenophis 19	Proteus.	Amenoph 19	Obnus ¹¹ 33

² Pharaoh. The Greeks used thus to alter foreign names, Plutarch writes Καρσος for Cato, Κικέρων for Cicero, &c. ³ Asis was not a shepherd, but the Egyptian who expelled them.

⁴ Che-Bron, for Che-Phron, for Che-Pharaoh—Glory of Pharaoh.

⁵ Osymanduas, Asis-Amun-Theus—Asis-liberalis-deus.

⁶ Sasyches, Shishak.

⁷ Sesosis, Seso-Asis, for Sesok-Asis.

⁸ Amasis, Amun-Asis—The beneficent Asis.

⁹ Amenophthis, Amœo-sph-theus, or Theuth. In those languages the terminations in *th* were and still are commonly pronounced as *s*, and the Greeks wrote them according to the sound.

¹⁰ The elder Mercury, or Toth, called Hermes-Trismegistus.

¹¹ Obnus, corruption for Anubis, one of the names of Proteus.

6. Africanus No. XII. dynasty of Diospolites.	7. Eusebius.	8. Syncellus.	From the foregoing tables I have extracted the following, which I think will be found nearly correct.
	<i>Shepherd Kings.</i> Saites. Beon. Aphobis. Arcales.	<i>Shepherd Kings.</i> Silitas. Bæon. Apachnas. Aphobis. Sethos. Certus.	<i>Shepherd Kings.</i> 1. Saites or Salites founder of Sais. 2. Bæon, Pachnan, or Apachnas. 3. Aphobia. 4. Arcales, or Certus, or Melcartus, founder of Tyre. Eusebius makes this dynasty last 106 years.
	<i>Egyptians.</i> Amosis 25 Chebron 13 Amenophis ... 21 Miphris 12 Misphragmu- thosis 26 Tuthmosis ... 9 Amenophis ... 31 Horus 36 Achencheres. 12 Athoris ¹² 39 Chencheres... 16 Acheres ¹³ ... 8 Cheres 15 Armes or Da- naus 5 Ameses or Ægyptus ... 68 Memophis 40	<i>Egyptians.</i> Aseth 24 Amasis or Themosis ... 22 Chebron 13 Amephes 15 Amenses 11 Misphramu- thosis 16 Misphres 23 Tuthmosis ... 39 Amenophthis 34 Horus 48 Achencheres. 25 Athoris 29 Chencheres... 26 Achres 8 or ... 30 Armoëus or Danaus 9 Rameses or Ægyptus ... 68 Amenophis ... 3	<i>Egyptians.</i> Asia, Amosis, Tethmosis ¹⁴ , or Halisphramuthosis ¹⁵ 24 Chebron 13 Amenophis I., or Amasis, or Amenses ¹⁶ 21 Miphra or Miphramuthosis ¹⁷ 23 Totthmosis, Belus, Serapis, or Moëris 9 Sesostris or Amenophis II. ¹⁸ 28 Horus, about 12 During about 4 or 5 years of the beginning of this reign, Ar- mais or Danaus and his bro- ther Python were in rebellion, called the Titan's war; after Armais was expelled Python reigned alone about one year. Actisanes or Zerah 10 Proteus or Phro-Teuth, ¹⁹ called also Menes and Amenophis III. He was Hermes, son of Ammon, or Harmeses Mi-Amun ²⁰ 40
Geson, Goses, or Sesoncho- sis 46			
Amenemes . 38			
Sesostris .. 48			
Lachares... 8			
Ameres 8			
Amenemes... 8			

¹² Athoris, for At-Horus, and ¹³ Acheres for At-Cheres, the At being emphatic. Horus and Cheres are the same name in different dialects.

¹⁴ Tethmosis, Teuth-Amo-Asia, i. e. Asia, benefactor liberalis.

¹⁵ Halisphramuthosis, Halis (Helios) Pharaoh-Amon-Toth-Asia.

¹⁶ Amon-Asia.

¹⁷ Miphra or Misphra, for Mi or Mis-Pharaoh, the son of Pharaoh.

¹⁸ Amenophis, euphonic for Amon-Aphas or Amon-Abbas, means Liber-Pater, the usual title of Bacchus or Osiris.

¹⁹ Pharaoh-Teuth.

²⁰ Hermes-Asis-Mi-Amon. This appears to have been the younger Hermes, the son of Ammon and Maia. He reigned until about ten years after the fall of Troy.

By this arrangement of the authorities in collateral columns, the reader will be enabled to judge for himself as to the weight of the historical testimony with regard to the existence or non-existence of each of the Egyptian kings, and can see where the interpolations have most probably been made. It is true that we can have only the direct evidence of witnesses now so long deceased; they are out of the reach of cross-examination; however, by comparing book with book and paragraph with paragraph, we have something very nearly equivalent. The man who writes falsehoods, as well as he who speaks them, will find it difficult to be always consistent with himself.

The account of the shepherd kings given by Eusebius, seems the most authentic and free from interpolation, and the duration which he assigns to that dynasty appears probable and consistent. As to the Egyptian dynasty which succeeded them, something may be learned from each of the most respectable authors, without placing implicit confidence in any of them, relying on each only so far as he appears supported by other testimony or by the probabilities of the case.

From the expulsion of the shepherd kings to the reign of Amenophis the Great, or Osiris the father of Horus, Eusebius states six kings to have reigned; but the fourth and fifth names in his list appear to me clearly to belong to the same individual, Miphra or Miphramuthosis; and what confirms me in this opinion is, that in some lists the one name, and in other lists the other stands first. I therefore conclude, that between the expulsion of the shepherds and the reign of Osiris, there were five reigns.

The very unsettled period between the reign of Sesostris and the Trojan war seems more corrupted than any other. In this short space they have introduced several interpolations or repetitions.

Beside the tables I have already given, there is a table of Theban kings compiled by Eratosthenes, but it differs so entirely from all other authorities on the subject, (the very names being quite different, except in two or three instances) that it affords no sort of assistance in the present scrutiny²¹.

²¹ Doctor Hales thinks the table of Eratosthenes valuable, on account of some names, especially from the name Phurron or Nilus, placed in it next before Amyrteus, by which reign he thinks the dates of the whole may be known, as Nilus

For the satisfaction of the reader I have however given it in the fourth part of this work, Chapter 1. Syncellus says that Eratosthenes obtained at Diospolis the names contained in his catalogue, and translated them out of the sacred character into Greek; but Sir William Drummond very judiciously remarks, that "If Eratosthenes ever really examined and read the Egyptian archives, he must probably have misunderstood them." I must indeed say, that of all the tables which I have seen, his is the most absurd; he makes some of the kings reign 100 years.

In the list of Egyptian kings given by Diodorus Siculus, we have the following names, and in the following order:

Osymandyas.	Sesoosis II.
Uchoreus.	Amasis.
Myris.	Actisanes the Ethiopian.
Sasyches ²² .	Mendes or Marus.
Sesoosis I.	Proteus.

I believe, or rather am convinced, that some of these names are repetitions of others, and that they ought to stand in the following order:

1. Myris.
2. Osymandyas, Sasuches²² or Sesoosis I.
3. Uchoreus, Sesoosis II. or Amasis.
Invasion of Actisanes the Ethiopian.
4. Mendes, Marus or Proteus.

I think the list given by Herodotus of the kings of Egypt who reigned after Sesostris, and in short his account of Egypt in general, is more worthy of attention than that of any other single author. I am further decided in this preference for

reigned, according to Dicaearchus, 436 years before the first Olympiad, that is, B. C. 1212. But there must be some serious mistake in this, for Amyrtæus reigned B. C. 413, in the time of Darius Nothus king of Persia. Dicaearchus must therefore mean some other Nilus, that name being considered sacred, and given to more than one of their kings. But the Phuron of Eratosthenes is, most probably, the Pharaoh Hophra of Scripture, and the Apries of the Greek writers. Some, with much appearance of reason, derive Nilus from נַחַל *Nahal*, a torrent. Jablonsky gives a very absurd etymology. Some of the savage tribes in the east of Africa still worship the Nile. (See Bruce's Travels.)

²² Clearly enough the Sesach of Scripture.

Herodotus, by the agreement of the series of Egyptian kings with what we find in Holy Scripture as to the kings of Egypt and Assyria, and the series of kings of Judah and Israel collateral and cotemporary with them. The reader will see more on this subject in Part IV. Chap. 1. Next to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus is most in accordance with Scripture of any of the heathen writers concerning Egypt; and in fact the difference between these two authors is not very great, nor such as to injure the credit of either. There are many things in Herodotus evidently fabulous, but he gives them merely as legendary matter or popular reports.

Great light has been thrown on the antiquities of Egypt by the valuable labours of some gentlemen, who in latter years have devoted their talents to the decyphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The world appears to be especially indebted to Mr Champollion, who seems to have succeeded in ascertaining satisfactorily the true meaning of what was for so many ages veiled in mystery, by developing and explaining the various alphabets used in the ancient inscriptions. He has succeeded already with some approach to certainty, in decyphering the names and titles on a great number of obelisks, entablatures, &c.; but the art is still in its infancy and very imperfect²³, and much more will doubtless be discovered hereafter.

In referring any of these names to history or to the lists of Egyptian kings given by Manetho and others, we must keep in mind the gross corruptions and fabrications, not merely of kings but of entire dynasties, which they have handed down to us, taken probably on the credit of the Egyptian priests and legends.

Sometimes we find the list swelled, by inserting between the authentic names others either wholly fictitious, or former names often repeated, with or without some alteration in the orthography. Twenty or 30 names are thus interpolated in some of the lists, adding several centuries to the antiquity of the names at the beginning of the list. Others took a still bolder course, and when they could not understand the agreement of different accounts of the same dynasty, written in different places and dialects, they placed them in succes-

²³ Many of his readings are correct, but others erroneous.

sion as separate dynasties, numbering them gravely as such, and thus giving us a retrospective mass of falsehood extending to thousands of years.

Except what Herodotus has given us concerning Sesostris and his successors, and the list in Eusebius of kings preceding Amenophis II. or Sesostris, I have not found a single memorial free from one or both of these fatal defects.

Mr Champollion refers the 18th dynasty of the old tables to the eighteenth century before the Christian era²⁴, and calls the explanation by placing the dynasties in collateral order an absurdity; but I will only request any one, however sceptical, to look at the following lists, the identity of which must I think be at once perceived by any unprejudiced person at all acquainted with Egyptian history.

No. V. Dynasty of Elephantines.	No. XII. Dynasty of Diospolites.	Herodotus.	No. XVIII. Eusebius.
Usercheres.	Geson, Goses, or Sesonchosis.	Menes.	Amosis.
Sephres.			Chebron. * * * *
Nephercheres.	Amenemes.	Nitocris.	Miphris. * * * *
Sisiris.	Sesostris.	Moeris.	Amenophis.
Cherea.	Lacheres.	Sesostris.	Horus. * * * *
Rathuris. * * * *		Pheron.	Athoria. * * * *
Mercheres ²⁵ .	Ameres ²⁶ .		Armais or Da- naus.
Thercheres.	Amenemes.	Proteus.	Ægyptus.
Obnus.			Memphis.

Here are three tables, numbered V, XII, and XVIII, and stated to belong to periods many hundred years distant from each other, in which the deception is plain and palpable. They all evidently belong to the same persons and times, and agree with the statement of Herodotus as nearly as

²⁴ Mr Champollion does not appear aware that the Coptic, in which he interprets most of the hieroglyphics, is comparatively a modern language; a corrupt mixture of Hebrew, Arabic, and a portion of Greek.

²⁵ Armais Egyptian, in Greek Hermes; and Mercheres Egyptian, in Latin Mercurius.

²⁶ The true name from אמר, to speak.

could be expected, although Herodotus with truth makes these kings reign but a short time before the Trojan war, which occurred in the reign of Proteus, the last of them. This may I hope suffice with respect to successive and collateral tables of reigns.

From the whole it appears probable, that there were five reigns from the expulsion of the shepherd kings to Sesostris or Osiris²⁷, and that their expulsion occurred eight reigns, or about 180 years before the destruction of Troy; which took place near the end of the reign of Proteus or Hermes-mi-Amun, who appears to have been the son of Osiris or the Great Ammon by Maia.

The conquest of Egypt by the shepherd kings was, according to Eusebius, who seems nearly correct, 106 years before their expulsion; and therefore occurred about 286 years before the fall of Troy. If the statements and calculations above given be well founded (and I have not hitherto met any thing to impeach their general accuracy), the expulsion of the shepherds from Egypt will synchronise with the founding of Tyre by Arcles, the Tyrian Hercules; and likewise with the migration of Inachus, Cecrops, and Lelex, to Argos, Attica, and Laconia; a synchronism which the circumstances, when considered collectively, render extremely probable.

There remain however other proofs and arguments still to be examined, which I think place the matter beyond any reasonable doubt, as I trust will be made apparent in pursuing our investigations through Parts III and IV.

²⁷ The Universal History (Vol. II. p. 40), quotes Herodotus, saying that Sesostris* had set his brother over Egypt when he set out for India; and then says, that by the ancient authors this brother who, as Herodotus adds, conspired to murder Sesostris, was the famous Armais or Danaus. But all ancient authors agree that Osiris left Egypt in care of his brother Hermes or Aidoneus. It is then evident that Osiris and Hermes or Aidoneus, are the same with Sesostris and Armais or Danaus, who conspired with the other Titan princes.

* Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. cviii.

CHAPTER IX.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HEROIC AGE TO THE
TROJAN WAR.

	Years before Troy was destroyed.	B. C. Cir.
The Shepherd kings conquer Egypt	286	1176
----- driven out by Asis or Tothmosis	180	1070
Asis founds the Titan dynasty in Egypt.....	180	1070
Arcles or Certus, the Tyrian Hercules, founds Tyre		
Inachus founds Argos		
Cecrops founds Athens.....		
Lelex settles in Laconia	150	1040
Ægialeus founds Sicyon.....	140	1030
Scamander founds Troy.....	130	1020
The flood of Ogyges	130	1020
Lacedæmon founds Sparta.....	130	1020
Cronus or Asterion reigns at Biblus	127	1017
----- carries off Europa and settles in Crete		
Cadmus founds Thebes, Amphictyon reigning at Athens.....	126	1016
Minos born	125	1015
Miphra-Muthosis conquers Philistia, and makes his son Agenor or Cepheus king of it, giving Ascalon to Solomon his son-in- law	116	1006
Pelops comes to Greece.....	100	990
Cronus, Asterion or Saturn dethroned flies to Italy.....	95	985
Tros, Ilus or Laomedon reigns at Troy	80	970
Osiris or Bacchus invades Greece	77	967
Heroes born—Hercules, Pollux, the younger, Hermes, &c.	76	966
Ariadne dies and is enshrined at Argos.....	73	963
Osiris driven out of Greece by Perseus and his allies	72	962

	Years before Troy was destroyed.	a. c. Circ.
Perseus dies	70	960
Osiris built 12 cities in Egypt.....	72 to	952
— is murdered by the Titan princes	62	952
Theseus collects the 12 towns into Athens and institutes the Isthmia and Ammonia	60	950
Danaus, Armais or Hermes flies from Egypt to Argos	57	947
Horus kills Python and defeats the Titan princes.....	56	946
Horus is defeated by Actisanes and drowned in the Nile	50	940
Lynceus expels Danaus who settles at Orcus	48	938
Theseus imprisoned by Danaus at Thesprotis in Orcus	46	936
Erichthonius hierophant of Minerva governs Athens	46	936
Isis or Ceres comes to Attica, Eleusinian mysteries		
Castor and Pollux recover Helen, and set up Menestheus at Aphidna.....	45	935
Argonautic expedition.....	44	934
Pandion succeeds Erichthonius at Athens ...		
Hippocoon dethrones Tyndarus at Sparta ...		
Laomedon killed and succeeded by Priam ...		
Spain plundered by the Argonauts		
Hercules releases Theseus, kills Hippocoon, &c.....	41	931
Castor and Pollux reinstate Tyndarus	40	930
Actisanes or Zerah defeated by Asa and driven out of Egypt.....		
Tereus from Thrace settles at Daulis near Chæronea.....	37	927
Calydonian Hunt	36	926
Nemea instituted and Theban war of the seven chiefs	30	920
Hercules Alcides dies.....	26	916
Death of Eurystheus—Atreus succeeds	24	914
Menestheus reigns at Athens.....	22	912

	Years before Troy was destroyed.	B. C. Circ.
Hyllus killed by Echemus	20	910
Agamemnon succeeds Atreus at Mycenæ.....	17	907
The Epigoni war against Thebes	16	906
Paris carries off Helen	15	905
Trojan war begins.....	10	900
Troy taken and destroyed.....	0	890

I trust the above collocation will be found nearly correct ; as to the years, to pretend to absolute accuracy would be absurd. Wherever the ancient tables were not contradicted by strong historical evidence, they have been followed. In other cases the dates are carefully computed from dates well authenticated.

CHAPTER X.

THE PARIAN CHRONICLE.

THE Parian Chronicle is a register, the authority of which is not supported by any external evidence. It nevertheless possesses so many internal marks of authenticity, that it has been generally received as a genuine memorial by the learned world, and is placed, with every appearance of justice, in the rank of those ancient documents whose presence asserts sufficiently their honourable character, and which are allowed in every court to prove themselves.

The value thus attributed to the Parian Chronicle must however be strictly defined. We consider it to be neither more nor less than a calculation made from data found in the public records of Athens¹. So far as those records were correct, we have the benefit of it; and where those records were corrupted, this chronicle of course transmits the corruptions.

When no particular interest induced the priests of Athens to alter dates, or to transpose or interpolate reigns, every thing seems fair and circumstantial; but in those passages which record the institution of their religious rites, they appear to have taken great and unwarrantable liberties with the truth.

¹ See Part I. Chap. xv.

..... ου νπαν ... ων νων ἀνέγραψα τοὺς ἄν
 [ωθεν χρόνους] ἀρχάμ[εν]ος ἀπὸ Κέκροπος τοῦ πρώτου
 βασιλεύσαντος Ἀθηνῶν, ἕως ἄρχοντος ἐμ Πάρου [μὲν
 Ἄστ]υάνακτος, Ἀθήνησι δὲ Διογνήτου.

1. Ἄφ' οὗ Κέκροψ Ἀθηνῶν ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ ἡ χώρα Κεκροπία ἐκλήθη, τὸ πρότερον καλουμένη Ἀκτική, ἀπὸ Ἀκταίου τοῦ αὐτόχθονος, ἔτη ΧΗΗΗΔΠΙΙ.
2. Ἄφ' οὗ Δευκαλίων παρὰ τὸν Πάρνασσον ἐν Λυκωρείᾳ ἐβασίλευσε [βα]σιλε[ύ]ντος Ἀθηνῶν Κέκροπος, ἔτη ΧΗΗΗΔ.
3. Ἄφ' οὗ δίκη Ἀθήνησι[ν ἐγέ]νετο Ἄρει καὶ Ποσειδῶνι ὑπὲρ Ἀλιρρόθιου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐκλήθη Ἄρειος πάγος, ἔτη ΧΗΗΓΔΔΠΙΙ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Κρ[ανά]ου.
4. Ἄφ' οὗ κατακλισμός ἐπὶ Δευκαλιωνὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ Δευκαλίων τοὺς ὄμβρους ἔφυγεν ἐκ Λυκωρείας εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς Κράνα]ου, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου τὸ ἱερὸν ἰδ[ρύσατ]ο, [καί] τὰ σωτήρια ἔθυσεν, ἔτη ΧΗΗΓΔΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Κρ[α]ν[ά]ου.

Notes and

The gross numbers given in the chronicle of this period, are greatly exaggerated, by adding to the length of true reigns and by inserting reigns wholly fictitious. These numbers are also in some places dreadfully distorted, by transposing reigns and events from the time to which they belong, for the purpose, as already stated, of giving to those events a fictitious antiquity. Where these vital errors do not appear, the lesser differences of date seem to be preserved accurately enough. Where I have made no remark I suppose the collocation correct.

B. C.

- I have described pr[eced]ing times,] begin[n]ing from Cecrops, the first who reigned at Athens until [Ast]yanax, archon at Paros, and Diognetus at Athens: [ending Ol. 129. 1. B. C. 264]
1. Since Cecrops reigned at Athens, and the country was called Cecropia, before called Actica, from Actæus the native MCCCXVIII years 1582
 2. Since Deucalion reigned in Lycoria near Parnassus, Cecrops [re]ign[in]g at Athens MCCCX years ... 1574
 3. Since the trial at Athen[s hap]pened between Mars and Neptune concerning Halirrothius [the son] of Neptune, and the place was called Areopagus MCCLXVIII years: Cr[ana]us reigning at Athens 1532
 4. Since the deluge happened in the time of Deucalion and Deucalion fled from the rains from Lycoria to Athens unto [Crana]us and bu[ilt the temp]le of Jupit[er Olympius, and] offered sacrifices for his preservation MCCLXV years: Cr[a]n[a]us reign- ing at Athens 1529

Observations.

	B. C.	True date.
1. Cecrops comes to Attica	1582	1070
2. Deucalion reigned in Lycoria (reign of Cecrops)	1574	1062
3. Trial of Mars and Neptune is a mere mythological fable (Cranaus).....	1532	
4. Deucalion fled from Lycoria to Athens, on account of the rains and floods, and built a temple to Jupiter Olympius (Cranaus)	1529	1025
N. This seems correct except as to Jupiter Olympius, whose worship did not commence until long afterwards.		

5. Ἀ[φ] οὐ Ἀμφικτύων Δευκαλίωνος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, καὶ συνῆγε [τ]οὺς περὶ τὸν ὄρον οἰκοῦντας, καὶ ὠ[νό]μασεν Ἀμφικτύονας, καὶ Π[υ]λαίαν, οὐ[περ] καὶ νῦν ἔτι θύουσιν Ἀμφικτύονες, [ἐ]τη ΧΗΗΓΔΠΙΙ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικτύονος.
6. Ἀφ' οὐ Ἕλλην ὁ Δευκ[αλίωνος Φθι]ώτιδος ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ Ἕλληνες [ὠν]ομάσθησαν, τὸ πρότερον Γράκοι καλούμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Παναθ[η]ναϊ[κον] συνεστήσαντο, ἔτη ΧΗΗΓΔΠΙΙ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικτύονος.
7. Ἀφ' οὐ Κάδμος ὁ Ἀγήνορος εἰς Θήβας ἀφίκετο [κατὰ χρῆσμον, καὶ] ἔκτισεν τὴν Καδμείαν, ἔτη ΧΗΗΓΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικτύονος.
8. Ἀφ' οὐ [Εὐρώτας καὶ Λακεδαίμων Λακω] νικῆς ἐβασίλευσαν, ἔτη ΧΗΗΓΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικτύονος.

Notes and

	B. C.	True date.
5. Amphictyon son of Deucalion reigned in Thermopylæ, and instituted the council of the Amphictyons, in the reign of Amphictyon at Athens	1522	1015
N. This makes Amphictyon reign 60 years after Cecrops, it ought to be 50 years.		
6. Hellen son of Deucalion reigned at Pthiotis.		1014
The Greeks take the name of Hellenes. The Panathenæa instituted. (Amphictyon reigning).....	1521	
N. The Panathenæa were not instituted until long after, in the reign of Theseus		942

- B. C.
5. S[ince Amphi]ctyon [the son] of Deucalion reigned in Thermopylæ and assembled the people inhabiting that district, and [nam]ed them Amphictyones and [the place of council] P[ylæa,] w[here] the Amphictyones still sacrifice, MCCLVIII years: Amphictyon reigning at Athens 1522
6. Since Hellen [the son] of Deuc[alion] reigned in [Phthi]otis, and they were [na]med Hellenes, who before were called Graikoi (Greeks) and [they instituted] the Panathe[næan] games, MCCLVII years: Amphictyon reigning at Athens 1521
7. Since Cadmus [the son] of Agenor came to Thebes, [according to the oracle and] built the Cadmea, MCCLV years: Amphictyon reigning at Athens... 1519
8. Since [Eurotas and Lacedæmon] reigned in [Laco]nia MCCLII years: Amphictyon reigning at Athens... 1516
-

Observations.

- | | B. C. | True date. |
|---|-------|------------|
| 7. Cadmus son of Agenor founds Cadmea. (Amphictyon reigning) | 1519 | 1016 |
| N. This makes Cadmus arrive 63 years after Cecrops, which is about ten years too much; it ought to be 53 years. | | |
| 8. Eurotas and Lacedæmon reign in Laconia. (Amphictyon reigning at Athens)..... | 1516 | 1020 |

9. 'Αφ' οὗ ναυ[ς πεντ]ή[κοντα κωπ]ῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου [ε]ἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπλευσε καὶ ὠνομάσθη Πεντηκόντορος, καὶ αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγάτερες [Ἄμυμ]ῶνη, καὶ βα ... λαρεωσ, καὶ Ἐλίκη, καὶ Ἀρχεδίκη ἀποκληρωθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν· [ισρὸν ἰδρύσ]αντ[ο,] καὶ ἔθυσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκτης ἐμ Παρα[λι]άδι ἐν Δίνδῳ τῆς Ῥοδίας, ἔτη ΧΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΙ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἐριχθονίου].
10. [Ἀφ' οὗ Ἐριχ]θόνιος Παραθηναίος τοῖς πρώτοις γενομένοις ἄρμα ἔξευξε, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐδείκνυε, καὶ Ἀθηναί[α μετω]-ν[ομασε, κ]αὶ [ἄγαλμα τῆς Θεῶν μητρὸς ἐφάνη ἐγ Κυβέλοισ, καὶ Ὑαγνις ὁ Φρυξ αὐλοῦς πρῶτος εὔρεν ἐγ Κ[ελαι]ναί[ς τῆ]ς Φρυγ[ί]ας [καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν τὴν κ]αλουμένην Φρυγιστὶ πρῶτος ἠύλησε, καὶ ἄλλους νόμους Μητρὸς Διούσου, Παρὸς, καὶ τὸν ἐπ[ιχωρίων Θεῶν καὶ Ἡρώων,] ἔτη ΧΗΗΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἐριχθονίου τοῦ τὸ ἄρμα ζεύξαντος.
11. 'Αφ' οὗ Μινὸς [ὁ] πρ[ῶτος ἐ]βα[σίλευσε, καὶ Κυ]δωνίαν ἴκισε, καὶ σίδηρος ἠρέθη ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ, εὐρόντων τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων Κέλμιος κ[αὶ Δαμνανέως, ἔτη ΧΗΓΔΔΠΙΙ βασι]λεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Πανδίου.

Notes and

- | | B. C. | True date. |
|--|-------|------------|
| 9 and 10 recording the arrival of Danaus in Greece, and the first celebration of the Panathenæa do not belong to this place, but ought to stand between 12 and 22, (see 13 lines forward.) | | |
| 11. Minos reigned in Crete. (Pandion reigning) | 1432 | 985 |
| N. This quite incorrect; Minos began to reign in the reign of Ægeus, and died before Pandion's reign. | | |

B. C.

9. Since a shi[p with f]i[fty oar]s sailed from Egypt to Greece and was called Pentecontorus; and the daughters of Danaus.....[Amym]one, and Ba..... and Helice and Archedice, elected by the rest [bu]il[t a temple] and sacrificed upon the shore at Para[li]as in Lindus [a city] of Rhodes MCCXLVII years: Erichthonius reig[ning at Athens]..... 1511
10. [Since Erich]thonius, when the Panathenæa were first celebrated yoked [horses to] a chariot, and exhibited the contest, and [changed the name] of Athenæa; and [the image] of the mother of the Gods appeared in [the mountains] of Cybele; and Hyagnis the Phrygian first invented flutes at C[elæ]ne [a city] of Phrygia, and first played on the flute [the harmony] called Phrygian and other nomes (tunes) of the mother [of the Gods] of Dionysius, of Pan, and that of [the divinities of the country and the heroes] MCCXLII years: Erichthonius who yoked [horses to] the chariot reigning at Athens..... 1506
11. Since Minos [the] fir[st re]ig[ned] and built [Cy]donia; and iron was found in Ida by the Idæi Dactyli Celmis [and Damnaneus, MCLXVIII years]: Pandion [reig]ning at Athens 1432

Observations.

- | | B. C. | True date. |
|---|-------|------------|
| Numbers from 12 to 19 misplaced here. See forward. | | |
| 20. Scarcity in the reigns of Minos and Ægeus. The Athenians are commanded by the oracle of Apollo to appease king Minos... | 1295 | 983 |
| It must have been some other oracle; there was not any oracle of Apollo until about 50 years afterwards. | | |

12. Ἄφ' οὗ Δημήτηρ ἀφικομένη εἰς Ἀθήνας καρπὸν ἐφύ[τε]υεν, καὶ πρ[ὸς] ἄλλους ἐπέμψε πρ[ώ]τη δ[ιὰ Τ]ριπτολέμου τοῦ Κελέου καὶ Νεαίρας, ἔτη ΧΗΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἐριχθέως.
13. Ἄφ' οὗ Τριπτό[λεμος καρπὸν] ἔσπειρεν ἐν τῇ Ῥαρία καλουμένη Ἐλευσίει, ἔτη Χ[Η]ΔΔΔΔ[Π], βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν [Ἐριχθέως].
14. [Ἄφ' οὗ] Ἰ[ὸρφεὺς τὴν] αὐτοῦ ποίησιν ἐξ[έ]θηκε, Κόρησ τε ἀρπαγὴν καὶ Δήμητρος ζήτησιν, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ [κατά]βασιν, καὶ μύ[θο]σ[υ] τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων τὸν καρπὸν, ἔτη ΧΗΔΔΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἐριχθέως.
15. [Ἄφ' οὗ] Εὐμόλπος ὁ μουσαίου τὰ μυστήρια ἀνέφηνεν ἐν Ἐλευσίει, καὶ τὰς τοῦ [πατρὸς Μ]ουσαίου ποιήσ[ει]ς ἐξέθηκ[εν], ἔτη ΧΗ..... βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἐριχθέως τοῦ Πανδίωνος.
16. Ἄφ' οὗ καθαρμὸς πρῶτος ἐγένετο [διὰ φόν]ου πρῶτω αὐτον ... εαντ ... [ἔτη ΧΓΔ]ΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Πανδίωνος τοῦ Κέκροπος.
17. Ἄφ' οὗ [ἐ]ν Ἐλευσίει ὁ γυμνικὸς [ἀγὼν] ἐτέθη, ἔτη Χ..... βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Πανδίωνος τοῦ Κέκροπος.]
18. Ἄφ' οὗ [αἱ ἀνθρωποθύσ]ιαι, [καὶ] τὰ Λύκαια ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ λ ... κκε ... Λυκάωνος ἐδόθησαν [ἐν] τοῖς Ἑλλ[η]σί[ν]ι, [ἔτ]η [Χ]..... ν..... βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Πανδίωνος τοῦ Κέκροπος.
19. Ἄφ' οὗ καθαρισθεῖς ἐν Ἐλευσίει Ἡρακλῆς [ἐμνήθη] ξέν[ω]σ[υ] πρῶτ[ο]ς, [ἔτ]η Χ ... βασιλεύοντος Ἀθήνησιν Αἰγέως.

	<i>Notes and</i>	B. C.	<i>True date.</i>
12.	Ceres comes to Athens. Erichthonius and Erechtheus the same	1409	936
14.	Orpheus, correct except date	1399	930
15.	Eumolpus was the son of Musæus, but Erechtheus was not the son of Pandion	about	928
16.	Lustration. (Pandion the son of Cecrops II. reigning)	1326	915

B. C.

12. Since Ceres coming to Athens pla[nt]ed corn and [first sent it to other countries] by Triptolemus [the son] of Celeus and Neæra MCXLV years: Erichtheus reigning at Athens 1409
13. Since Tripto[lemus] sowed [corn] in Raria, called Eleusis M[C]XL[II] years: [Erichtheus] reigning at Athens 1406
14. [Since Orpheus] pub[li]shed his poem [on] the rape of the virgin [Proserpine] and the search of Ceres; his [descent to the shades] and [the fables] concerning those who received the corn MCXXXV years: Erichtheus reigning at Athens..... 1399
15. [Since Eumolpus the son of Musæ]us celebrated the mysteries in Eleusis, and publish[ed] the po[em]s of h[is father M]usæus, MC years: [Erichthe]us [the son] of Pandion [reigning at Athens]... 13
16. Since a Lustration was first performed [by slaying] [ML]XII [years]: Pandion the son of Cecrops [the second] reigning at Athens..... 1326
17. Since the gymnastic games were instituted i[n] Eleusis [M] ... X ... years: P[andion the son of Cecrops reigning at Athens].....
18. Since [human sacrific]es [and] the Lycæa were celebrated in Arcadia and of Lycaon were given [among] the Gr[ee]ks M.....years: Pandion [the son] of Cecrops reigning at Athens.....
19. Since Hercules having been purified in Eleusi[s], [was initiated the fir]st of [stran]gers M..... [years]: Ægeus reigning at Athens.....

Observations.

B. C. True date.

If this second Cecrops be not wholly fictitious, it must be a title of honour given to Theseus; but Pandion was not his son.

19. It was in the reign of Theseus that Hercules was born, he was probably initiated about the 25th year of his reign.....about

942

20. Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθήνησι [σπάνι]ς τῶν καρπῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ μαντευόμενος [τοῖς] Ἀθηναίοις Ἀπόλλων ἠνάγκασεν δίκαις ὑποσχεῖ[ν], ἅ[ς] ἄμ Μινῶς ἀζιώσει, ἔτη ΧΔΔΔΙ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηῶν Αἰγ[έως].
21. Ἀφ' οὗ Θησ[εὺς] Ἀθηῶν τὰς δώδεκα πόλεις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνῴκισεν, καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατείαν [πρώτος καθεστηκῶ]ς Ἀθηῶν, τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε, Σίνιν ἀποκτείνας, ἔτη ΓΗΗΗΗΗΓΔΔΔΔΔΠ.
22. Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμμον[ίας] τῆ[ς] πρώτης, ἔτη ΓΗΗΗΗΗΓΔ] ΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηῶν Θησεῦς.
23. Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀργεῖοι[σιν] Ἄνδρα[στος ἐ]βασιλευσ[ε]ν, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα [ἐ]ν [Νεμέα ἔ]θ[ε]σαν [οἱ Ἑπτὰ,] ἔτη ΓΗΗΗΗΗΓΔΔΔΔΠΙΙ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηῶν Θησεῦς.
24. Ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Ἑλλη[νες] εἰς Τροίαν ἐ[στ]ρατεύ[σαντο] ἔτη ΓΗΗΗΗΗΓΔΙΠΙΙ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηῶν Μενέσθεος τρεῖς καὶ δεκάτου ἔτους.
25. Ἀφ' οὗ Τροία ἤλω, ἔτη ΓΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηῶν [Μενεσθέ]ως, [εἰκοστῷ καὶ] δευτέρου ἔτους, μηνὸς Θ[αργηλιῶ]νος ἐβδόμη φθίνοντος.
26. Ἀφ' οὗ Ὀρέστη[ς] ἐν Σκυθ[ίᾳ] τῶν αὐτο[ῦ] μανιῶν ἰάθη, καὶ Αἰγίσθου θυγατρὶ [Ἡριγ]όν[η] ὑπὲρ Αἰγίσθου καὶ αὐ[τῷ] δίκη ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἣν Ὀρέστης ἐνίκησεν [ἴσων ψήφ]ων [ουῶν], ἔτη [ΓΗ]ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ [Δ]Π, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηῶν Δημοφῶντος.

Notes and

	B. C.	True date.
21. Theseus incorporates the 12 towns of Attica, and instituted the Isthmian games	1259	950
22. Ammonia first celebrated	1256	947
23. Adrastus and the other six chiefs going to		

B. C.

20. Since a [scarcity] of corn happened at Athens, and [Apol]lo being consulted by [the] Athen[ians] ob[liged] them to under[g]o [the penalti]es wh[ich] Minos (the second) should require MXXXI years: Æg[eus] reigning at Athens..... 1295
21. Since Thes[eus] incorporated the 12 cities of Attica into one (community), and [having first establish]ed a civil constitution and a popular government at Athens, he instituted the Isthmian games after he had slain Sinis DCCCCXCV years..... 1259
22. From the first (celebration of the festival called) Ammon [DCCCCXC]II years: Theseus reigning at Athens 1256
23. Since Adra[stus r]eign[e]d over the Argi[ves] and [the seven commanders in]st[itut]ed the games [i]n [Nemæa] DCCCLXXXVII years: Theseus reigning at Athens 1251
24. Since the [Gree]ks militated against Troy DCCCC-LIV years: [Men]estheus reigning at Athe[ns] in the thirteenth year (of his reign)..... 1218
25. Since Troy was taken DCCCCXLV years: [Me]nestheus reigning at Athens in the (twenty) second year (of his reign) on the twenty fourth day of the month Th[argelio]n 1209
26. Since Orestes [in Scythi]a was [cured of his mad-ness] and a [cause] between hi[m] and [Erig]one the daughter of [Æ]gisthus [concerning] (the murder of) Ægisthus was tried in Areopagus, which Orestes gained, [the vot]es [being equal] [D]CCCCXXX[X]II years: Demophoon reigning at Athens..... 1206

Observations.

	B. C.	True date.
war against Thebes, institute the Nemea. (Theseus reigning)	1251	920
24. Trojan war begins	1218	900
25. Troy taken and destroyed	1209	890
26. Orestes cured, &c.; Demophoon reigning ...	1206	887

27. Ἀφ' οὗ [Σαλαμίνα ἐν] Κύπρῳ Τεῦκρος ᾤκισεν ἔτη
ΓΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΙΙΙ βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Δημο-
φῶντος.
28. Ἀφ' οὗ Νη[λ]εὺς ᾤκισ[εν ἐν] Καρίᾳ Μίλητον ἀγείρας
Ἰῶνας οἱ ᾤκισ[αν] Ἐφεσον Ἐρύθρας Κλαζομένας [Πριήνην
καὶ Λέβεδον, Τήω] Κολοφῶνα [Μ]νουῦντα [Φωκαίαν]
Σάμον [Χίον καὶ] τὰ [Παν]ιώνι[α] ἐγένετο ἔτ[η]
ΓΗΗΗΗΔΠΙΙ βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Μέ[δοντο]ς τρεῖς
καὶ δεκάτου [ἔ]τους.
29. Ἀφ' οὗ [Ἡσ]ίοδος ὁ ποιητῆς [ἐφάν]η, ἔτη ΓΗΗΓΔΔ[Δ
βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν].
30. Ἀφ' οὗ Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητῆς ἐφάνη, ἔτη ΓΗΗΔΔΔΠΙΙ
βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶ[ν Δ]ιογνήτου.

No. 29 and 30. The dates given above for Hesiod and Homer are about 100 years too early; but the interval between them of 37 years appears nearly correct.

Herodotus tells us decidedly that the Theogony of Hesiod and the poems of Homer were not more than 400 years older than his time*. And we have abundant proof that all the ancient accounts of time were rather in excess than otherwise. Therefore, according to Herodotus, those poems did not appear before the year 845 B. C. And, according to the Parian Chronicle, Hesiod preceded Homer by about 37 years.

Newton calculated, from Hesiod's account of the rising of Arcturus in his time, that he wrote his poem on Works and Days, about 875 B. C. We must deduct from

* "Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίῃν τετρακοσίοισι ἐτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλείοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι, κ. τ. λ." Herodot. Lib. II. Cap. LIII.

	<i>Notes and</i>	B. C.	True date.
27.	Teucer built Salamis in Cyprus	1202	883
	Placing this seven years after No. 25 seems correct.		
28.	Miletus and Ephesus built, &c.	1077	
	Codrus was killed about 89 years after the fall of Troy, and 801 B. C. The 13th year of Medon falls therefore on the year		788

B. C.

27. Since Teucer built [Salamis in] Cyprus DCCCC-XXXVIII years: Demophon reigning at Athens 1202
28. Since Ne[leus] bui[lt] Miletus in Caria, having collected the Ionians] who[bui]lt Ephesus, Erythræ, Clazomene, P[riene and Lebedus, Teos,] Colophon, [M]yus, [Phocea], Samos, [Chios]; and the [Pan]ioni[a] were instituted [DCCC]XIII years: Me[don] reigning at Athens in the 13th year [of his reign]..... 1077
29. Since [Hes]iod the poet [flourish]ed DCLXX[X] years.....[reigning at Athens]
30. Since Homer the poet flourished DCXLIII years: [D]iognetus reigning at Athen[s]..... 907

this the correction made since the time of Newton in the value of the Equinoctial Precession, which amounts to about 18 years in this instance†. This leaves 857 B. C. for the time when Hesiod wrote this, his first poem of any note, after which he may have lived until near the end of the century. His Theogony, the work to the date of which Herodotus refers, was a work of great time and labour, and was most probably produced rather late in life, quite within the limits stated by Herodotus.

The agreement between that historian and the views of Newton goes far, I think, to prove the correctness of both. Homer I think began to write about 820 or 830 B. C., and wrote, or rather composed, until about 790 or 780 B. C. Critics are agreed, that Homer wrote before the first Olympiad.

† The ancients were aware of the Equinoctial Precession, and estimated it at a degree in 100 years; Newton valued it at a degree in 72 years. Dr Bradley made a further correction, which appears to have settled it at a degree in 71½ years nearly.

Observations.

	B. C.	True date.
29. Hesiod flourished according to Herodotus, 845 B. C.....	944	845
30. Homer flourished about 37 years after Hesiod	907	808

31. Ἄφ' οὗ Φ[εῖ]δων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐδημ[εύθη, καὶ μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ] ἔσκευσε καὶ νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐποίησεν, ἐνδέκατος ὦν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἔτη ΓΗΗΔΔΔΙ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηῶν [Μεγακλέ]ους.

Notes and

	B. C.	True date.
31. Phidon the Argive, the eleventh from Hercules, &c.	895	595
N. Phidon was 10 generations from Hercules, that is, about 333 years after that hero. Again, Phidon was cotemporary with Clisthenes,		

B. C.

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

Observations.

Alcmæon, Solon, and Croesus, that is, about 595 B. C. Add 333 years to 595 B. C. gives 928 for Hercules, which appears correct. They falsified the date of Phidon to make it agree with 1228 B. C., the date assigned to Hercules by the heathen priests.

THE PARIAN CHRONICLE WITH THE COLLOCATION AND DATES CORRECTED TO THE YEAR 500 B. C.

No.	Parian No.	Parian date.	EVENTS WITH THE ATHENIAN KINGS OR ARCHONS.	Corrected date.
		B. C.		B. C. circ.
1	1	1582	Cecrops reigns at Athens	1070
2	2	1574	Deucalion reigns at Lycoria (Cecrops)	1062
3	8	1516	Eurotas and Lacedæmon reign in Laconia (ditto)	1040
4	4	1529	Deucalion's flood..... (Cranaus)	1030
5	5	1522	Amphictyon son of Deucalion, } (Amphictyon) reigned	1020
6	6	1521	Hellen son of Deucalion reigns } (ditto) at Phthiotis.....	1019
7	7	1519	Cadmus founds Cadmea..... (ditto)	1016
8	11	—	Minos reigns in Crete	985
9	20	1295	Scarcity of corn at Athens..... (Ægeus)	970
10	21	1259	Theseus incorporated the 12 towns, } (Theseus) Isthmia	950
11	22	1256	Ammonia instituted..... (ditto)	947
12	9	1511	Danaus comes to Greece..... (ditto)	947
13	10	1506	Panathenæa instituted (Erichthonius)	942
14	12	1409	Ceres comes to Athens (ditto)	936
15	13	1399	Triptolemus flourishes at Eleusis (ditto)	936
16	14	1399	Orpheus flourished (ditto)	936
17	15	13—	Eumolpus flourished (ditto)	936
18	16	1326	Lustration instituted..... (Pandion)	930
19	17	—	Gymnastic games instituted at Eleusis (ditto)	930
20	18	—	Lyçæa celebrated in Arcadia..... (ditto)	930
21	19	—	Hercules purified and initiated by Theseus ...	930
22	23	1251	Nemea instituted by Adrastus } (Theseus) king of Argos—seven chiefs...	920
23	24	1218	Trojan war begins..... (Menestheus)	900
24	25	1209	Troy taken..... (ditto)	890
25	26	1206	Orestes cured of madness (Demophoon)	887
26	27	1202	Teucer builds Salamis in Cyprus (ditto)	883
27	29	—	Hesiod flourishes 857 to	820
28	30	907	Homer ditto 830 to	800
29	35	645	Terpander ditto 676 to	645
30	33	684	Creon first annual archon	602
31	31	895	Phidon proscribed..... about	600
32	38	591	Cyrrha invaded..... about	570
33	41	561	Pisistratus reigns at Athens (Comias or Critias)	551
34	42	556	Cresus sends messengers to Delphi	546
35	43	548	Cyrus takes Sardis	544
36	44	537	Thespis flourishes..... (Alcæus)	522
37	45	520	Darius son of Histaspis reigns	520
38	46	512	Harmodius and Aristogiton re- } (Clisthenes) volt and slay Hipparchus ...	508
39	47	508	Choruses of men first con- } (Lysagoras or tended } Isagoras)	505

CHAPTER XI.

INSTITUTION AND REVIVAL OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

(Continued from p. 69.)

SINCE the foregoing sheets went to press, I have been led to make the following observations on this subject:

The Olympic games appear to have been instituted by Hercules and the other sons of Osiris the Grecian Jupiter, as a perpetual memorial of his residence at Olympia in Greece. They were I think instituted soon after the return of the Argonauts¹. The first Theban war and the war of the Epigoni would interrupt their continuance. Again, the Trojan war and the wars of the Heraclidæ would prevent their regular observance until the general peace, which succeeded to the death of Codrus, gave the Greeks liberty to attend to such pursuits.

When I wrote what is stated at p. 69, to prove that the revival of the Olympic games by Iphitus was synchronical with the victory of Corcebus, which occurred 776 B. C., I was not aware that Pausanias had expressly declared that synchronism as a historical fact (see Lib. VIII. Cap. xxvi). He says, "When Iphitus restored the Olympic games which had been for a long time neglected², Corcebus was victorious, and there is an inscription on his tomb which signifies that Corcebus conquered in the Olympic games; that he was the first who conquered, and that his sepulchre was raised in the extremity of the Elean land."

"*Ἦνίκα δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἐκλείποντα ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἀνεσώσατο Ἰφίτιος, καὶ αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ὀλύμ-*

¹ I mean as a permanent institution. The beautiful valley of Olympia had been used before this, on particular occasions, for chariot races, by Pelops and others; an account of which, mixed with some legendary fables, is given by Pausanias in his book concerning Elis. As Pelops was in prosperity and of middle age when Osiris spent some time at Olympia, it was only in character that he should entertain him in this manner. "*Πέλοψ δὲ ὑστερον γενεῆ μάλιστα μετ' Ἐνδυμίωνα τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆ Ὀλυμπίῃ Διὶ ἐποίησεν ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρό αὐτοῦ.*" Pausanias, Lib. v.

² That is, from the time of Oxylyus.

πια ἤγαγον· τότε δρόμου σφίσιν ἄθλα ἐτέθη μόνον, καὶ ὁ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησε. Καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι, ὡς Ὀλυμπίασιν ὁ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρῶτος, καὶ ὅτι τῆς Ἡλείας ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι ὁ τάφος αὐτῷ πεποιήται.”

This also confirms the date of the Trojan war, thus:

	B. C.
Revival of the Olympiads.....	776
2½ reigns, viz. Oxylyus, Laïas, and half the reign of Iphitus	55
From Oxylyus to Thoas two generations	67

898

But the tables dated Iphitus 884 B. C., making him a century nearer their date of the Trojan war, and the mythological date of Hercules. Still the chronological chasm was not near filled up; for it left the 2½ reigns, from Oxylyus to Iphitus, to occupy 220 years from 1104 to 884 B. C., so absurd was their system. Again, they dated Lycurgus also at 884 B. C., which is earlier by about 80 years than the date assigned to him by Thucydides, who places him a little more than 400 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war, that is, about 810 B. C. This statement of Thucydides is still above a century in excess, which however is easily accounted for.

Thales and others had so far advanced the science of astronomy, that the Greeks had begun to regulate their chronology by the equinoctial precession, according to their estimate of its value; but as they supposed it a degree in 100 years, instead of 71½ years, we must deduct from most of their statements accordingly, 28½ years from each century. Four times 28½ is 114 years, which deducted from 810, gives 696 B. C., which is about the true date when Lycurgus published his laws, and resigned the sovereignty to his nephew³.

³ This date agrees with what historians record of Lycurgus having been the cotemporary and friend of Terpander, who was victor in the 28th Olympiad, 676 B. C., and who is stated in the Parian Chronicle to have introduced some improvements in music 645 B. C. But this would be impossible if Lycurgus flourished either 884 B. C., or 810 B. C., or even 776 B. C. As to the disc bearing the name of Lycurgus, I am convinced that it was given by him during his regency in the 18th

One error naturally leads to another. In this interval, which Thucydides set down erroneously as about 400 years, there were 12 reigns in each line at Sparta. He therefore, and others who calculated from his statement, would reckon three reigns equal to a century, and that reigns were equal to generations. The compilers of the Parian Chronicle, which was framed 127 years after the death of Thucydides, and is the oldest regular table now in existence, used this as a standard average in calculating the date of the Trojan war, &c.

Olympiad 706 B. C. when that game and some others were added, and when two Spartans, Lampis and Eurybatus, were victors.

“Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ δεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος πεντάθλου καὶ πάλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς μνήμην.” Pausanias, Lib. V. Cap. VIII.

CHAPTER XII.

OF SPARTAN KINGS AND ATHENIAN ARCHONS.

I SHALL NOW give tables of the Spartan Kings and Athenian Archons, with their dates corrected, as nearly as I could judge by historical scrutiny and chronological calculation.

HERACLIDÆ, KINGS OF SPARTA.

AGIDÆ.	Table date.	Corrected date, circ.	PROCLIDÆ.	Table date.	Corrected date, circ.
	B. C.	B. C.		B. C.	B. C.
1. Eurysthenes...	1104	835	1. Procles	1104	835
2. Agis	1059	808	2. Sous	1060	809
3. Echestratus ...	1058	807	3. Eurypon	1028	787
4. Labotas	1023	785	4. Prytanis	1021	783
5. Doryssus	986	758	5. Eunomus	986	758
6. Agesilaus	957	736	6. Polydectes	907	725
7. Archelaus.....	913	702	7. Charilaus	898	716
8. Teleclus	853	680	Lycurgus legis- lates to 696 }		
9. Alcamenes	813	665	8. Nicander	809	661
10. Polydorus	776	640	9. Theopompus..	770	639
(First Messenian war 640 to 621)					
11. Eurycrates I.	724	621	10. Zeuxidamus...	723	620
12. Anaxander.....	687	601	11. Anaxidamus...	690	604
(Second Messenian war 601 to 587.)					
13. Eurycrates II.	644	578	12. Archidamus...	651	583
14. Leon	607	559	13. Agasicles	605	557
15. Anaxandrides.	563	535	14. Ariston	564	536
16. Cleomenes I.	530	513	15. Demaratus ...	526	510

THE PERSIAN WAR BEGINS.

AGIDÆ.		PROCLIDÆ.	
	B. C.		B. C.
17. Leonidas	491	16. Leotychides	491
18. Plistarchus	480	17. Archidamus	469
19. Plistonax	466	Third Messenian } war 465 to 453. }	
20. Pausanias	408	18. Agis I.....	427
21. Agesipolis I.	397	19. Agesilaus	397
22. Cleombrotus	380	20. Archidamus	361
23. Agesipolis II.	371	21. Agis II.....	338
24. Cleomenes II.	370	22. Eudamidas I.....	330
25. Aretus or Areus I.	309	23. Archidamus.....	295
26. Acrotatus	265	24. Eudamidas II.....	268
27. Areus II.	264	25. Agis.....	244
28. Leonidas II.	257	26. Archidamus	230
— Cleombrotus usurper	243	27. Euclidus.....	225
— Leonidas restored...	241	28. Lycurgus	219
29. Cleomenes III.....	235		
30. Agesipolis.....	219		

The first Messenian war began about 640 and ended 621 B. C. (See page 70.) This agrees with the above corrections, for Polydorus died at the end of the war, and Theopompus the year after. Polydorus reigned only about 18 years instead of 52; and Theopompus reigned about 17 or 18 years instead of 47 years, as set down in the old tables.

ATHENIAN ARCHONS TO 500 B. C.

MEDONTIDÆ.		Table date.		Corrected date, circ.	
ARCHONS FOR LIFE.		B. C.		B. C.	
Table date. B. C.	Corrected date, circ. B. C.	Table date. B. C.		Corrected date, circ. B. C.	
		799	Agamestor		
		778	Æschylus ...about	677	
		756	Alcmæon.....		
			DECENNIAL ARCHONS.		
		753	Charops.....about	654	
		744	Æsimedes	644	
		734	Clidicus		
		724	Hippomenes		
		714	Leocrates.....		
		704	Apsander.....		
		694	Eryxias		
1070	Medon.....	801			
1050	Acastus				
1014	Archippus.....				
995	Thersippus				
954	Phorbas				
923	Megacles				
893	Diognetus.....				
865	Pherecles				
846	Ariphron				
826	Thespies				

ANNUAL ARCHONS.		Table date, B. C.	Corrected date, circ. B. C.	Table date, B. C.	Corrected date, circ. B. C.
684	Creon about	*	602	594	Dropides 551
683	Tlesias	*	601	592	Eucrates 550
682	Lysias	*	600	591	Cimon or Simon . . . 549
*	* * * * *	*	*	588	Phœnippus 548
671	Leostratus	*	594	586	Damasias II 547
670	Autosthenes	*	593	*	* * * * *
*	(Cirrha taken, Ta- } bles, 591) }	*	*	580	Pentathlus 544
663	Archimedes	*	589	*	* * * * *
*	* * * * *	*	*	576	Archestratides . . . 542
658	Miltiades	*	587	*	* * * * *
*	* * * * *	*	*	569	Aristomenes 539
645	Dropis or Dropsilus	*	580	*	* * * * *
*	* * * * *	*	*	566	Comias 537
639	Damasias I.	*	577	*	* * * * *
*	* * * * *	*	*	562	Hippoclidēs 535
634	Epœnetus	*	575	561	Comias 534
*	* * * * *	*	*	560	Hegesistratus 533
624	Draco, (Cirrha } taken about) . . . }	*	570	*	* * * * *
	<i>Note.</i> Josephus says that Draco was but little prior to Pisis- tratus.			552	Euthydemus 529
616	Henochides	*	565	*	* * * * *
*	* * * * *	*	*	Erxielides 527	
	Solon (legislates } and travels) . . . }	*	562	*	* * * * *
*	* * * * *	*	*	537	Alcæus 522
605	Aristocles	*	559	536	Athenæus 521
604	Critias	*	558	535	Hipparchus 520
*	* * * * *	*	*	532	Heraclides 519
599	Megacles	*	555	*	* * * * *
598	Philombrotus . . .	*	554	523	Miltiades 514
595	Solon and Critias .	*	552	*	* * * * *
	Pisistratus begins to reign			512	Clisthenes 508
				*	* * * * *
				509	Lysagoras 506
				508	Isagoras 505
				*	* * * * *
				504	Acestorides 503
				*	* * * * *
				500	Myrus 500

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

MYTHOLOGY OF THE ANCIENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE ancient heathen mythology, from whatever point of view we may contemplate it, is a subject of curious speculation for the moralist and the philosopher, and of deep interest with every man who feels for the happiness and dignity of his species. When we see savage tribes who never enjoyed the advantages of science and literature, plunged in absurd, ridiculous and demoralizing superstitions, we feel pity for our fellow creatures whom we see thus fallen and degraded, but we are not surprised. The whole picture is uniform; we see nothing on every side but moral and intellectual darkness, gross and palpable.

On the contrary, when we see men thus debased, whom from our infancy we have been accustomed to admire; men who have bequeathed to posterity examples of eloquence, poetry, architecture and sculpture, hitherto unrivalled; nations whose warriors are the admiration of the brave and young, and whose philosophers are the delight of the aged and learned; when we see such men immersed in the depths of a superstition, at once so vicious and so absurd, we are affected by feelings of a different kind, and are compelled to exclaim with the poet,

————— “How abject, how august,
How complicate, how wonderful is man!”

Idolatry was not an evil confined to the ignorant and base; to nations gross and barbarous, or to the lowest class in those which were more enlightened; with the exception of one small but highly favoured people, it darkened, polluted and destroyed the entire human race. Princes and nobles devoted their power and their wealth to its support; no

temples were thought too splendid; no offerings too costly; nay, the dearest and strongest ties of nature were sacrificed to this unclean and sanguinary system; people of the very highest rank placed their children on the blazing altars of their cruel deities; and husbands allowed and encouraged their wives to prostitute themselves publicly at the temples on the great festivals.

If those who were dignified with the title of philosophers, inwardly despised the follies of the rest of mankind, they seldom had the virtue to bear a public testimony to the truth, so far as they were thus negatively enlightened; and in general their private lives shewed but too plainly, how little is gained by exchanging superstition for atheism¹.

Whoever desires to see the utter helpless ignorance of the wisest among the ancient heathen, with regard to divine things, may turn to a most ingenious and learned work, written expressly on the subject, by the very first of their moral philosophers². In Cicero's treatise "*De Naturâ Deorum*," we see one of the greatest minds of which we have any record, feebly struggling between the grossness of idolatry and the dreary hopelessness of absolute atheism.

Cicero brought to the enquiry all the qualifications which the most enlightened heathen could be expected to possess. In his capacious and highly cultivated mind, the whole of the "*sapientia veterum*" seems collected. Moreover, with him scepticism was a virtue; he was startled at a religious system, the vicious tendency of which was revolting to all his best feelings and principles; unlike the modern sceptic, who too often rejects revelation before he examines either its merits or its authority, merely because it condemns the corruptions of his heart and life. Must we not suppose, that if

¹ See the *Philopseudes* of Lucian, and a notice of it in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 73. pp. 45, 46, 47. The mixture of credulity and scepticism existing in the best informed classes of Greece and Rome in Lucian's time, is well worthy of observation. Wieland says, "The genius of the times, like the Emperor Hadrian, was made up of all imaginable incongruities; men believed every thing and nothing. In company they laughed at objects at which they trembled when alone, or in the dark."

² I know of but two uninspired writers whose names I could place in competition with that of Cicero; Aristotle and Bacon are, I think, the only writers who deserve to be classed with him. Whether my partiality for this great and amiable man may have carried me too far in forming this estimate, the reader must determine for himself.

Cicero had been favoured with a knowledge of Christianity, he would have loved, admired, and embraced it?

There is one great advantage, and perhaps but one, to be derived from a correct view of the religion, morals, and manners of heathen nations: by comparing the abominable impurity and cruelty of their worship, and its avowed objects, with the pure and undefiled religion, which "comes down from the Father of lights," and fountain of holiness, happiness, and true wisdom; while we obtain just ideas of the depravity of fallen human nature, we are, or at least ought to be, impressed with greater horror of that which is evil, and greater love and admiration of that which is holy, just, and good.

There was no crime, however atrocious, which could not plead an example and a patron in one or more of their deities; there was no vice, however detestable, which was not daily practised in their temples. This is the very nature of Polytheism: it is not confined to the ancient systems of Egypt, Syria, Greece, or Italy; it is the same to this hour in the temples of Juggernaut, the woods of Ashantee, and in every city of China.

It was a direct consequence of the depravity of our nature, that when men refused to have God any longer as their governor, and set up idols of their own creation as objects of worship, they should attribute to their new deities such qualities and dispositions as were most suitable to their own depraved inclinations³. In a state of society where the standard of morals was thus inverted, no good principle could continue to exist; and without principles intrinsically good, there could be neither social confidence nor happiness, public or private.

A fair and rational view of the history and mythology of the heathen nations, must, I think, ever tend to the honour of revealed religion; the contrast being so obvious, the inferences unavoidable and irresistible.

As to the causes, nature, and consequences of idolatry,

³ "But above all, idolatry recommends itself to degraded and corrupted man by indulging and almost consecrating every licentious passion, and every vicious propensity of the human heart." Graves, on the Pentateuch, Part II. Lecture I. In the same valuable work, Part II. Lecture II., the subject is ably though briefly discussed, with a copious and valuable reference to original authorities.

the Bible gives, not only the most authentic but also the clearest information. It likewise gives the names of the more ancient deities with sufficient exactness.

In heathen nations in general, the worship was addressed to Dæmons, that is, to the spirits of those whom they considered to have been the founders or chief benefactors of the state or country⁴.

These were Homer's deities :

“————— ἢ δ' Οὐλυμπόνδε βεβήκει
Δώματ' ἐς Αἰγιοχοῖο Διός, μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους.”

Iliad i. v. 221.

Hesiod also thus expresses the rank which Dæmons held in the mythology of his time :

“Τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσὶ Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς
Ἔσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.”

Hesiod. Operum et Dierum.

Herodotus, speaking of the religion of the Persians, says, that they did not believe, as the Greeks did, that the gods were the offspring of men. “Ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι.” What an acknowledgment from a heathen historian !

St Paul warns the Corinthians, that “ἀ θύει τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις θύει, καὶ οὐ Θεῷ.” “The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Dæmons, and not to God.” I. Cor. x. 20. And again, the very same kind of expression is used by the Athenians, when speaking of St Paul :

“Ξενῶν δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῖς εὐηγγελίζετο.” Acts xvii. 18.

And again, at the 22nd verse, the Apostle condemns the national superstitions in these words: “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ.” “Ye men

⁴ Mr Faber supports this opinion in his treatise on Ancient Mythology. “In the religious system of the old mythologists, Dæmons were the same as Hero-gods; and these Hero-gods were acknowledged to be the souls of eminent benefactors of mankind, who, after they had quitted this mortal sphere of existence, were worshipped as deities by a too grateful posterity.” Faber's Ancient Myth. Vol. I. p. 4.

⁵ Herodotus, Lib. I. Cap. cxxxI.

of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious," (too Dæmon-serving).

In Hebrew and its dialects and cognates, the most usual title of such an object of idolatrous worship was בעל Baal, in Greek Βήλος, and in Latin Belus.

Some nations moreover worshipped the sun, either as an emblem of their chief deity, or supposing that luminary to have become his residence, and to be under his direction. Others paid their adorations to the moon, as a type of their goddess Ashtaroth⁶, the Astarte of Syria, whose worship they afterwards joined with that of Isis⁷, the principal female deity of the Egyptians, invoking her as the queen of heaven⁸. Sidon and his wife were, I think, most probably the Baal and Ashtaroth of their posterity; he was probably also worshipped under the name of Moloch.

The patriarch Abraham, who is called the father of the faithful, and who transmitted the true religion to his descendants of the family of Isaac, became, I think, the chief object of worship of those of his posterity that settled in the East, (see Gen. xxv. 6), and is still, I believe, worshipped there⁹ under the name of Brahma¹⁰, by an immense popu-

⁶ Ashtaroth, the name of the Sidonian goddess, I think unquestionably signifies resplendent אשחרת, and is derived from שרץ to shine, an epithet well suited to the moon, and also to a goddess, especially to their goddess of beauty. To suppose it derived from שרץ to acquire, and that Ashtaroth means herds of cattle, is, I think, not very natural or likely. It may mean the resplendent heifer very probably, חרצת שרץ vacca-splendens. See in Buxtorf חרצת Bos, Chaldee, whose feminine is of course חרצתא or חרצת.

⁷ Called also Δημήτηρ by the Greeks, and by the Romans Ceres (pronounced Keres), which seems only a corruption of Chere or Here (Ἥρη) the Egyptian Juno.

⁸ See Jeremiah xlv. 17, 25.

⁹ Doctor Graves in his Lectures proves, by a weight of evidence, that Abraham was absolutely looked up to as a luminary in the East; and that the men most renowned there received whatever was good in their several religious systems, either directly or indirectly from that patriarch.

The learned Hyde, from researches made on the spot, asserts that the Magians, Sabians, Persians, and Indians, look upon Abraham as the great reformer of their religions. Now the most sceptical will admit, that if any memorial of Abraham appears to exist in India, it must be under the name of Brahma. General Valancey quotes the Hindu records, stating that the wife of Brahma was named Sara-Soudi.

¹⁰ This mode of corrupting names was very usual in the East. Thus Biblus, Scanderia, Criasus, Hiram, &c. are plainly corrupt contractions of Abibalus, Ascan-deria, Acrisius, Ahi-ram, &c. Brahma is formed from אברהם ABRAHAM, by only transposing one vowel.

lation, a population sufficient to prove that the promise to Abraham, mentioned in the different parts of the book of Genesis, but more especially Chap. xxii. 17¹¹, was fulfilled in these branches of his family as well as the others.

Of all the characters of antiquity, Abraham was perhaps the most likely to be idolised by his posterity. In the line of Isaac this was prevented by divine grace and direct illumination; but when we consider the age in which he appeared; the wonderful incidents of his life; his various immediate interviews with the Almighty; his being pointed out

¹¹ "In blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore." The authorised version is in general admirably executed; but in this, and some other places, by transferring the Hebrew idiom into the English version, they have, in my humble opinion, spoiled a very sublime and beautiful passage of Scripture. The language is absolutely not what can be called good English, nor such as would be tolerated in a translation of one of the ancient classics.

There are two kinds of reduplication used in Hebrew. That which I shall notice first, and which occurs in the passage before us, consists in an immediate repetition of the word, and in Hebrew implies a very strong superlative,

כִּי בָרַךְ אֲבִרְכְךָ וְהִרְבֵּה אֲרַבְּהָ אֶרְצֶיךָ כְּכֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְכַחֵל אֲשֶׁר עַל־יַמֵּי הַיָּם
which, I think, might be fairly translated, "I will bless thee most abundantly, and will multiply thy seed exceedingly, even as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore."

I would also apply this mode of construction to another very important text, Genesis ii. 17.

כִּי יוֹם אֲכַלְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ מוֹת תָּמוּת

which I should be inclined to translate, "thou shalt utterly perish." The extremity of the penalty will, I think, appear the great object of the passage, if we confine our attention to the original Hebrew text.

Our translators have adopted this principle of interpretation, with regard to a passage in the Prophet Amos; and as the Hebrew form is the very same in all the three passages although so very differently translated, a comparison of them will give the reader a fair view of the subject, and enable him to judge for himself:

אֵמֵן כִּי לֹא הִשְׁמִיד אֲשַׁמִּיד אֶת־בַּיִת יַעֲקֹב נְאֻם־יְהוָה

"Saving that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the Lord," Amos ix. 8.

The other mode of reduplication, consists in repeating a sentence, or clause of a sentence, sometimes in the same words, but most usually with some change of figure or language. This mode is of very general use in the prophetic books, is highly poetical, and serves both to excite greater attention, and also to indicate the absolute certainty of the event predicted. "Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders." Isaiah ix. 18. "In that day I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof, and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old." Amos ix. 11.

The first kind of reduplication indicates intensity; the second indicates assurance of certain fulfilment.

as a prophet wherever he appeared; his rapid increase in wealth and power by divine favour visibly manifested; his victory over the five kings; the fiery destruction of the cities of the plain, with all their inhabitants, and the transformation of the plain itself as a perpetual memorial, in close and direct connection with the history of Abraham and his family; his having children at a time of life so very extraordinary; and lastly, his offering up his son Isaac:—actions so singular, accompanied by so many astonishing signs of the peculiar favour of heaven, conferred upon one man, in the face of an unlettered ignorant age, prone to idolatry, must lead to his deification after death, unless prevented by divine interposition.

The introduction of the worship of Budda or Fo among the Eastern nations, occurred at some period long subsequent to that of Brahma. The following notices may throw some light on the subject.

The Chinese received a new religion from India, in the first century of the Christian era. They learned that the birth of Budda was 1036 years before Christ.

M. De Guignes asserts on the authority of four Chinese historians, that Fo was born about the year 1027 before Christ.

Giorgi (or Cassiano) declares, that according to the Thibetians, he appeared only 959 years before Christ; and Mr Bailly places him 1031 years before the Christian era.

From all which the learned and ingenious Sir William Jones draws the following conclusion:

“Now whether we assume the medium of the four dates above mentioned, or implicitly rely on the authorities quoted by De Guignes, we may conclude that Budda was first distinguished in this country about a thousand years before the Christian era¹².”

¹² There seems great reason to think that Budda and Fo were names given in the east to Bacchus or Osiris.

In the *Missionary Register* for Dec. 1827, a letter from Mr Swan to the directors of the London Missionary Society, contains the following passage: “The chief Lama of a temple lately closed a discussion with me to this effect: ‘I am an old man; my system of faith I have held too long to change it now; it is therefore in vain for you to argue with me, for I will die as I have lived—a disciple of Shigimuni.’ Of this Shigimuni it is said, that he was a celebrated prince, who introduced a reformed system of Buddhism into Thibet and other countries of the east, and who is wor-

The Rev. Mr Faber has favoured the public with his views concerning the mythology of heathen nations. His notice of the Hindu superstitions appear to me both luminous and interesting; and I think he has traced some of them, as referring to the Noachian deluge, in a manner highly satisfactory. He shews likewise, that Isis, the wife of Bacchus or Osiris, was, and is most probably to this day, worshipped in India. This is in fact agreeable to the whole tenor of history, which shews that she was worshipped throughout the entire of the extensive conquests of her husband Osiris¹³.

But Mr Faber goes on to identify the worship of Isis with what refers to the Noachian deluge, which is certainly going too far. The Egyptians worshipped Isis, sailing in her sacred vessel upon their sacred river the Nile¹⁴. But in all this, which was connected with the mourning for Osiris, or Thammuz (Thamosis), and her joy at finding his dismembered body, there was no reference whatever to the Noachian deluge.

The Hindoos, like other nations where idolatry was digested into a system, would doubtless have a deity to represent and patronise each of the more active propensities of human nature; they must have had a god or goddess of war, one of voluptuousness, &c. from a very early period; and when Osiris compelled them to receive new objects of worship, these might in some cases be confounded with the old idols in the course of time; but their great religious system had, in my decided opinion, existed many centuries before the time of Osiris and Isis.

shipped under that name by the Mongolians, under the name of Xaka by the Thibetians, and in China under that of Fo or Fuh. He is considered the father of the Lamaite religion."

I think Shig-imuni is probably a corruption of Shishak-Amun.

¹³ The Egyptians, like some other conquerors, compelled the conquered to receive their religious system. We know that Egypt conquered India, we nowhere read that India ever conquered Egypt.

Horus or Apollo was also worshipped by the Hindoos, under the name of Garuda, and they represent him in some of their temples driving the chariot of the sun with seven horses, which appears to refer to the seven days of the week.

¹⁴ Isis, after the murder of Osiris, fled in a small boat to Biblus, a sea-port in her native country, Phœnicia. Her safe voyage was considered miraculous, and the boat itself was held sacred afterwards. She was attended in her flight by the younger Hermes or Toth, called also Anubis, then only a boy about twelve years old. He was also called Canis Minor, Toth signifying a dog in Egyptian, as Talbot does in old English.

In Egypt at a very early date they corrupted the true religion, dishonouring the Creator of the universe by the "similitude of an ox that eateth grass"¹⁵. But at what time the worship of Apis was first introduced, or what circumstances occasioned its introduction, seem questions almost beyond the reach of enquiry¹⁶.

It seems probable that idolatry established itself in Egypt soon after the time of Joseph, and that it had made great progress in that country before the time of Moses. That idolatry was not prevalent, at least in Egypt in the time of Joseph, may be inferred in the first place, from the silence of Scripture on the subject, although much is said about Egypt and its affairs, which I believe is never the case when a country was immersed in darkness. I infer it still more decidedly, from the circumstance of Joseph marrying the daughter of one of the Egyptian priests, which I think he would not have done if they were idolaters; nor would it have passed without animadversion from the inspired penman, for Scripture never spares the faults of its favourites. And although the word כֹּהֵן *Cohen*, sometimes signifies a governor in Scripture, or is thought to do so, even this would scarcely remove the difficulty¹⁷; for we are further told, that "Joseph called his first born son *Manasses*, because God had

¹⁵ Psalm cvi. 20.

¹⁶ The great value of oxen and cows in a farming country like Egypt, of which they were probably not natives, and where the annual overflowing of the Nile made the time for tillage very short, might induce the government to make laws for their preservation, but nothing could serve this purpose so effectually as the priests declaring them sacred. This might in time lead to idolatrous worship. We know from history that the plough was an Egyptian invention, and thence communicated to other nations. Oxen appear from Homer to have been the current medium of exchange in Greece at the time of the Trojan war. He speaks of suits of armour as worth so many oxen, according to their goodness.

"Ἐνθ' αὐτῆ Γλαύκῳ Κρονίδῃς φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς,
Ὅς πρὸς Τυδείδῃν Διομήδεα τεύχε' ἀμείβε,
Χρῖσσε χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἔννεαβοίων."

Hom. Iliad vi. 234.

"Tum vero Glaucō Saturnius mentem ademit Jupiter,
Qui cum Tydide Diomede arma permutavit,
Aurea aeneis, centum-boves-valentia novem-boves-valentibus."

Among the Hottentots in South Africa, every thing is valued as worth so many oxen.

¹⁷ The Septuagint makes him a priest plainly, "ἱερέως."

made him to forget all his father's house;" this I think, could not have been the case in an idolatrous country.

In Joseph's conversations with Pharaoh's officers, Gen. xl. 8, and afterward with Pharaoh himself in the next chapter, the same God and the same religious principles seem to be acknowledged by both parties. Moreover when the famine is foretold, and the means pointed out for averting its effects, idolatry is never hinted at, nor a national reformation required, although Joseph was not merely appointed chief officer over Egypt, but was received also as a prophet, favoured and inspired by the Almighty, and therefore every way qualified to make that so tremendous visitation turn to a permanent blessing. However, it is certain, that before the Exodus, the worship of the Bull or Apis had become prevalent, for Moses expressly calls it the abomination or idolatrous sin of the Egyptians.

All the heathen countries however, appear to have held their superstitions of various kinds independently of each other, without any thing like a general system or combination, until Osiris, inflated with conquest and universal dominion, compelled the pagan nations not only to obey him as king over the kings of the earth, but also to worship him as supreme deity over their Baalim or Lords.

Osiris, with his queen Isis, his two brothers Python or Neptune, and Toth or Arnais, and his son Horus, called by the Europeans Apollo, were the five chief deities, called Cabiri, or *Dii majores gentium*, and their reign was called the reign of the gods in Egypt. During its continuance the worship of the Bull or Apis was probably intermitted, but was resumed under succeeding kings.

The mythological history of Egypt has been much perplexed by some passages in Herodotus, in which he represents Hephaistos or Vulcan, as being the principal deity of the ancient Egyptians, and describes his temples as being wonderful both for their magnitude and their magnificence. He says that Sethon, king of Egypt, was likewise priest of Hephaistos or Vulcan, and added to his temple a grand portico for the reception of the god Apis.

It appears to me beyond a doubt, that the worship, temples, and priests, here noticed by Herodotus, must have

belonged to Osiris, and that all this confusion has arisen from a mere verbal error, from Herodotus and other Greeks mistaking the meaning of the Egyptian priests, and taking the name Aphas-Theus (one of the titles of Osiris, which means Πατήρ-Zeus) for Hephaistos, the name of the lame king of Lemnos, who was scarcely, if at all, known in Egypt, and indeed but moderately respected even in Greece. Although one or more deities was afterwards added to the original Cabiri, the name of Hephaistos or Vulcan was never thus honoured.

The worship and priests here mentioned by Herodotus, were undoubtedly, as I have already observed, those of the great Osiris, whose mysteries were after some time joined with those of Apis, and performed in the same temple. Of this mode of joining together the worship of two or three of their deities, we have various instances in ancient mythology; the three Venuses, the three Herculese, the two Mercuries, and the two Bacchuses, were thus reduced or consolidated into one of each name. As to what belongs to the twofold person and worship of Jupiter, that will require a more particular discussion in the course of this treatise.

If fire worship had ever been established in Egypt, there would be some appearance of probability in this account of temples for the worship of Vulcan, but neither Herodotus nor any other historian records any thing of that kind; and his joining what he says of Hephaistos with the worship of Apis, in my opinion, explains the whole sufficiently, for we know that this actually occurred as to Osiris, but probably to no other; and further, Cicero tells us in his treatise "De Naturâ Deorum," that Vulcan was called by the Egyptians Opis¹⁸, which is plainly only a corruption of Apis, and shews that he either adopted the error of Herodotus¹⁹, or fell into one nearly similar.

Osiris was sometimes worshipped under the form of a serpent²⁰, which among the Egyptians was considered an em-

¹⁸ See note on Chap. XIII.

¹⁹ I was a good deal startled at the first reading of those passages in Herodotus, and could not avoid suspecting some error, from the great improbability that a deity of very inferior rank, and never reckoned among the Cabiri, should in a short time take precedencè of them all in Egypt, the very school of mythology.

²⁰ Under this form he was said to have visited Olympias the mother of Alexander, and some others.

blem of wisdom and of eternity; this sacred serpent must have been one of the largest kind, as they used to offer it human victims. In Mr Bryant's work there are some plates, copied from ancient sculptures, in which this ceremony is very circumstantially represented.

As to what is said by some ancient writers, of dogs being held sacred and kept in the temples, Mr Bryant thinks that the Greek word *κυνων* primarily meant a priest, like the Hebrew word *קֹהֵן* *Cohen*, from which it may indeed be derived, and that when dogs are supposed to be mentioned as kept in temples, the real meaning is, that so many priests were maintained there.

How far this ingenious solution may be correct I am not able to decide, but it seems to receive some support from another Greek word *Λατρεία*, which signified the incantation which they performed, in a sort of song or rather howl, and from which the Latin word *Latrare*, to howl or bark, seems plainly derived, and *canis* and *canere* from *κυνες*. St Paul cautions the Philippians against *κυνους*, translated dogs; and in Revelations (Chap. xxii. 15), we read "Εξω δε οι κυνες και οι φαρμακοι," "without are dogs and sorcerers," by which heathen priests may perhaps be meant.

The worship of the Cabiri, was, it is said, first established in Samothrace by Minhyra or Minerva²¹, while Osiris was in Asia Minor or Greece²². From that island they say it was introduced into Greece by some Pelasgians.

It will be one of the principal objects of this part of the work, to shew that the deities of the Greeks and Romans were in general, neither the elements of nature nor the heavenly bodies, directly or indirectly deified; but that they were the Dæmons or Heroes and Heroines of antiquity, men and women of renown²³, who were exceedingly powerful, and who were actually the chief rulers of the earth from about

²¹ See Diodorus Siculus, Lib. vi.

²² Herodotus says that the rites of Bacchus were first introduced into Greece by Melampus, "Ελλησει γάρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστι ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου το τε οὔνομα, καὶ τὴν θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φάλλου." Herod. Lib. II. Cap. XLIX.

²³ Critics observe, that Homer attributes to his deities human passions, motives, and actions. As Homer wrote so early, and from the best materials then accessible, his way of treating the subject goes far to prove, that Hero-worship was the religion of Greece.

fifty to about eighty years before the fall of Troy; these were worshipped through mingled feelings of fear and love, some of them while living, and others after they were dead²⁴.

Before I enter more particularly into the mythological system of the Greeks, I shall lay before the reader a list of the heathen deities noticed in Scripture. To this part of the subject it is necessary to give particular attention, as the most serious errors committed by writers on mythology have arisen from mistaken views as to persons and circumstances mentioned in Scripture.

To the Bible, as the most ancient and authentic document in existence, we are naturally and rationally led, in seeking for any certain information concerning the more ancient superstitions, the entrance of idolatry into the world, and its subsequent growth to almost universal dominion.

But on this subject, as upon others of greater importance, to read Scripture with advantage, requires a mind as free as possible from preconceptions of its own. The eye that looks upon the Bible through the medium of prejudice is too apt to pervert whatever it finds there into a confirmation of error.

Mr Bryant and some other authors have been strongly impressed with the idea, that Ham, the son of Noah was the Jupiter Ammon of Egypt and Greece. But a little sober consideration will suffice to convince any one who recollects that Judea bordered upon Egypt; that if that were the case, we should find in Scripture some mention of his worship, many centuries before the time of the prophet Jeremiah, who wrote about the year 600 B. C., or Nahum, who wrote about 713 B. C., in whose writings we first meet with any mention

²⁴ The Dæmonolatry of the Persians appears to have differed in some things from that of other nations. That they received the worship of the Cabiri, when they were subdued by Osiris, and continued it while subject to Egypt, can scarcely be questioned without absurdity. Herodotus says, (Lib. I. Cap. cxxxii.) that they worshipped Jupiter, Urania, and Aphrodita, and also the sun, moon, earth, water, fire, and the winds. But he says they did not allow the use of temples, images, or altars. Temples and images, we know from every historian, were held in abhorrence by them, but some sort of altar seems to have been used in their fire worship. Ormasdes (Orus-maximus), the Apollo of the Greeks, was their chief deity afterwards, and to him we find Darius praying just before his death. They, like the Greeks, regarded the sun as his great emblem in the skies, and on earth fire seemed to them the most suitable emblem of his power and influence.

of that deity, in the expressions No-Ammon and Ammon-No, (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 Ναὸς Ἀμμῶνος LXX) the temple of Ammon.

In Egypt, besides the Cabiri, the number of natural objects worshipped and held in religious veneration was very great, it was emphatically the land of idols²⁵. The most ancient and prominent of these was, as has been already mentioned, the Bull or Apis, called by Moses "תַּעֲבַת מִצְרַיִם" the abomination of the Egyptians," Exodus viii. 26. The worship of Apis was probably suspended under the dynasty of the shepherd kings, and revived after their expulsion. It appears again to have been discontinued by Osiris, who set up his own worship in its place, and even caused bulls to be sacrificed to him; it was, however, again revived by succeeding princes, and united with his worship, continuing to flourish until the Persians conquered Egypt. Cambyzes, whose idolatry was of an opposite kind, discontinued it and killed the Apis with his own hand. At what time it finally ceased, or whether it existed under the Ptolemies, is not now certainly known.

The Sun and Moon were likewise worshipped, being considered as sacred emblems of Osiris and Isis, and afterwards of Horus and Bubaste.

The serpent was also worshipped as another emblem of Osiris, under which form they said he often appeared on earth, and produced some of the ancient heroes.

The crocodile, the emblem of treachery and cunning, was worshipped as the amphibious type of Python or Neptune, the brother and murderer of Osiris; and some of the temples erected for its worship are still in existence.

The dog was held sacred as the type of Toth or Hermes, and the cat was sacred to Diana or Bubaste. The Ibis, the Ichneumon, and many other animals, and even some vegetables had a share in their superstitious homage, which they appear to have carried to a degree of folly beyond that of any other nation ancient or modern.

²⁵ The reader may find much curious information on this subject, in the treatise of Isaac Vossius, "de Origine Idolatriæ."

CHAPTER II.

NAMES OF THE HEATHEN DEITIES MENTIONED IN SCRIPTURE.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|---|
| † Adrammelech | אדרמלך | } | Gods of Sepharvaim. |
| † Anamelech | ענמלך | } | II. Kings xvii. 31. |
| Ashera | אשרה | I. Kings xviii. 19. | Goddess of the groves. |
| * Ashtaroth | עשתרות | Judges ii. 13. } | Goddess of Sidon. |
| Ashtoreth | עשתרת | I. Kings xi. 5. } | |
| † Ashima | אשימא | II. Kings xvii. 30, | Idol of Hamoth. |
| * Baal and Baalim.. | בעלים בעל | ferè passim. | |
| Baal-Meon | בעל-מען | Ezekiel xxv. 9. | |
| * Baal-Berith | בעל-ברית | Judges viii. 35. | |
| * Baal-Peor | בעל-פעור | Numbers xxv. 3. | |
| Baal-Zebub | בעל-זבוב | II. Kings i. 2, | God of Ekron. |
| Bel | בל | Jeremiah l. 2, | God of Babylon. |
| Beth-Shemesh ... | בית-שמש | Jeremiah xliii. 13, | House of the Sun, in Egypt and Philistia. |
| * Chemosh | כמוש | Numbers xxi. 29, | God of Ammon and Moab. |
| Chiun ¹ | כיון | Amos v. 26, LXX, <i>Παιφαν</i> . | |
| * Dagon | דגון | Judges xvi. 23, | Idol of Philistia. |
| Diana | <i>Αρτεμις</i> | Acts xix. 34, | Goddess of Ephesus. |
| * Son of Hinnom ... | בן-ההנם | Joshua xv. 8. | |
| Malcham | מלכם | Zephaniah i. 5. | |
| Milcom | מלכם | I. Kings xi. 5. } | } God of Ammon. |
| * Molech | מלך | Leviticus xviii. 22. } | |
| Merodach | מרדך | Jeremiah l. 2. | |
| Nebo | נבו | Isaiah xlvi. 1, | Assyrian Idol. |
| † Nergal | נרגל | II. Kings xvii. 30, | Idol of Cuth. |

¹ Doctor Hales says, this meant the same with the Greek *Αστραυος κοουρ* the dog star, considered by the Egyptians the star of fertility, as the Nile overflowed when it appeared. Hales's Analysis, Vol. II. p. 451.

I am told that Chiun is the name by which the Arabs and Persians call the planet Saturn.

† Nibhaz	נִבְחַז	II. Kings xvii. 31, Idol of Ava.	
Nisroch	נִסְרֹךְ	II. Kings xix. 37, Idol of Nineveh.	
{ Remphan or	Ρεμφαν	Acts vii. 43.	
{ Rephan (כִּיּוֹן).....	Ραυφαν or Ρηφαν	LXX. Amos v. 26.	
Rimmon	רִמּוֹן	II. Kings v. 18, Syrian Idol.	
† Succoth-Benuth } Booths of Venus ² }	סֻכּוֹת־בְּנֹת	II. Kings xvii. 30, Babylon.	
Thammuz ³	תַּמּוּז	Ezekiel viii. 14, "Weeping for Thammuz."	
† Tartak	תַּרְתַּק	II. Kings xvii. 31, Idol of Ava.	
Teraphim	תְּרָפִים	Gen. xxxi. 19, Judges xvii. 5.	
Ammon-No	אֱל־אֲמֹן מְנָא	Jerem. xlvi. 25. }	Memphis.
No-Ammon ⁴	נֹא־אֲמֹן	Nahum iii. 8. }	

N. B. Those marked with a * are noticed before the time of Solomon; it is remarkable that we do not read that he set up any Egyptian idol for Pharaoh's daughter.

The Bull was worshipped in Egypt, and Calves in Israel, the Queen of Heaven, by the Sidonians.

For the figures, rites, and attributes of several of the above idols, I refer the reader to Mountfaucon, Bryant, J. Vossius, Selden, &c.

The idols set up by Solomon (I. Kings xi. 5) were Ash-taroath of Sidon, Chemosh of Moab, and Molech or Milcom of Ammon.

The idols marked thus † were brought into Samaria in the reign of Shalmanasar king of Assyria.

² Venus, ב, is very usually pronounced soft as we pronounce V, and the final, was, and is at this day pronounced as S, as for example, Ashtaroth is called Ashtaros, by the Jews in the east in general. The Greeks and Romans wrote the words as they heard them spoken.

³ The mourning for Thammuz (Thamosis), certainly referred to Osiris and Isis, as did the rites of Adonis.

⁴ No-Ammon signifies the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, from *ναος* comes the Greek *Naos*, a temple.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE GRECIAN JUPITER.

In investigating the mythology of the ancient Greeks, it appears to me that our first object is to ascertain whatever relates to their supreme deity, Jupiter. Having that once accomplished, it would in all probability be a task comparatively easy, afterwards to discuss what relates to the subordinate and attendant deities.

All the great leading facts connected with this subject, must have been at first completely known to the whole civilised world; the subject is of a nature to keep it still open to investigation; and although many of the Greek and Roman classics, as well as much of Eastern literature have doubtless perished, ample materials and documents are still in existence. The road to truth is indeed steep and rugged, but perhaps not impassable.

I must therefore conclude that the enquiry could not have baffled the skill and industry of so many men, distinguished for their talents and learning, were it not involved in circumstances of a very peculiar nature. To develop and explain these will be one of the principal objects of this essay.

That the ancient legends concerning the deities of the Greeks, refer to human beings, ought to be sufficiently evident to any plain candid enquirer, from the circumstances related of them¹. Their actions, their intermarriages, and other intercourse with men and women; their being driven out of Greece, as it is said by giants, and their flight to Egypt, are all most unquestionably human affairs poetically embellished. We shall consider the leading circumstances in the following order.

I. The Jupiter of the Greeks is represented to us as a personage possessed of supreme power; majestic in person,

¹ Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, and especially Cicero, who devoted much time and attention to the subject, have all left this as their decided opinion on the subject.

intellect, and deportment; yet subject to the influence, not only of the most violent passions, but even of the most abominable vices.

II. He came they say from Egypt to Greece, where he remained for some time, performed many actions, and had many children born to him.

III. He was accompanied by his wife and his younger brothers, and by other deities, said to be his offspring; he was also attended by nine young females, who were expert musicians, and were called muses².

IV. He had also with him a troop of female warriors, called Amazons and Mœnades, natives of Libya, commanded by a female named Minhyra or Minerva, who was afterwards worshipped as the goddess of wisdom and military skill³.

V. He had several Greek princesses as concubines, by whom he had sons and daughters.

VI. He is represented as attended by an eagle, which ministered to his pleasures⁴.

VII. He capitally punished some princes of Greece and Asia Minor, who offended or opposed him.

VIII. He sent his nephew Prometheus to be confined at Mount Caucasus, where he remained 30 years.

IX. He was, after these occurrences, driven out of Greece, and fled to Egypt⁵.

X. Some of his sons above-mentioned were engaged in the Argonautic expedition, in which Hercules delivered Pro-

² Diodorus Siculus says, that Osiris was fond of mirth and music, and therefore brought with him a company of musicians. In this company were nine virgins, expert singers, called by the Greeks muses, under the direction of Apollo,—
 “—Εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Ὀσίριω φιλογέλωτα καὶ χαίρουτα μουσικῆ καὶ χοροῖς, διὰ καὶ περιάγεσθαι πλῆθος μουσουργῶν, ἐν οἷς παρθένους ἕνεα δυναμένας εἶδεν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἔλλα πεπαιδευμένας, τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιω ὀνομαζομένας Μούσας τούτων δὲ ἠγεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα λέγουσι.”

³ The account of the Amazons was greatly exaggerated, as was indeed every thing belonging to that age; but there was certainly some foundation in fact, or we should not find it mentioned by so many respectable authors. There is a passage in Pausanias particularly worthy of notice, from which it would appear that they were a kind of Bacchantes. Osiris prided himself on being attended by very uncommon characters; Perseus killed several of them, and among the rest their leader Minerva. See Chap. iv.

⁴ This mythological figure shall be explained as we proceed.

⁵ Pausanias, Lib. II. Cap. xx.

metheus, killing, according to the poets, the eagle which had tormented him⁶.

XI. Some of his grandsons, sons of those Argonauts, were engaged in the Trojan war.

Now I must say, that such a character, however poetical in the embellishment, could not be of very doubtful application. Greece could not possibly contain at the same time more than one person answering to this description. What man possessing unrivalled power, and assuming divine honours, visited Greece about thirty years before the Argonautic expedition, and two generations before the Trojan war? History unequivocally replies, Osiris or Sesostris king of Egypt; he alone answers the description, and he answers it perfectly⁷.

The proofs of Osiris and Sesostris having been the same identical king of Egypt, the former being his religious and the latter his political title, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Other men and women before that time had been deified after death; but Osiris was the first man who arrogated to himself divine worship during his own life.

* " Δῆσε δ' ἀλυκτοπέθεσι Προμηθέα ποικιλόβουλον,
 Δεσμοῖσι ἀργαλέοισι μέσον διὰ κινὸν ἐλάσας,
 Καὶ οἱ ἐκ' αἰετὸν ἄρσε τανύπτερον· αὐτὰρ ἔγ' ἦπαρ
 Ἦσθιεν ἀθάνατον, τὸ δ' ἀέξετο ἴσον ἀπάντη
 Νυκτὸς, ὅσον πρόπαν ἤμαρ ἔδοι τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις.
 Τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀλκμήης καλλισφέρου ἀλκιμος υἱὸς
 Ἡρακλῆς ἔκτεινε. — "

Hesiod Theogonia, 521.

⁷ Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus commonly speak of the actions usually ascribed to Jupiter as being performed by Osiris, and say that his son Orus was the Apollo of the Greeks.

" Ὑστατον δὲ αὐτῆς (Αἰγύπτου) βασιλεύσαι Ὠρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνας ὀνομάζουσι· τοῦτον κατακαύσαντα Τυφῶνα, βασιλεύσαι Ὑστατον Αἰγύπτου Ὀσίρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν." Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. cxliv.

" Orum Osiridis filium, quem Græci Apollinem nominant. Hunc, postquam evertit Typhonem, regnasse in Ægypto postremam. Osiris autem Græca lingua est Dionysos." (Latine, Liber et Bacchus.)

See also Pausanias—fere passim.

CHAPTER IV.

OF OSIRIS.

OSIRIS the son of Thothmosis or Belus, king of Egypt, was known to his cotemporaries, successors and historians by a variety of names and titles. Siris, Osiris¹, Sesostris², Ammon, Amenophis³, Dionysos⁴, and in his triumphant return from India, he assumed the title and character of Bacchus, the god of conviviality, a name which seems derived from *βιβρι* a bottle, a word from which the Greek *βικος*, the German *Becher*, and the English word *Beaker*, seem also to be derived⁵; he was also worshipped in Syria under the names of Adonis or Adonosiris, and Thammuz or Thamosis.

That Osiris and Sesostris were only different names for the same king of Egypt, the former being his sacred, and the latter his political name, will be sufficiently clear to any

¹ "Τῶν δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήσι καλαιῶν μυθολόγων τινὲς τὸν Ὅσιριν Διόνυσον ἐπονομάζουσι, καὶ Σεΐριον παρανόμως." *Diod. Sic. Lib. i. p. 11.*

"*Quidam e priacis Græcorum Mythologis, Osirim, Dionysum et Sirium, denominatione quadam, vocant.*"

² *Sesostris* euphonic, for *Ses-Osiria*, inserting the *t* like the *δ* in *ἀνδρός*, the *β* in *μυσημβρία*, &c. &c.

³ *Amenophis*, a euphonic corruption of *Amen-Aphas*, (*abbas*) *אַמְנֹפִיִּם*, which means *Liber-Pater* (or *Benignus Pater*) the usual title of *Bacchus*. The sound *pā* or *v* is very usually given to *ב*.

⁴ *Dionysos* from *Nysa*, a town in Arabia, the place of his birth, which was held sacred afterwards, even under the Persian kings. (See *Herodotus, Lib. III. Cap. xcvi.*) *Strabo* explains how the fable of *Bacchus*, being nursed in the thigh (*Gr. μηρός*) of *Jupiter* originated, being only a play upon the word *Meros*, the name of a mountain near *Nysa*, where he was nursed. "Καὶ πόλιν παρ' αὐτοῖς Νύσην Διονύσου κτίσμα καὶ ἔροι τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Μηρόν." *Strabo, Lib. xv.*

Strabo also quotes a passage from *Euripides*, in which *Bacchus* is represented boasting of his conquests.

"Λιπῶν δὲ Λυδῶν τὰς πολυχρόσας γυὰς,
Φρυγῶν τε, Περσῶν θ' ἠλιαβλήτας πλάκας,
Βάκτριά τε τείχη, τῆν τε δόσχειμον χθόνα
Μηδῶν, ἐπελθὼν Ἀραβίαν εὐδαίμονα
'Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν." *Euripides.*

⁵ The number of names and titles of *Osiris* seems extraordinary, but some of the illustrious Romans were thus honoured. The great *Scipio*, for instance, bore the following names, *Publius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus Numantinus*.

one who compares the Egyptian with the Grecian history of that period.

Sesostris was the third king of Egypt before the Trojan war, which all writers agree to have occurred near the latter end of the long reign of Proteus, who succeeded Phoron, the son and successor of Sesostris. If we take about 50 years for those two reigns, we shall make Sesostris, whose reign was long, to have flourished during a period from about 50 years before the fall of Troy, to about 80 or more years before that event.

Now we find by the Grecian accounts, that Osiris invaded Europe two generations, (as appears from the history of different families of note), or as near as can be computed, 67 years before the Trojan war, that is to say, near the middle of the time during which Sesostris must have reigned.

Thus, not only were their actions historically the same, but the chronological coincidence is also as broad and perfect as possible.

Or, their identity may be shortly proved thus, Osiris invaded Greece two generations before the destruction of Troy; Sesostris was the third king of Egypt, reckoning backward from the same event; but two generations are admitted to be on an average equal to three reigns⁶, therefore they were most probably the same king of Egypt.

Further, it is plain from the above, that they must have either been the same, or if different, must have reigned very near the same time; but any one at all acquainted with history, will perceive that the latter supposition is quite inadmissible. Two kings of Egypt certainly did not go forth with immense armies, and return crowned with universal conquest, near any one assignable point of time.

Colchos was founded by Sesostris⁷; but it was beyond doubt founded by Osiris, who gave it to Æetes his cup-bearer. Again, Armais or Danaus was brother to Sesostris⁸; but Diodorus Siculus and others make Hermes or Aidoneus

⁶ See Hales's Chronology, Vol. I. p. 304, and Part I. Chap. xvi. of this treatise.

⁷ Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. ciii, civ.

⁸ Universal History, Vol. II. p. 40.

to be brother to Osiris. Now Armais and Hermes are the same name in Egyptian and Greek orthography, and Danaus is a corrupt contraction of Aidoneus.

Tetmosis the father of Osiris was an ambitious, enterprising prince, whose short active reign appears to have been one course of successful invasion of the neighbouring African nations; he died in the midst of schemes and preparations for more extended conquests.

Osiris, born the heir of a powerful kingdom, received an education fitted to prepare his mind for conquest and universal empire, in the court of the most polished and enlightened nation then in existence⁹; he likewise received from his father a numerous army, inured to service, and accustomed to victory. Osiris had also two younger brothers named Python and Toth or Hermes, who were both of them men of very superior talents, which they devoted to his service with great effect.

Having completed the conquest of northern and middle Africa, and the Tyrian colonies in Spain, he resolved on another grand expedition, in which he should visit and subdue all the nations of the earth. Pursuant to this resolution, he marched from Egypt with an immense army, traversed the countries of Asia as far as India, and returning by a more northern route, proceeded through Asia Minor into Greece, claiming divine honours wherever he came¹⁰; a claim, which it appears that very few were willing to dispute, and those few were sacrificed to the pride of the conqueror¹¹; in fact, he seemed to think the whole world created only for his gratification, the princes to be his slaves, and their wives and daughters to minister to his pleasures¹².

⁹ There is a striking similarity between his history and that of Alexander the Great, of which the latter was not a little vain, even so far as to copy him in his vices, some of which were most degrading and detestable. His flatterers went so far as to say that he was not the son of Philip, but of Osiris, who they said visited his mother Olympus in the form of a serpent.

¹⁰ It is not very surprising that Osiris should assume divine honours in such an age. His father, whose exploits were far inferior, had been deified as a Baal or Belus.

¹¹ Pentheus, the grandson of Cadmus, Myrhanus, an Indian prince, and Lycurgus, king of Thrace were put to death on this account. See note 11, on p. 81.

¹² While he was in Phrygia, Niobe the daughter of Tantalus was brought to him, and was said to be the first mortal with whom he cohabited, that is, she was

While he was preparing to cross the Hellespont, Glaucus his admiral, who was cruising in the Archipelago, brought him a prize well suited to his inclinations, the princess Ariadne, the young and beautiful daughter of Minos king of Crete¹³. He captured her at the Isle of Naxos, whither she had been brought by Theseus on their way from Crete to Athens.

Osiris married her at Samos, making her a partaker of those idolatrous honours which he arrogated to himself and his family. It was probably on this occasion that she received the name of Ariadne, which signifies Juno-dominā, and hence mythologists call Samos the birth-place of Juno or Arai, (Greek Ἄρη), that is, the place where she received divine life¹⁴.

She thence accompanied Osiris into Greece¹⁵, where she died, and was enshrined at Argos with a temple and priestesses¹⁶. This was the Juno-Argiva.

the first woman, not deified, with whom the Greeks knew him to have intercourse. This Niobe has been confounded with Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus, either through ignorance or design. As all the family of Osiris was worshipped, Niobe aspired to honours of the kind, and was cruelly punished by Orus and Bubaste.

¹³ Both Pausanias and Diodorus Siculus tells us that Ariadne was taken by force from Theseus, and that grief for her loss caused him to forget to make the appointed signal to Ægeus, who concluding him to be dead, drowned himself. "Τὴν δὲ Ἀριάδην κατὰ τινα ἐπιτυχῶν δαίμονα, ἢ κατ' ἐπιτηδὲς αὐτὴν λοχίσσας, ἀφείλετο Θησία ἐπιτλεύσας Διδύμοις στόλω μείζονι." Pausanias, Lib. X. Cap. xxix.

¹⁴ M. L'Enfant says that the anointing day of kings was sometimes called their birthday, for which Heinsius also produces some authorities.

¹⁵ The story of Ixion seems to belong to this place, and when stripped of the fabulous and poetical, was probably nearly as follows. When the household of Osiris was passing through Thessaly on its way to Argos, Ixion, a prince of that wild mountainous country, made a predatory attack, and so far succeeded as to capture several horses, on which he mounted his followers. He also captured an attendant of the queen, named Nephelē, whom he married. It would seem from the legend that he captured her thinking her the queen. However he afterwards fell into the power of Osiris, who put him to death by fastening him to a wheel, whose motion destroyed him.

¹⁶ Pausanias says, that part of Argos was called the Cretan district, on account of Ariadne being there interred. "Κρησίον δὲ ἄνωγειον ἠνομάσθη διὰ τὴν Ἀριάδην ἀποθανούσαν ἰθαγενῆ ἐνταῦθα. Λυκίαι δὲ λέγει κατασκευαζομένου δεύτερον τοῦ ναοῦ κεραμεῖαν εὐρεθῆναι σόρον, εἶναι Ἀριάδνης αὐτὴν. Καὶ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀργείων ἰδεῖν ἔφη τὴν σόρον." Pausanias, Lib. II. Cap. xxiii.

"It was called the Cretan part because they buried Ariadne there, and Lyceas relates that when the temple was rebuilding, there was found an earthen urn, in which the remains of Ariadne had been deposited, which he saw himself, and it was also seen by many others of the Argives."

The jealousy of Ariadne towards the concubines of Osiris was most cruel and sanguinary; she sought incessantly to destroy them and their children by Osiris. Io, the daughter of Jasos, she deprived of her reason, probably by some deleterious drug; she caused Semele to be burnt to death in her apartment; she employed the midwife who attended Alcmena to kill her and her infant son; and afterwards had two large serpents conveyed into the chamber where the child was asleep in his cradle, for the purpose of destroying him.

Some have thought that Danaë the mother of Perseus was the Juno-Argiva; but a little attention to the circumstances will shew that this could not be the case. Juno is always styled Croniade or Saturnia, which could only apply to Ariadne, who was the granddaughter of Cronos or Saturn. Danaë was not, in any sense, born at Samos, nor did she receive divine honours during her life; two circumstances belonging to the Juno of the Greeks, whose jealousies and family squabbles have furnished Homer and other poets with such strange incidents, for them to make still stranger by exaggerations of their own.

The first priestess of Juno-Argiva was Callithea daughter of Pirasus¹⁷ the son of Argus.

The second was Alcinoe the daughter of Sthenelus.

The third was Hypermnestra the daughter of Danaüs.

The fourth was Admeta the daughter of Eurystheus, who was priestess at the time of the Trojan war.

In early life and previous to his great expeditions, Osiris had married Isis or Isea, the daughter of his uncle Agenor, likewise known by the name of Cepheus¹⁸, king of Phœnicia. This princess seems to have possessed in a very eminent degree, the talents and qualities requisite for governing a kingdom. When Osiris was going out on his expe-

¹⁷ Pirasus or Perseus, the son of Proetus or Argos.

¹⁸ Agenor and Cepheus appear to have been the same; they reigned at the same time in Phœnicia, and each had a queen named Cassiope. Agenor reigned a great while, had five, or according to some, six wives, and a numerous offspring, some of whom were leading characters in the history of that age, as Cadmus, Phoenix, Cilix, Isis, Europa, Andromeda. Arabia Petraea or Cephæa was probably subject to him, and he might thence take the name of Cepheus, especially if he conquered it for himself.

dition to India, he left Isis regent of Egypt¹⁹, with his brother Toth or Armais, called Hermes by the Greeks, as prime minister, to assist her in the government; Python his other brother had the office of High Admiral, with the charge of the river, Mediterranean, &c.; and Arcles, called the Egyptian Hercules, who was his kinsman, and in whose courage and fidelity Osiris reposed entire confidence, was left general in his absence, with a suitable army for the protection of Egypt. Osiris had in his train many remarkable characters, Mars taught the culture of the vine; Triptolemus the raising of corn; Pan commanded a body of irregular troops from Ethiopia called Satyrs²⁰, and Macedo and Perses, two of his officers, were enabled to form settlements, which bore their names, and became afterwards the mighty empires of Persia and Macedon²¹. Osiris had also with him, as we have already observed, a troop of female warriors, under a commander of their own sex, and a choir of virgins skilled in music, of which he was passionately fond, as well as of every thing else which contributed to hilarity and sensual gratification.

His favourite attendant and the minister of his pleasures, was a person named Æetes or Ætos, who has been immortalised by statuaries in the form of an eagle²², attending on Jupiter. The poets having already turned his equivocal name to good account in embellishing their compositions.

This man received the newly formed kingdom of Colchos

¹⁹ "Τὸν δὲ Ὀσίριον λέγουσιν, ὡς περ εὐεργετικὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόδοξον, στρατόπεδον μέγα συστήσασθαι. — Τὸν δὲ Ὀσίριον φασὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστήσαντα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἰσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτη μὲν παρακαταστήσαι σύμβουλον τὸν Ἑρμῆν, διὰ τὸ φρονηθεῖν τοῦτον διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων φίλων καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἐπιλιπεῖν ἀπάσης τῆς ὑφ' αὐτὸν χώρας Ἑρακλῆα γένοι τε προσήκοντα καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ἐπ' ἀνδρεία τε καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ. Ἐπιμελητὰς δὲ τάξει τῶν μὲν πρὸς Φοινίκη κεκλιμένων μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων Βούσιριν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ Λιβύην Ἀνταῖον, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐξ Αἴγυπτον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνηξέσθαι πρὸς τὴν στρατίαν." Diiod. Sic. Lib. I. Busiris and Antæus, two of his nephews, had also important provinces assigned to them.

²⁰ "Ὅντι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἀχθῆναι λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τῶν σατύρων γένος." Diiod. Sic. Lib. I.

²¹ Lusius, another of his captains, had obtained a province west of Spain, from him called Lusitania, now Portugal.

²² His name signifying an eagle naturally suggested this.

on the Euxine sea²³, as the reward of his disgraceful services, with the charge of Prometheus the nephew of Osiris, as a state prisoner, who was thus punished for ridiculing his assumed divinity²⁴, and also under suspicion of some treasonable practices.

When Osiris took possession of Greece, it appears that his officers, according to the ancient barbarous usage of conquest, brought him all the young females of rank and beauty, the wives and daughters of the princes of the country; these he retained during his stay in Greece, and by them had several children.

At length the Greeks, irritated by the degrading servitude to which they were reduced by invaders, who treated them as beings of an inferior species, and inspirited by the manly and successful resistance of the Scythians, made a desperate effort to regain their liberty; for this purpose they united their forces under the command of Perseus king of Mycenæ, the most powerful of their chieftains, and were aided by the Thracians under Mopsus, and the Scythians under Sipylos; with their joint forces they attacked the camp of Osiris.

The tremendous ferocity and brute force displayed by the assailants on this occasion, are represented by the poets under the figure of giants endeavouring to storm heaven, and using blazing trees, rocks and mountains, as their missile weapons.

This battle was fought, according to Pausanias, at a fountain called Olympias²⁵, in the valley called Bathos, near

²³ He held this kingdom about 30 years, until the Argonautic expedition, in which the Theban Hercules killed Æetes and liberated Prometheus, or as the poets elegantly expressed it, killed the eagle which gnawed the liver of Prometheus, an expression often used by the ancients, implying continued severe annoyance. From this northern Titan kingdom of Colchos, the Teutonic tribe in the north of Europe most probably originated.

²⁴ Osiris wished to abolish or supersede all the former local superstitions, and to establish his own worship every where in their place. He even commanded the Bull, which had been for ages the great object of adoration in Egypt, to be sacrificed to himself. His nephew Prometheus endeavoured to dissuade him from this by raillery, and suffered severely for his presumption. Cassander narrowly escaped being put to death by Alexander the Great for a similar offence.

²⁵ " Βάθος ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐνθα ἄγουσι τελετὴν διὰ ἔτους τρίτου θεαῖς μεγάλας. Καὶ πηγὴ τε αὐτῆσι ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπιάς καλουμένη, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν

the river Alpheus; but the poets transferred the scene by a little change of name, to mount Olympus, a place more suited to the sublime idea of giants attacking deities, and attempting to scale the battlements of heaven²⁶.

Although in these encounters, Osiris and his Egyptians, through their superior tactics and discipline, at first repulsed the enemy with great slaughter²⁷, their own situation soon became critical, and they retreated or rather fled precipitately from Greece²⁸. In their last battle, Perseus killed Medusa²⁹, the name given by ancient mythologists to Minerva whenever any thing is recorded to her disadvantage. He cut off her head, which he brought away as a trophy, and fastened it to the gate of one of the temples at Athens, but her body was carried off and buried near Troy³⁰. From this circum-

ἐνταυτῶν οὐκ ἀπορρέουσα. Καὶ πλησίον τῆς πηγῆς πῦρ ἀνίστη. Λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες τῆν λεγομένην Γυγάρτων μάχην καὶ Θεῶν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ Θρακίᾳ γενέσθαι Παλλήνην." Pausanias, Lib. VIII. Cap. xxix.

²⁶ For the same reason the poets transferred the story of Pluto and Proserpine from the neighbourhood of Corinth, where the prose authors record it to have taken place, to Mount Ætna in Sicily, as a place more resembling the precincts of Hell.

The fable of Jupiter burying some of the giants under mountains, may perhaps arise from his burying alive some of the fierce Pelasgian chiefs under (at the foot of) their own mountains. Such treatment of prisoners would be quite in accordance with the character of Osiris.

²⁷ Pausanias thus refers to one of those battles,

"Τὸ δὲ μῦθος τὸ πλησίον Χωρίας Μαινάδος ὀνομάζουσι, Διούσω λέγοντες καὶ ἄλλας γυναῖκας καὶ ταύτην ἐν Ἄργος συστρατεύσασθαι. Περσέα δὲ ὡς ἐκράτει τῆς μάχης, φονεῦσαι τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς πολλὰς." Pausanias, Lib. II.

"Proximum monumentum Choris Mænadis appellant, Liberi enim Patris castra et alias fœminas, et hanc secutam, quum ille Argos exercitum duceret, memorant. At Perseum dum victoria potiretur, ex illis fœminis multas occidisse."

²⁸ Their total destruction is said to have been prevented by the arrival of Arcles with a body of troops from Egypt.

²⁹ Mr Bryant in his treatise shews that Minerva and Medusa were the same.

³⁰ The tumulus was probably raised originally over the remains of Batia, the daughter of Teucer, and wife of Dardanus king of Troy, and again opened to receive the body of Minerva.

"Ἔστι δὲ τις προπάρσιθε πόλεως αἰετὶα κολωνίη,

Ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε, περιδρομον ἔμβα καὶ ἔμβα

Τὴν ἦτοι ἄνδρες Βατιάϊαν κικλήσκουσιν,

Ἄθάνατοι δὲ τε σῆμα πολυκάρθμου Μυρίνης."

Homer, Iliad II. 811.

————— In Ilium's front

On a smooth spot, a hillock lifts its head,

On earth the mount of Batia named,

But Amazon Myrina's tomb in heaven." Cowper.

stance it is probable that they were pursued across the Hellespont, and that the last battle was fought near Troy.

The exploits of the Amazons make a conspicuous figure in the legendary accounts of the Heroic age. The manifest absurdity of these accounts has induced many to condemn the whole as a poetical fable. I am, however, induced to account for so much smoke, by supposing that a little fire actually existed, and I believe that when sifted, the truth concerning them may be told in a few words, as follows:

Minerva or Medusa brought with her from Libya a troop of young females, mounted and armed. As Osiris was exceedingly fond of pageantry and pompous processions, a troop of handsome women, elegantly mounted and splendidly armed and caparisoned, would doubtless make a fine appearance and seem quite to his taste. We may indeed readily conceive that they were intended rather for shew than for actual service. Moreover from the title or name, "Chorias Mainados," on the tomb, noticed by Pausanias, they appear to have been singing bacchantes, who sang the hymns in praise of Bacchus as they marched in procession, a custom which we find prevailed afterwards among the Greeks³¹.

While Osiris remained in Greece, Minerva spent much of her time at Athens, to which city her favour with the king enabled her to be a great benefactress, and it appears that her troop of Amazons were quartered there with her, as some of them were buried there and their tombs existed for many centuries.

Many of them we are told were killed in the battles with Perseus, and the remainder fell in attempting to retreat across the river Thermodon in Bœotia³².

As to the accounts of their founding a female kingdom on the river Thermodon in Asia Minor, their queens, wars, and conquests, invading Attica, &c., it seems all a monstrous poetical fiction, which took its rise from the two rivers bearing the same name.

³¹ The Greeks usually sang in their public processions, and when advancing to battle they sang the Pœan to Apollo, beating time on their shields.

³² That Theseus was in the battle at the Thermodon, and there captured Hippolyte, is probable enough, but as to the Theban Hercules, he was then but an infant. Calliope, one of the Muses, was the prize of Cægrus king of Thrace, to whom she bore Orpheus.

As to what some authors say of the Scythians following up the victory, and pursuing Osiris into Egypt until stopped by the river Nile, such could scarcely have occurred without being severely felt in Israel and Judah, and of course mentioned in the sacred records.

The allies most probably returned home well satisfied with the glory and plunder which they had acquired.

To those who attend to the philosophy of history, and find pleasure in tracing the great movements of the human race to their true causes, it may be interesting to remark, that the most painful and degrading circumstance in the conduct of Osiris towards the princes of Greece, became afterwards their ruling motive in permanently establishing his worship in that country.

The terms on which he lived with the Greek princesses could admit of no medium character. They must either be disgraced for ever as the concubines of a foreign invader, and their children as his illegitimate offspring also disgraced, and set aside from the succession; or they might be honoured as the peculiar favourites of Jupiter-tonans, and their children would then be considered as heroes; demigods by prescription, with their claims to sovereignty confirmed by the established religious system of the country.

There was only one way left to heal those wounds by which the honourable feelings of every great family in Greece had been lacerated. The temples, the altars, and the priests must be continued and supported; and the prince himself must at least profess to believe what he compelled his subjects to reverence.

This coalition of state policy with priestcraft wanted nothing but the imagination of the bard³³ and the licence of poetry, to embellish each subject with supernatural, or at least preternatural circumstances. The persons deified must no longer walk like mortals³⁴; their horses must have wings and breathe fire; their enemies also must undergo suitable

³³ "Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὀμηρον ἠλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι, οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλληνισι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες." Herodotus, *lib. II. Cap. LIII.*

³⁴ "Vera incessu patuit Dea." Virgil, *Æneid, lib. I. 409.*

transformations; horrible giants and monsters must have the fatal honour of driving these deities out of Greece, and are by the poet condemned to endless torments in Tartarus for delivering their country.

To complete their system, the priests had recourse to some other artifices. When some generations had passed away and left them secure from the danger of personal contradiction, they ventured boldly to falsify both persons and dates, so as to make it appear that the invasion of Osiris was not the first appearance of him and the other deities in Greece.

They pretended and altered the records in the temples, so as to confirm their statements, that Osiris or Jupiter had visited Greece at various times previous. Some of these visits they pretended to have been more than five hundred years before the time of Theseus; thus proving to their ignorant followers that he could not be a mere mortal.

They said that his favourite Io was the daughter of Inachus, and not of Jasios; that Niobe was daughter of Phoroneus, instead of Tantalus; that not Proetus but Jupiter was father of Perseus; they also made him father of Dardanus, Minos the Great, and many others who were born long before himself; some went even so far as to make him father to his own father Belus.

They also said that Hermione the wife of Cadmus, instead of being sister to Dardanus, was the other Hermione³⁵, the daughter of Mars and Venus. They acted thus whenever the name would assist the deception.

Another artifice of the priests was to forge genealogies for their deities and heroes, and to interpolate fictitious reigns, by this means giving the appearance of a very remote antiquity to whatever related to them. The falsified and immoderate length which they set down for each reign, also contributed largely to this object; and as any person presuming to question the truth of their statements was in danger of being treated both as a traitor to the state and a blasphemer of the gods, few were found hardy enough to risk the double penalty.

³⁵ They represented Venus as mother to the wife of Cadmus, and also mother of Æneas, who was born about a century later.

To shew the reader the mode and degree of this chronological deception, I give a short extract from the tables; in which, although the Grecian concubines of Osiris were really cotemporary, they have made his concerns with them extend over a period of near six hundred years. In the tables we find,

	B. C.		B. C.
Jupiter and Io	1856	Jupiter and Semele ...	1430
..... Niobe ...	1780	..... Antiope...	1391
..... Calisto...	1550	..... Ganymede	1380
..... Electra..	1500	..... Alcmena	1274

Further, as each of their deities in general had more than one name or title, any disgraceful circumstance tending to lower one of them in public estimation, if too notorious to be suppressed, was given under another name and not that held most honourable. Thus Medusa was loaded with all the unpleasant part of the character of their great favourite Minerva, and with her mortality by the sword of Perseus³⁶. Horus was also divided into two deities. Whatever was dignified and elegant was ascribed to Apollo, the patron of the arts and companion of the muses; his savage ferocity and love of war were assigned to Ares³⁷ or Mars.

By having two or more names for the same deity, they were likewise enabled to multiply their temples and ceremonies, and consequently the offerings and emoluments.

Isis was also worshipped as Ceres, Apollo as Mars, and Hermes had various titles and attributes, with as various temples and establishments.

This profligate polytheism affording sanction and example to gross vices and horrible crimes³⁸, must have greatly corrupted the morals of the Greeks; at the same time it was the chief cause of the introduction of the arts and sciences.

³⁶ Mr Bryant in his treatise proves that Minerva and Medusa were the same, and that Ares or Mars was the same with Horus or Apollo.

³⁷ Ares is a corruption of Orus, Mavors or Mars comes from מאור *Maur*, a luminary, and in fact is equivalent to his other name הורוס *the sun*, which in some lists is written Horus, and in others Cheres.

³⁸ They represented Alcmena as being the great-graunddaughter of Osiris by Danae, this was false. But what they said as to his own daughter Proserpine, and as to Ganymede, seems but too true. True or false, these legends had a shocking effect on a licentious people, living in a warm climate.

The profuse liberality of princes and states in building and ornamenting their temples, created a fine taste for architecture and sculpture. The services, processions, and public spectacles, gave full encouragement to poetry and music. Architecture could make no great progress without the cultivation of geometry, which again prepared the way for logic and ethical discussions; logic and poetry became the parents of eloquence. In some time Greece excelled her Egyptian and Phœnician teachers in all the arts of peace and war, and became the great school of refinement to the civilised world.

When philosophy had made considerable progress in Greece, those who saw through the absurdity of the reigning superstitions, and were disgusted by their grossness, thought it their safest course not to combat them directly, but to explain them as mystically relating to the elements of the material world, and this in many instances merged into absolute atheism. But as to an opinion entertained by some moderns, that the deities of the Greeks had reference originally to the elements of nature, it is certainly without foundation. Some even thought that Homer had materialism in view, when he mentions the interference of the deities; that Apollo means merely the sun, Jupiter the air, &c. &c.³⁹; but this is refining gratuitously on the subject. Those subtleties and mystical meanings were not thought of until many centuries after the days of Homer⁴⁰. Socrates held and taught some opinions

³⁹ The notes to Pope's Homer, which are chiefly taken from Eustathius, are written with this view of the subject.

⁴⁰ Cicero gives this as his decided judgment:

"Si vero scrutari vetera, et ex his ea, quæ scriptores Græciæ prodiderunt, eruere coner: ipsi illi, majorum gentium dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in celum reperientur. Quære, quorum demonstrantur sepulcra in Græcia: reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quæ tradantur mysteriis: tum denique, quam hoc late pateat, intelliges. Sed qui nondum ea, quæ multis post annis tractari cepissent, physica didicissent," &c. *Tuscul. Quæstiones, Lib. I. Cap. xxxix.*

And in the treatise de Natura Deorum, after introducing Chrysippus as a philosopher "who was esteemed the most subtle interpreter of the dreams of the Stoics," among other dogmas ascribes to him the following: "Idemque disputat, æthera esse eum, quem homines Jovem appellant; quique aer per maria manaret, eum esse Neptunum: terram eam, quæ Ceres diceretur. Similique ratione persequitur vocabula reliquorum deorum: idemque etiam legis perpetuæ et æternæ vim, quæ quasi dux vitæ, et magistra officiorum sit, Jovem dicit esse; eademque fatalem necessitatem appellat, sempiternam, rerum futurarum veritatem: quorum nihil tale est, ut in eo vis

of the kind and suffered death on account of them; and Alcibiades his disciple, imbibed his free ideas and narrowly escaped the fate of his teacher. But in fact, *dæmonolatry* is the very opposite to materialism; and *dæmonolatry* or the worship of departed heroes was the religion of Greece even in the time of St Paul, above eight hundred years after the age in which Homer wrote, "*Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ,*" is his language to the Athenians, (Acts xvii. 22); and that we may not mistake the meaning of the expression here used, it is fully explained by the conduct of the people at Lystra, who offered to worship the apostles, supposing them to be their deities Zeus and Hermes.

Diodorus Siculus expressly declares, that Osiris, the Jupiter of the Greeks, was a man worshipped for the splendid benefits conferred by him on his country⁴¹ and mankind; and that his associate deities were likewise men and women whom gratitude or fear raised into objects of worship.

Osiris or Sesostris returned to Egypt loaded with spoils, and bringing a multitude of captives from the conquered countries, in which he set up pillars or obelisks with inscriptions and hieroglyphics to mark his progress⁴².

divina inesse videatur. Et hæc quidem in primo libro de Natura Deorum. In secundo autem vult Orphei, Musæi, Hesiodi, Homerique fabellas accommodare ad ea, quæ ipse primo libro de diis immortalibus dixerit: ut etiam veterrimi poetæ, qui hæc ne suspicari quidem sint, Stoici fuisse videantur."

"He maintains the sky to be what men call Jupiter; the air which pervades the sea to be Neptune; and the earth Ceres. In like manner he applies the names of the other deities. He says that Jupiter is that immutable and eternal law which guides and directs us in our conduct; and this he calls fatal necessity, the everlasting verity of future events. But none of all these seem to carry any indication of divine virtue in them. These are the doctrines contained in his first book of the nature of the Gods. In the second he endeavours to accommodate the fables of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, and Homer, to what he had advanced in the first; that the most ancient poets, who never even thought of these things, might seem to have been Stoics." Cicero de Nat. Deorum, Lib. 1.

⁴¹ "*Ἐπανελθόντα δ' εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον συναποκομίσει δωρὰ τε πανταχόθεν τὰ κράτιστα, καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν συμπεφωνημένην λαβεῖν παρὰ πᾶσι τὴν ἀθανασία, καὶ τὴν ἰσὴν τοῖς οὐρανόις τιμὴν.*" "Reverens in Ægyptum domo undecunque locorum præstantissima secum retulit, et ob beneficiorum magnitudinem, communi omnium consensu, immortalitatis præmium paremque Diis celestibus honorem adeptus est." Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 12.

⁴² "*Ταῦτα δὲ ποίει, διεξήκει τὴν ἡπειρὸν ἐς δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβάς, τοὺς τε Σκυθὰς κατεστράφητο καὶ τοὺς Θρηάκας. ἐς τοῦτους δὲ μοι δοκεῖ*

Justin, or rather Trogus Pompeius, whose work he abridged, erred greatly in saying that Sesostris fought only for glory, and not for empire; his object was universal empire, and he attained it perhaps as far as it was attainable at the time. Beside Colchos on the Euxine sea, he left fortresses and garrisons along the river Euphrates and in various other places.

Assyria and Persia were in the possession of Egypt at the time of the Trojan war. The troops which Memnon led to Troy, were brought from those countries⁴³. Egypt probably held those countries until the great increase of the Assyrian power under Belus and his son Ninus. Pha-

καὶ οὐ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιοι στρατῶν, ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρα φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στήλαι· τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκετι." "Hæc faciendo peragrabat continentem, donec ex Asia in Europam transgressus, Scythas subegit et Thracas; ad quos usque et non ulterius mihi videtur Ægyptius exercitus pervenisse, quoniam in istorum terra tituli positi apparent, non ultra." Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. ciii.

Diodorus Siculus relates the same transactions thus: "Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας ἀπολελοιπέναι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν, δι' ὧν προαχθέντας τοὺς μεταγευστέρους τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀμφισβητήσαι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγοντας Ἰνδὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος. γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων θήραν, καὶ στήλας καταλιπεῖν πανταχοῦ τῆς ἰδίας στρατείας. ἐπελθεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔθνη, καὶ περαιωθῆναι κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Θράκην Λυκούργον τὸν βασιλεῖα τῶν βαρβάρων ἐναντιούμενον τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρᾶττομένοις ἀποκτείνειν." "Multa insuper alia sui in terras illas adventus signa reliquit, quibus Indi posteriores inducti controversiam movent super hoc deo; et natione Indum esse contendunt. Elephantorum quoque venationi operam dedit, et ubique indices expeditionis suæ statuit ut superessent accuravit. Progressus inde ad cæteras nationes Asiæ, per Hellespontum in Europam etiam transfretavit, inque Thracia Lycurgum Barbarorum regem, ceptis ejus obsistentem interemit." Diod. Sic. Lib. i.

⁴³ "Ἀφίκετο μέντοι ἐν Ἰλιον οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰθιοπίας, ἀλλὰ ἐκ Σουσιῶν τῶν Περσικῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοασποῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ ἔθνη πάντα ὅσα ἕκει μεταξὺ ὑποχείρια πεποιημένοι, Φρύγες δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπι ἀποφαίνουσι, δι' ἧς τὴν στρατείαν ἤγαγε, τὰ ἐπίτομα ἐκλεγόμενος τῆς χώρας." "Venit tamen ad bellum Trojanorum, non ex Æthiopia, sed ex Susis Persarum urbe; debellatis omnibus nationibus quæ mediæ sunt, usque ad Choespen flumen. Monstrant etiam nunc Phryges quo itinere exercitum duxerit, dum locorum compendia consecraretur." Pausanias, Lib. x. p. 87.

Strabo, Lib. xv. says that Susa was built by Memnon, and Herodotus says that the country about it was called Κισσίη. At this day the Persians call that country Khunistan; but Ethiopia being also called Cuss or Cush, from the Cussites settled there, led many Greek authors into error; and among the rest the Septuagint translators, who repeatedly mistake Kussiana or Khunistan for Ethiopia.

Memnon succeeded his father Tithonus as governor of those countries under the king of Egypt.

raoh Necho attempted to regain possession of them in the time of Josiah king of Judah, and had some temporary success, but was soon forced to retire by Nebuchadnezzar.

Osiris, after his return home, commenced various public works in Egypt on a most magnificent scale; he built a number of cities, which he named after himself and the chief companions of his expeditions, with superb temples for his and their worship⁴⁴. For his own residence he built one of the noblest cities of antiquity,—Thebes the capital of Upper Egypt, celebrated by Homer for its hundred gates⁴⁵; which report, other writers think with apparent correctness, referred to the numerous porches and porticoes of its temples and other public buildings⁴⁶.

He confined the river Nile by great embankments, so as to prevent the annual inundations from injuring the country; and made canals from the river in various directions, to communicate the advantages of irrigation to every place possible⁴⁷. By the advice, and with the assistance of his brother Toth or Armais, he likewise divided Egypt into districts called Nomes by the Greeks.

Intoxicated with his overgrown power and the adulation or rather adoration universally offered to him, the pride and arrogance of Osiris knew no bounds; in every thing he as-

⁴⁴ Greek names of cities built by Osiris.

Antaeopolis,	Diospolis (Thebes),	Heropolis (Python),
Aphroditopolis,	Heliopolis,	Letopolis,
Apollinopolis,	Heracleopolis,	Lycopolis,
Bubastis,	Hermopolis,	Panopolis.

⁴⁵ "οὐδ' ὄσα θήβας

Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλείστα δόμοι ἐν κτήματα κείται,
 Αἱ θ' ἑκατόμυθοι εἰσι, θεκρόσι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστην
 Ἄνῆρες ἐξοικνεύει σὺν ἴπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφι."

"nec quot Thebes

Ægyptias, ubi plurimæ in domibus opes recondite jacent;

Quæ et centum habet portas, duceni autem per unamquamque,

Viri egrediuntur cum equis et curribus" Homer, *Iliad* ix. 381.

⁴⁶ "Ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ οὐ πύλας ἑκατὸν ἐσχηκέαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ μέγαρα προπύλαια τῶν ἱερῶν." "Tametsi sunt qui non centum portas habuisse urbem asserant, sed multa et ingentia templorum vestibula." *Diod. Sic. Lib. i.* p. 29.

⁴⁷ "Τὸν δ' οὖν Ὅσιριν παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἕροις, τῶν ποταμῶν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν χώμασιν ἀναλαβεῖν." *Diod. Sic. Lib. i.* p. 12.

sumed the deity and required prostration; he even carried this insolence so far, as to have his chariot drawn by captive kings when he appeared in public.

To free themselves from such a master, the princes of Egypt formed a conspiracy, at the head of which were his own brothers Python and Armais, the former of whom had his name altered by transposition to Typhon (Thu-phon) or the deicide⁴⁵, for his conduct in that transaction. Osiris was assassinated at a banquet, and his body cut in pieces by the conspirators, each of whom took a part of it⁴⁶, both, as is supposed, to conceal the manner of his death, and as a pledge of mutual fidelity.

Thus fell the great Osiris, the hero of the Heroic age, a man whose exorbitant pride no human honours could satisfy; whose talents, courage and insatiable thirst for dominion, made him a model for the imitation of all subsequent conquerors; and whose vices, natural and unnatural, have furnished the most profligate of the heathen world with an example and an apology for every crime. What must have been the body of that religion which acknowledged such a head, and how impure must have been the temples devoted to such a deity!

⁴⁵ "Φασί γάρ νομίμως βασιλεύοντα τῆν Αἰγύπτου τὸν Ὀσίριν ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, βίαιον καὶ ἀσεβοῦς ὄντος, ὃν διελέντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φονευθέντος εἰς ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι μέρη, δοῦναι τῶν συνεπιθεμένων ἑκάστῳ μέρος, βουλόμενον πάντας μετασχεῖν τοῦ μύστου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νομίζοντα συναγνοστάς ἔξαι καὶ φύλακας τῆς βασιλείας βεβαίους." Diod. Sic. Lib. 1.

⁴⁶ One author has the following brief mythological notice on the subject, "Bacchus during the giant's war distinguished himself greatly in the form of a lion; but was afterwards cut in pieces by the Titans."

It is supposed that Romulus was treated in the same manner by the senators of Rome, because they thought him inclining to despotism.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE SUCCESSORS OF OSIRIS.

Horus escaped from the danger in which his father perished, and was supported by Arcles and the troops under his command; but the conspirators kept possession of part of Egypt and some of the provinces, during about four or five years of protracted rebellion, called the war of the Titans.

The affairs of the rebel princes at length beginning to wear a doubtful appearance, Toth or Armais sailed with about 50 females of rank belonging to his party, and sought an asylum at Argos¹. Isis and her daughter Proserpine, it appears, travelled with him on this occasion². We are told that he sailed in a galley with 50 oars, covering the true cause of his coming with some ingenious story, and saying that his brother Ægyptus was king of Egypt³. The name Ægyptus here, no doubt, referred to Python⁴; it could not mean Osiris, who was four or five years dead, and whose

¹ Larcher, in commenting on Herodotus, involves himself in such a labyrinth, that to extricate himself he supposes two chiefs of the name of Danaus; but this is wholly gratuitous, and contrary to the sense of both Herodotus and Pausanias.

² These females who sailed with Danaus are called Danaïdes by the poets with their usual licence of language; some of them were probably his own daughters, others the wives and daughters, and attendants of his friends and relatives; such expressions were anciently used with considerable latitude in the east. The Eleusinian mysteries were brought to Greece by these Danaïdes according to Herodotus; but we also know that this was done by Isis or Ceres the widow of Osiris. The number fifty is also poetical, a certain number for an uncertain.

³ Danaus was most probably sent to place the wives and children and transportable treasures of his party in some place of safety, and to provide a suitable asylum for the remainder in case of ultimate defeat. We are informed how faithfully he executed his mission.

Isis was with Horus in the beginning of the war, but afterwards was taken by Python, who compelled her to marry him, that he might avail himself of her great influence. In those times and countries it was not unusual for a man to marry his brother's widow. Some disagreement had also arisen between her and her son Horus. The issue of all was that she came to Greece with Danaus.

⁴ The name was perhaps formed from Ægæus and Python. It is remarkable that he should give his name to Egypt, where his reign was so short, and that Danaus, whose reign at Argos was also short, should give his name to the inhabitants of Greece.

death with the subsequent occurrences must have been known in Greece. Danaus came to Argos at a critical juncture, when the throne had just become vacant by the death of Sthenelus, and a successor was to be chosen. The eloquence and affability of Danaus and the reputation of his great talents, with which they had been formerly well acquainted, were probably the motives which induced the people of Argos to elect him in preference to Gelanor the regular heir⁵. It is also said that they acted under the influence of an omen, according to the superstition of the times.

In the mean while Horus waged successful war against Python, whom he defeated and killed⁶, and on account of this victory took the name of Pythius, and instituted commemorative games.

Busiris was defeated and killed by Arcles; Antæus, another of Python's sons, after two partial defeats, was driven from his government of Libya, and also overpowered and killed by Arcles. There were two other brothers named Atlas and Hesperus, these Arcles defeated and drove out of Africa into Spain. The other Titan chiefs fled to Argos, hoping probably to share the prosperous fortunes of Armais; but whether he was jealous of their number and power, or had detected some conspiracy against himself, while he was diffident of the attachment of his new subjects, he had recourse to a most horrible expedient for the security of his throne. He caused his newly arrived friends, many of them his near relatives, to be perfidiously and cruelly murdered in their beds, with the single exception, it is said, of Lynceus his son-in-law. That their own wives were instrumental, seems to me highly improbable as well as wholly unnecessary.

After Armais or Danaus (or speaking more correctly Hermes or Aidoneus) had reigned some years⁷ at Argos, he

⁵ Osiris held his court a good while at Argos, and Hermes spent some time there with him.

⁶ "Τὴν δὲ Ἴσιον ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν Ὀσίριδος καὶ γυναῖκα, μετελθεῖν τοῦ φόνου συναγωνιζομένου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς Ὄρου, ἀνελούσαν δὲ τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ τοὺς συμπράξαντας, βασιλεύσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου."

⁷ "At Isia soror et conjux Osiridis, auxiliante filio suo Horo, vindictam cædia persequens, supplicio de Typhone complicitibusque sumpto, regnum Ægypti capessit." Dioid. Sic. Lib. 1.

⁷ About eight or nine years. See Part II. Chap. XIII.

was dethroned by Lynceus his son-in-law, and retired with his followers to Thesprotis in Orcus, carrying with him Proserpine the beautiful daughter of Isis⁸.

Isis travelled to the different cities of Greece in search of her daughter, and taught the people the Egyptian practice of agriculture, a branch of knowledge in which they were very deficient; she also taught those superstitious people the mysterious ceremonies to be used at seed time and harvest, &c. which they believed would bring down a divine blessing on their labours.

We must now turn to the affairs of Egypt. Horus, finding himself delivered from the rebellious Titan princes, and established on the throne, took signal vengeance on those who had been concerned in the rebellion, or were otherwise obnoxious to him. He received the epithets of Φοῖβος and Ἀπολλων (Phœbus and Apollo), the terrible⁹ and the destroyer, on account of the numbers which he sacrificed in various ways to the manes of his father, and to his own proud vindictive spirit.

His subjects were at length disgusted and driven to rebellion by his cruelty and oppression, and called to their assistance the king of Ethiopia, who is called Actisanes by some historians. The event of which was, that Horus was defeated and drowned in the Nile or Eridanus¹⁰. The

⁸ Pausanias, with every appearance of correctness, places the carrying off of Proserpine in the Corinthian territory, and near Lernæ. “*Ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐθείαν, τὸν τε Ἐρασίον διαβήσῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Χείμαρρον ποταμὸν ἀφίξῃ, πλήσιον δὲ αὐτοῦ περίβολον ἐστὶ λίθων, καὶ τὸν Πλουτώνα ἀρπάξαντα ὡς λέγεται κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος, καταβήναι ταύτη φασὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπόγειον νομιζομένην ἀρχήν.*” “*Jam si in rectam viam redieris, Erasinum trajicies, et ad Chimmarrum amnem pervenies. Juxta est lapidibus septum: hac Plutonem fama est rapta Proserpina, ad ea quæ sub terris esse homines putant, regna descendisse.*” Pausanias, Lib. II. Cap. xxxvi.

But the poets, who gave every incident such a form as was most picturesque or most marvellous, changed the scene of this transaction. They feigned that Proserpine was carried off while gathering flowers near mount Ætna, and that Pluto striking the earth, it opened a passage for his chariot down to the infernal regions. This is certainly sublime, and making the most of an occurrence.

⁹ The Egyptian hieroglyphics usually represent Horus bearing a scourge or whip, either in the human form or that of a hawk, sometimes a human body with the head of a hawk, or perhaps rather of an eagle.

¹⁰ The ancient priests and mythologists, to remove this disgrace from one of their chief deities, transferred the circumstances in an allegorical and mystical way

Egyptians reckoned him the last of the gods who reigned in Egypt¹¹.

The Ethiopians, after remaining some years in Egypt, either retired or were expelled, leaving the throne and country in possession of Hermes the younger. This younger Toth or Hermes was the son of Osiris by Maia, and is called by Manetho, Harmeses-Mi-Amun, that is, Hermes-Asis, the son of Ammon; he is also called in some lists Amenophis, and in some Menes or Menas, either as an abbreviation of the former name, or because he is said to have completed the division of the country¹².

He is called Proteus by Herodotus. Under the two former sovereigns, he had been employed chiefly in embassies or state messages of importance, and was therefore called by the poets, the messenger of the gods; to qualify him for which mythological duty, they represented him with talaria, with wings on his head, feet, and wand. He was so remarkable for the versatility of his talents and skill in the art of assuming various characters and disguises, that the poets feigned that he could assume whatever form he wished, of men, of animals, and even of inanimate things¹³.

to a personage they call Phaeton. The poets describe him as driving the chariot of the sun (which was the emblem of the throne of Egypt under the Titan dynasty) only one day, shewing the shortness and violence of his reign.

¹¹ "Τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν, θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οἰκόντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι. καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἕνα τὸν κρατίοντα εἶναι, ὕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ὀρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνας ὀνομάζουσι. Τοῦτον κατακρούσαντα Τυφῶνα, βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὀσίρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν." "Tempore autem hos viros antecedente fuisse deos in Ægypto principes, habitantes, hominibus, et eorum semper unum extitisse dominatorem; et postremum illic regnasse Oram Osiridis filium, quem Græci Apollinem nominant. Hunc, postquam evertit Typhonem, regnasse in Ægypto postremum, Osiris autem Græca lingua est Liber." Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. CXLIV.

¹² "Μετὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖνον πρῶτόν φασὶ βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μήναν." "After the gods, they say that Menas was the first king of Egypt." Dioid. Sic. Lib. I. Cap. xxix.

¹³ Diodorus Siculus, in adverting to this fabled power of Proteus, gives another explanation. He says that the kings of Egypt used to indulge their fancy in wearing head-pieces representing the heads of various animals, as a lion, a bull, a serpent, &c.; and some even wore on their heads, ornaments like trees, fire, &c. This explains the horns of Osiris, Pan, &c. "Τοῖς κατ' Αἰγύπτου δυνασταῖς περιτίθεσθαι περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν λέόντων καὶ ταύρων καὶ δρακόντων προτομάς, σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν δένδρα, ποτὲ δὲ πῦρ." Dioid. Sic. Lib. I.

The reign of Proteus¹⁴ commenced about 40 years before the destruction of Troy, and continued some years after that event. We are told that he was visited on various occasions by Hercules, Paris, Menelaus and Ulysses. His reign appears to have been in general, peaceful and prosperous. Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, supposed to be the city called No-Ammon in Scripture, is said to have been built by him, and called after him Amenophis, of which Memphis is a corrupt contraction¹⁵. Proteus or Pharaoh-Teuth is the last king of Egypt that is noticed by the Greek poets and mythologists.

I have already mentioned some of the artifices by which the heathen priests involved the history of Jupiter and the other deities in obscurity, and gave them, to the eyes of the ignorant, a mysterious superhuman existence. They also contrived recesses in their temples, from which the voice of the person concealed there, issued with awful solemnity of intonation, giving such oracular responses as suited their purpose. They had sacred caves and grottoes, in which they contrived spectres, intoxicating vapours, and hideous noises; and they pretended cures and miracles from time to time, when opportunity occurred for such deceptions. By means like these, and by splendid processions and ceremonies, they established their superstitions in the minds of people in general.

I have still to mention a circumstance which tended as much as any other to perplex the ancient mythology, even with such of the ancients themselves as might wish to dive into its mysteries. The Egyptian conqueror and his brothers, named those children which were born to them in Greece after one or other of the royal family or Egyptian courtiers.

¹⁴ Proteus Græcè for Pro-Teuth מרעדוּת *Pharaoh-Teuth* or *Toth*. The Greeks usually changed the termination *th* into *s*. It was so pronounced by the natives, and the Greeks wrote from the oral language. Few indeed of them knew any more, and this caused many mistakes and misstatements in their notices of the affairs of other nations.

Proteus was the Anubis who attended Isis in her search for the remains of Osiris.

¹⁵ As Biblus comes from Abibalus, the name of its founder.

This produced a second race bearing the same names¹⁶ with the first, but far inferior in other respects.

Osiris named his son by Semele, Bacchus¹⁷, after himself; his son by Maia was called Hermes after his brother; and his son by Alcmena was named Arcles or Heracles, after his favourite general and kinsman. Hermes named his son by Dryope, Pan, after the general of that name.

Many more of the repetitions of names of deities which we meet in the works of the ancient mythologists, owe their existence to circumstances of this kind, but are not worth the labour of farther investigation.

¹⁶ "Ἐν Ἑλλήσι μὲν οὖν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν." "Among the Greeks, Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan are esteemed the youngest of the gods." Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. CXLV.

And we meet the following in Cicero: "Suscepit autem vita hominum, consuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentis viros in cælum fama, ac voluntate tollerent. Hinc Hercules, hinc Castor et Pollux, hinc Æsculapius, hinc Liber etiam. Hunc dico Liberum Semele natum, non eum quem nostri majores augustè sancteque Liberum cum Cerere et Libera consecraverunt; quod quale sit, ex mysteriis intelligi potest." "It has been a general custom likewise, that men who have done important service to the public should be exalted to heaven by fame and common consent. Hence Hercules, Castor and Pollux, Æsculapius, and Liber (Bacchus) became gods. I mean Liber the son of Semele, and not him whom our ancestors consecrated with such state and solemnity with Ceres and Libera: the difference in which may be learned from the sacred mysteries." Cicero de Nat. Deorum, Lib. II.

¹⁷ Hence Bacchus was called Biformis, because he was sometimes represented old, and sometimes young, and Bimater as being born twice. The elder Bacchus was called Dionysus from Nysa, the place of his birth, which city was on that account held sacred, even when under the dominion of Persia. Herodotus thus mentions that city, "Ὅτι περὶ τε Νύσην τὴν ἰσθμὴν κατοικήθηται, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰν ἑορτάς." "Quique sacrum Nysam incolunt, et Baccho dies festos agunt." Herod. Lib. III. Cap. xcvi.

CHAPTER VI.

OF MINOS THE GREAT.

IN perceiving and proving the identity of the Grecian Jupiter with Osiris or Sesostris king of Egypt, no difficulty or doubt could have ever existed, if supreme divine honours had not been likewise claimed at or about the same time for another personage. A man, who, when compared with Osiris, held but an inferior rank as to power and extent of territory, and challenged less of the admiration and homage paid to conquerors, but who had stronger claims to the respect and gratitude of posterity as a benefactor of the human race.

The person here referred to was Minos the Great, the justly celebrated king of Crete; a prince, whose name was proverbial among the ancients, on account of the wisdom and equity of his laws and government; and who enjoyed the love of his subjects and the respect of strangers, to a degree, which is perhaps without a parallel in the page of history¹.

Minos was the son of Asterion and Europa, who are called by mythologists Saturn and Ops², and he was worshipped after his death by the inhabitants of Crete, as their supreme deity³. The Cretans, says Lucian, assert Jupiter to

¹ It is curious to observe how the history and mythology of the same period furnish a perpetual commentary or supplement to each other; and there would often be an absolute hiatus, were it not for the information thus obtained.

In their history of the Cretan Jupiter, the priests have given us many particulars which, for obvious reasons, they suppressed in their account of Minos.

Again, many particulars omitted by the priests of Egypt in their history of Osiris, as to his transactions in Asia Minor and Europe, are supplied by the Greek accounts of Jupiter Olympius.

By examining and collating carefully the histories and legends of that age, we obtain a knowledge of the circumstances which introduced the worship of a family of foreigners into Greece, and established it so firmly in that country.

² Lucian in his treatise *de Dea Syria*, says that "Europa, the mother of Minos, was worshipped under the name of Rhea." But Rhea was Ops, the mother of Jupiter and wife of Saturn.

³ Some of the old historians made two Minoses to help out their fictitious system of chronology. But Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, Strabo and

have been their countryman, and not only say he was buried amongst them, but also shew his sepulchre⁴. The scholiast upon Callimachus says that this was the tomb of Minos⁵.

Callimachus was much offended at the Cretans on this account, and thus rebukes what he considers blasphemy.

“Κρη̄τες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, καὶ γὰρ τάφον ὦ̄ ἀνα σείῳ
Κρη̄τες ἐτεκτῆναντο, σὺ δ' οὐ̄ θάβες, ἔσσι γὰρ ἀεὶ.”

“Cretes mendaces semper, rex alme, sepulchrum
Erexere tuum : tu vivis semper, et usque es.”

Cicero also, in the second book of his treatise “De natura Deorum,” says that “the third Jupiter was born of Saturn, in the isle of Crete, where his sepulchre is shewn.”

The above, and other passages in respectable ancient authors which might be referred to, make it evident that the Cretans considered Minos as their Jupiter, and that the history which we have through the Greeks of the Cretan Jupiter and Saturn, is in fact the history of Minos and his father Asterion.

Asterion (or Cronos, as he is usually called by the mythologists) had been prince of Biblus in Phœnicia, governing most probably under Agenor, who was at that time king of the entire country⁶. Either by force, or more probably by persuasion, he carried off Europa, the young and beauti-

Plutarch knew but one Minos, the son of Europa, the brother of Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon, the father of Deucalion the Argonaut, and grandfather of Idomeneus who fought at Troy. Herodotus (Lib. I. Cap. CLXXIII) says that Minos the son of Europa was cotemporary with Ægeus. And Apollodorus Atheniensis says that Minos the son of Europa was the father of Andrageus and Ariadne.

⁴ “Οἱ δὲ αὖ Κρη̄τες οὐ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲ ταφῆσαι μόνον τὸν Δία λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ δεικνύουσι.”

⁵ “Ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Μινῶος ἐπεγέγραπτο, ΜΙΝΩΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ. Τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ τοῦ Μινῶος ἀπληρέφθη, ὥστε περιλειφθῆναι ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ, ἐκ τούτου οὖν ἔχειν λέγουσι Κρη̄τες τὸν τάφον τοῦ Διός.”
“In Crete, upon the sepulchre of Minos was written, Minois Jovis sepulchrum; but in time the word Minois wore out, and Jovis sepulchrum only remained, and then the Cretans called it the sepulchre of Jupiter.”

⁶ The Universal History makes Cronos reign at Biblus before he came to Crete, 32 years before Tros began to reign at Troy; this seems not far from the truth. Biblus was built by Abibalus the father of Hiram. The neighbourhood produced papyrus in great abundance, whence Biblus came to signify a book.

ful daughter of the king, and fled with her to Crete⁷, where he settled, and became the founder of a flourishing kingdom. His ship is supposed to have borne on its prow the figure of a bull, a circumstance on which the poets grounded one of their mythological stories.

Cadmus, the brother of the princess⁸, was sent in pursuit of the fugitives, and forbidden ever to return without his sister. Missing them he sailed to Greece, and there founded the kingdom called after him Cadmea, and afterwards Thebes; he also introduced the use of letters into the country, which he called Europa after his sister.

Asterion intended to sacrifice his eldest son⁹ Minos, in compliance with the horrid superstition of his native country, but was prevented by the management of the queen, who probably substituted some other child in his place, sending her own son to be brought up by trusty servants¹⁰ in the mountainous and retired part of the island.

To avoid the necessity of entrusting their secret to a nurse, they had him suckled by a goat, of whom honourable mention is made by mythologists, under the name of Amalthea¹¹.

Minos, when grown to manhood, having discovered the secret of his rank and birth and wonderful preservation, burst from obscurity and dethroned his father, who fled with

⁷ It is not improbable that the island received the name of Crete from the Cherethites or Curetes, followers of Asterion, who accompanied him thither from Asia. Bochart thinks that the Curetes came from Palestine, and came of a tribe of Philistines called Crethim or Cerethites; from Crethim we can conceive Crete might be naturally derived.

⁸ Some say that Cadmus was not the king's son, but one of his household officers. This does not affect the general statement.

⁹ Perhaps in performance of some vow. The ancient heathens often made very horrible vows; even the vow of Jephthah seems to have been somewhat of this nature.

¹⁰ "Ὅφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώε,
Δικταῖον ναιεσκεν ὑπὸ σπείος." _____

Apollonius Rhod. Argon. Lib. 1.

These guardians of the infant Minos were called Corybantes.

¹¹ Aratus writes thus of Amalthea:

"Αἰξ ἱερῆ, τὴν μὲν τε λόγος Διὶ μαζῶν ἐπισχέειν."
"Sacra Jovi capra est, quod præbuit ubera parvo."

When she died Minos covered his shield with her skin. It was thence called his *Egis*.

a party of Curetes and settled at Latium in Italy¹². There he founded the city of Cures, being kindly received by Janus the king of the country. When Asterion or Cronus landed in Italy, he found the inhabitants in general living as hunters and shepherds, in a state of savage ignorance. He taught them the arts, modes, and improvements of civilized life, as practised in Crete and Phœnicia, and made them acquainted with agriculture. In gratitude for these signal benefits, he was made partner of the throne of Janus, and was deified after his death, his reign being always called the golden age by the ancient inhabitants of Italy¹³.

Minos, in the mean time became great and powerful, especially by sea¹⁴; but he was chiefly famed for his superior wisdom, excellent laws and maxims of government. He was in great prosperity when his daughter was married to Osiris, having possessed himself of many of the best islands in the Archipelago, and having made successful war against the Athenians, whom he compelled to seek for peace on most humiliating terms. But whatever power we can suppose him then possessed of, this connexion with the mighty king of Egypt must have greatly advanced him both in the eyes of his own subjects and of the surrounding nations. He was almost worshipped during his life; but after his death his subjects thought no divine honours too great for a king, who was already the idol of their pride and their affection.

Through the wisdom and energy of the government of Minos, Crete had become much superior to any of the Greek states, in power, wealth, commerce and civilization.

¹² The name Saturn, which he took in his exile, seems derived from *ἠὲρ Saturn*, *obscurus*, and is opposite to his former name Asterion, which signifies *illustris*, being derived from *ἠὲρ ἡλιος*. So that, by an alteration of the vowels, his name was readily accommodated to his change of circumstances.

¹³ When they saw peaceful manners introduced, and their valleys for the first time waving with ripe corn, they might naturally call it a golden age.

¹⁴ Thucydides says that Minos was the first prince who had a navy at sea. "Μινῶϊς γὰρ παλαιάτατος ὢν ἀκοῆ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν ἐκτίσαστο, καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκράτησε· καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἤρξε τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κἄρας ἐξελάσας, καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ παῖδας ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας." Thucydides, Lib. 1.

"Nam Minos eorum, quos auditu cognovimus antiquissimus, classem comparavit, maximamque partem maris quod Græcum nunc dicitur tenuit: et insularum Cycladum dominus, primus in earum plerisque colonias posuit, Caribus electis, filiosque suos constituit principes."

Beside the proximity of Crete, it lay so directly in the route from Greece to Phœnicia and Egypt, that there was an almost constant intercourse between the Greeks and Cretans. It followed as a consequence, that some community in religion as well as manners was almost inevitable; the religious systems of the two countries must in all human probability either coalesce or interfere; but as any contention between the priests of Greece and those of Crete must have endangered the credit of both parties, they devised a mode of accommodation as the only safe course under existing circumstances.

By compounding the two characters, Osiris the son of Belus, and Minos the son of Asterion or Saturn, into one great Zeu-Pater or Jupiter¹⁵; by adding the exploits and amours of the former, to the parentage, birth and preservation of the latter; in a word, by a judicious mutual accommodation of their joint legendary stock, Egyptian, Grecian, and Cretan, thus brought together, they formed one great fable, which by their confederate systematic artifices, pretended miracles, lying oracles, &c. &c. became daily more and more rooted in the minds and habits of a people, who found in such a religion all their evil propensities, natural and unnatural, not only allowed, but flattered and encouraged.

CHAPTER VII.

OF ISIS, DEMETER OR CERES.

ISIS, the wife of Osiris king of Egypt, was worshipped by the Greeks under the title of Demeter (*Δημήτηρ*), and by the Romans under the name of Ceres, she was considered as the deity especially presiding over the concerns of agri-

¹⁵ The word *Zeús* is probably derived from the unpointed Hebrew Tetragrammaton. Z often stands in Greek for the J of other languages; *Zeύγus* for *jugo*, &c. In fact, zeta is the only Greek representative that gives any thing like the sound of iod consonant. The Latin genitive *Jovis* seems derived from the Tetragrammaton pointed. The ablative *Jove* comes very near in sound to the Scripture word *Jehovah*.

culture. Some notices of her political history have already been given, in that of Osiris, in Chapters iv. and v. Her worship was very general in those parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, which were connected or had intercourse with Egypt, and was performed with great affectation of mystery.

The principal place dedicated to her in Europe was Eleusis in Attica, where the chief priests of Δημήτηρ were called Eumolpidae, from their ancestor Eumolpus¹, who was the first that held that office, being appointed to it by Erechtheus or Erichthonius, who at that time governed Athens. This appointment however cost him his life, as it produced afterwards a quarrel between him and Erechtheus, in which they both perished. The descendants of Eumolpus succeeded to the priesthood, and retained it for several centuries.

Herodotus informs us, that when he was in Egypt he was allowed an insight into the mysteries of this goddess, but could not without sacrilege communicate what he had thus learned²: which mysteries he adds were brought from Egypt to Greece by the daughters of Danaus, who taught them to the Pelasgian women.

Her rites, under the name of Isis, are said to have been abominably obscene³, and this evil was probably much increased and aggravated, by the subsequent union of her worship with that of the impure Syrian deity Ashtaroth or Ashtarte, the Venus of Phœnicia.

She was then adored as "the Queen of Heaven", and the moon worshipped as her emblem or residence. She was also styled Venus Urania and Venus Matrona.

¹ Eumolpus was the son of Python by a Thracian princess named Chione.

² "Καὶ τῆς Δημήτρος τελετῆς περὶ, τὴν αἱ Ἕλληες θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτην μοι περὶ εἴστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὄσιη ἐστὶ λέγειν. αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι, καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας. Herodotus II. Chap. CLXXI. "De Cereris quoque initiatione, quam Græci Thesmophoria vocant a *ferendis legibus*, absit ut eloquar, nisi quatenus sanctum est de illa dicere. Danaï filię ritum hunc ex Ægypto extulerunt, eoque Pelasgiotidas feminas imbuerunt.

³ The dismemberment of the body of Osiris was made an occasion of introducing great indecency into these ceremonies and processions, and indecency must lead to increase of profligacy.

⁴ "עֲשֵׂה נֶפֶשׁ לְבַח." Jeremiah xlv. 17, 25.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF HORUS OR APOLLO, AND DIANA.

Horus or Apollo is very generally said to have been the son of Latona, born at the same birth with Diana or Bubaste; but the most respectable Greek authors say, that they were the children of Isis, the queen of Osiris, who entrusted them to the care of Latona¹, by whom they were brought to Asia Minor, where Osiris then was. Isis was moved to act thus by her suspicions, that Python was plotting to destroy them, and secure the succession to himself and his sons.

The great honours paid to Horus and his sister, while still very young, and the title of Ἄναξ or king, given to him so particularly, make it most probable that he was the son of Osiris and Isis.

Horus was considered as the deity presiding over poetry, music², archery, and divination, and his oracles were held in the greatest repute among the ancient heathen nations;

¹ Æschylus, son of Euphron, informs us, that according to the Egyptian accounts, Diana was daughter of Ceres, and not of Latona. "Δήμητρος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν θυγατέρα εἶναι, καὶ οὐ Λητοῦς, ὅντα Αἰγυπτίων τὸν λόγον, Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδαξεν Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ Ἑλληναί." Pausanias, Lib. VIII. Cap. xxxvii.

The Egyptians told Herodotus that Horus was the son of Osiris and Isis; and this is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus. The Egyptian priests likewise told Herodotus that Isis committed her son Horus or Apollo to the care of Latona, to hide him in the floating island of Chemmis, from the designs of Typhon, who sought to destroy him. The Greek story of the Island of Delos seems borrowed from this. Latona was doubtless a person of high rank, most probably one of the royal family.

That Horus was the son of Isis, is now fully established by M. Champollion's discoveries. The hieroglyphic inscriptions decyphered by that gentleman designate him "Horus, son of Osiris and Isis." See Champollion's *Precis du systeme Hieroglyphique*, p. 80. He also proves Horus and Aroueris to be only different names for the same deity. See p. 106 of the same work.

² The Chorus took its name from Horus. It was originally a dance with singing, instituted by him, and performed by the Muses in honour of Bacchus or Osiris.

"Μουσῶν Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχάμεθ' αἰεῖν,
Αἰθ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσι ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε,
Καὶ τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοιδέα πάσα' ἀπαλοῖσιν
Ὅρχεῦνται, καὶ βωμῶν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίουσιν."

his worship was established extensively, and splendidly supported by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans.

The ancient Persians worshipped Horus or Apollo as their principal deity; they called him Oromastes, which probably meant Oros-Maximus³: they also worshipped the sun, as his residence or emblem, and had a magnificent chariot and horses dedicated to that luminary; and in India, which country was subject, wholly or partially, to Osiris, and after his death to Orus, there are representations in some of the temples of Orus driving the chariot of the sun with seven fiery horses⁴; and when Israel and Judah fell into idolatry, their kings had temples and horses sacred to the sun.

"Ἀκροτάτῳ Ἐλικῶνι χυροῖς ἐνεποιήσαντο
Καλοῦς, ἡμεροῦνταν, ἐπεβρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.
Ἐυθεν ἀπορούμεναι, κεκαλυμμένοι δέρι πολλῶ,
Ἐννύχαι στείχου, περικάλλα ὄσαν λείσαι,
Ἵμνεῦσαι Δία τ' αἰγίοχου" &c. &c.

"A Musis Heliconialibus incipiamus canere,
Quæ Heliconis tenent montem magnamque divinumque,
Et circa fontem cæruleum pedibus teneris
Saltant, aramque præpotentis Saturnii (Jovis)."

"Summo in Helicone Choreas duxerunt
Pulchras, amabiles, et fortiter trijudiarunt pedibus,
Inde concitate, velatæ aere multo
Noctu incidebant, perpulchram vocem emittentes,
Celebrantes Jovemque ægida tenentem," &c. &c.

Hesiod. Theog. ab initio.

³ Mastes seems a sort of superlative of מַסַּת or its cognate in the dialect of the country.

⁴ This seems to refer to the seven days of the week. The ancient Egyptians interchanged the letters R and L occasionally, and the name חַרְסַּת *Herus* was sometimes pronounced Helus and Halus—whence the Greek word Helios.

In Isaiah xix. 18 חַרְסַּת קַרְיָא signifies *Urbs solis* or *Heliopolis*, according to Symmachus and the Vulgate.

Upon the death of Osiris, Horus became the great head of the Titan family, and Ovid thus represents him:

"Jungere equos Titan velocibus imperat Horis."

Ovid Met. Lib. II. Fab. i. 118.

"Nullus adhuc mundo præbebat lumina Titan,
Nec nova crescendo reparabat cornus Phæbe."

Ibid. Lib. I. Fab. i. 6.

The Church Missionary Register for Sept. 1827, has a print representing the Hindu god Krishna seated on the figure of an elephant, composed of his nine female attendants in various attitudes. This print was copied from a mythological picture highly valued by the Hindoos, being grounded on one of their legends, which says that "He was brought up by a herdsman, and that a number of damsels were his play-fellows during his infancy. Of these he chose nine, who became his com-

We have the following names or titles of Horus and his sister :

Orus or Horus,	Bubaste,
Apollo,	Diana,
Phœbus,	Phœbe,
Hecabolos or Hecatobolos,	Hecate,
Cynthius,	Cynthia,
Sol,	Luna or Lucina,
Ares ⁵ ,	Artemis ⁵ ,
Mars ⁵ .	Bellona.

There are dreadful instances related of their cruelty; Apollo is said to have had Marsyas flayed alive for presuming to compete with him in music; and the fable of Actæon seems to imply that Diana treated that unfortunate young prince, as the Emperor Nero treated some of the Christian martyrs, that is, had him enclosed in the skin of a stag to be torn to pieces by dogs⁶. Their cruelty to the children of Niobe because their mother had displeased them, is also without excuse and horrible.

panions. These nine damsels would group themselves into fantastic forms; in the engraving they are seen in that of an elephant, on which the god rides. They are also represented as being musicians. Kris-na (perhaps a corruption of Cheres-na) is said to be the Apollo of the Hindoos.

⁵ "Η δὲ Βούβαστις κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλωσσᾶν ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμις." Herod. Lib. II. Cap. cxxxvii. "Bubastis in Sermone Græco est Artemis (Diana)."

The name Ares (Ἄρης) may perhaps be derived from γῆ *Violentier grassatus est*. Mars is a contraction of Mavors, which seems to come from ἠως, a *luminary*.

⁶ "πέτραν καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἀκταίονος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καθεῖδεν φασὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸν Ἀκταίωνα ὅποτε κάμοι θηρεύων, ἐν δὲ τὴν πηγὴν ἐνιδεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν λουμένην Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν τῇ πηγῇ. Στησίχορος δὲ ὁ Ἱμερταῖος ἔγραψεν ἑλάφου περιβαλεῖν δέρμα Ἀκταίωσι τὴν θεόν, παρασκευάζουσαν οἱ τὸν ἐκ τῶν κυνῶν θάνατον." Pausanias, Lib. IX. Cap. 11.

The crime of Actæon looking at Diana bathing was considered in that court as meriting the severest punishment. The law was, that any one thus invading the privacy of the females of the royal celestial family should be instantly deprived of sight. Tiresias the poet is said thus to have lost his eyes for looking at Pallas bathing, and that she herself, although so inclined, could not obtain a remission of the cruel sentence. We may be the less surprised at this, when we recollect that by the cruel forest laws enacted in England after the Norman conquest, the penalty for killing one of the king's deer was loss of eyes and castration.

CHAPTER IX.

OF PYTHON OR NEPTUNE.

PYTHON was the second son of Tothmosis or Belus, king of Egypt, and was the elder of the two brothers of Osiris; he is mentioned by mythologists and poets under a variety of names and epithets.

I. Python (*Πυθῶν*) which was probably his proper name.

II. Neptune, a word probably formed from *Naus*, a ship, and *Πυθων*, denoting his office as High-Admiral.

III. Japetos¹ from Ja-Python, a title of worship.

IV. Tuphon, or the deicide, a name formed by Metathesis, from his own name Puthon, after he murdered Osiris².

V. Poseidôn (*Ποσειδῶν*) a name which has puzzled the most ingenious etymologists, and is not yet satisfactorily explained³.

VI. Ægæus, from Ægæ in Eubœa, his principal sanctuary in Greece, and

VII. Ægyptos, formed probably of Ægæus and Python.

Python was the great admiral of the fleets of Osiris, and was exceedingly powerful, not only by his rank, station, and talents, but also through the extensive influence of his sons, who appear to have been also men of superior talents, and had the government of some of the largest provinces of the empire.

His son Antæus governed Libya; Atlas (or Italus) and Hesperus governed Mauritania and Spain, and Busiris had another extensive province. Python was conquered and slain by Horus as before related; his sons were killed or driven out by Arcles.

¹ Bochart considers Neptune and Japetos to have been the same person.

² He was afterwards worshipped in Egypt under the form of the crocodile, a fit emblem of his amphibious power, and his treacherous cruelty in the murder of Osiris.

³ *Ποσειδῶν* may perhaps come from *πόσα-εἶδων*, meaning *quam aciens!* or *quam sapiens!* how wise!

CHAPTER X.

OF THOTH, ARMAIS OR HERMES.

THOTH, the third son of Tothmosis or Belus, and youngest brother of Osiris, was unquestionably one of the greatest men of the ancient heathen world. His intellectual powers appear to have been of the very first order, and his activity, zeal, and perseverance, in the cultivation and exercise of those powers for the benefit and civilization of mankind, claim the highest praise.

It seemed as if his exalted rank and extensive influence were only valued, as they enlarged his sphere of dignified and beneficent exertion, and increased his facilities for refined and philosophical pursuits. To him the ancients attributed many of their most valuable inventions and improvements; and they say, that he left behind him in Egypt forty volumes of his works on various subjects.

Nor was his fame limited to the age or country which produced him. Greece, in her highest state of refinement, acknowledged herself indebted to Hermes for her taste for literature; and when revolving ages had transferred to imperial Rome whatever of greatness and elegance existed in the world, the honours of Hermes suffered no diminution, he was still invoked as the god of eloquence¹ and the patron of letters.

To counterbalance qualities so honourable to himself and so valuable to mankind, history has however the painful task of recording, that his elegance of mind and manners was accompanied with a love of pleasure and laxity of principle, which strong temptation occasionally called forth into horrible display. His participation in the murder of Osiris, his own brother and his sovereign, whose queen and concubines he is accused of violating in his absence; as well as the entire odium of destroying in cold blood the chiefs of his own party, the husbands of those females called the Danaïdes,

¹ "ἐκάλουν τε τὸν μὲν Βαρνάβαν Δία, τὸν δὲ Παῦλον Ἑρμῆν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ ἦν ὁ ἠγοούμενος τοῦ λόγου." Acts xiv. 12.

and some of them his very near relatives, have given his name a kind of infamous pre-eminence, and obtained for him from the ancients a sort of undisputed title to the throne of the infernal regions.

Lynceus, the son of Aphareus king of Messenia, appears to have been the only Greek who married any of those unfortunate princesses. Danaus perhaps spared him, through fear or policy, or perhaps he was away and out of his power. Danaus in destroying the others had nothing to fear, as they were the remains of an expiring party of aliens. It was not unnatural that Lynceus, taking advantage of the general odium under which Danaus lay, should, with the assistance of his brothers and friends, drive out Danaus and possess himself of the throne.

Thoth had a great variety of names or titles, the meaning and application of which we shall now proceed to examine.

I. He was called Armais, it seems, euphonicly for Amrais, a word coming from אמר *to speak*, being the king's orator and grand secretary². From Armais the Greeks formed Hermes, by their usual interchange of the vowels *a* and *e*³.

II. He had the title of Merc-Heres, by euphony for Meer-Heres derived from מכר *merchandize* or *money*, as being Lord Treasurer of Egypt, and having its commerce under his jurisdiction. He was often represented by the ancient sculptors with a purse of money in one hand. From this title was derived his Latin name Mercurius.

III. He was called by the Greeks Pluto and Plutus, (Πλουτων and Πλουτος) which are only Greek translations of the title or name last mentioned⁴.

IV. *Aidoneus*, from which by a corrupt contraction they formed Danaus, was another of his titles, and means lord of the invisible or unknown world, being derived from non

² In Abyssinia travellers say there is an officer called the Voice of the King.

³ The Egyptian proper names beginning with Ar were in general written by the Greeks Her. In all probability they were so pronounced by the Egyptians—that is, Armais was pronounced Hermes; Arcles was pronounced Hercules, &c. The Greeks receiving the language at first orally, wrote the words according to their sound.

⁴ Strabo says that Pluto was the god of riches. Cæsar thought that the German deity Tuisco, from whom Tuesday is named, was the same with Pluto.

and *idou vidi*, or from *ןן non* and *עני novit*⁵. Hermes had, it seems, an office of some high character, corresponding perhaps to our Consistorial Courts, without licence from which no corpse could be interred, a regulation which appears very salutary, for the prevention or detection of murder; and as the ancient heathens believed that the soul could not enter Hades, or have any rest until the body had received burial in the prescribed form, they therefore said, that Hermes had the office of transmitting souls or ghosts to Hades.

Among the ancient Egyptians, the dog was the usual emblem of fidelity, and it was probably on account of the peculiarly confidential nature of his offices in the State, that the statues of Thoth often represent him with the head of that animal.

From his bearing the three most important offices in the government⁶ he probably obtained the surname of Trismegistos, and his statues sometimes bore three dogs' heads. One of this kind is said to have been placed at the entrance of the great cemetery, and for some reason now difficult to ascertain, bore the name of Cerberus⁷. This, like every thing else of the kind in that age, became a subject for poetical transformation and popular superstition.

I have already mentioned the circumstances which compelled Hermes to fly from Egypt and seek an asylum in Greece, and also the singular fortunes which awaited him in that country. When dethroned and driven from Argos⁸, it

⁵ In forming their languages from the Hebrew, or from the Egyptian and Phœnician dialectic cognates of Hebrew, the Greeks and Latins sometimes took only part of the original word, and sometimes each nation took a different part. Thus *ןא אין* is a Hebrew negative. The Greeks took only the first letter *a* as their negative in composition, while the Latins took the latter part *in* as their composition negative.

⁶ Diodorus Siculus thus describes his power in the Egyptian court: "Τῶν δλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἰσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτῃ μὲν παρακαταστήσαι συμβούλου τὸν Ἑρμῆν διὰ τὸ φρονήσει τοῦτον διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων φίλων." "Totius regni administrationem Isidi uxori in manus tradidit, Consiliarium ei Mercurium adjunxit, quod prudentia cæteros antestaret omnes amicos."

⁷ Cerberus (Κέρβερος) seems derived from the Hebrew word כרוב Cherub, which signifies a compound figure, part of which resembles the human form, and the remainder the form of some other animal.

⁸ His reign at Argos must have been short, as it began at least four or five years after the death of Osiris or Sesostris, and ended some time before the 30th year of the

is probable that he occupied much of his time in his comparative retirement at Orcus, in literary pursuits, and especially in arranging, methodising, and polishing the Greek language, a work universally attributed by the ancients to his refined genius.

His domains abounded with wild and romantic scenery, being bounded on the north by the Ceraunian mountains, generally covered with black clouds, with frequent thunder and lightning. In one part beautiful vallies represented the groves and gardens of Elysium; in another part were seen frightful dells and caves, rivers black with impending shades, winding through dark and lonely vallies: objects well adapted to impress the mind with superstitious terrors. Strabo thus describes the neighbourhood of Acherusia, "Stagnant pools and marshes foetid and unwholesome, dark gloomy glens and caverns, chilling damps, amidst hanging woods and impenetrable shades; all mysterious, gloomy, horribly picturesque and awfully romantic; the surrounding country wild, black, and mountainous".

Pausanias says that Homer saw this country, and drew from it his picture of the infernal regions¹⁰, and Apollonius Rhodius, tells us that the descent to Tartarus was said to be in a cave near this place¹¹.

reign of Theseus, for he was settled at Thesprotis when Theseus and Pirithous went thither to carry off Proserpine. Hermes could not have reigned at Argos more than eight or nine years; but the old tables make him reign 50 years.

⁹ Strabo says that Orcus was near Pylos, and that Pluto had there a magnificent temple.

¹⁰ "Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Θεσπρωτιδῶν ἐστὶ μὲν που καὶ ἄλλα θέας ἀξία, ἱερὸν τε Διὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ, καὶ ἱερά τοῦ θεοῦ φῆγον. Πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχύρῃ λίμνη τέ ἐστιν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη, καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων, οἳ δὲ καὶ Κικυρόν ἵδωρ ἀτερπέστατον. Ὀμηρὸν τέ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἑσρακίως ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην ποιήσῃσι ἀνοσιμῆσαι τῶν ἐν Ἄδου, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα τοῖς ποταμοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Θεσπρωτιδί θέσθαι." Pausanias, Lib. I. Cap. xvii.

"In Thesprotide quidem et alia valde quae spectentur digna sunt, et Jovis in Dodona templum, sacraque ei fagus. Ad Cichyrum Acherusia est palus et Acheron amnis. Fluit ibidem Cocytus aqua insuavissima: quae loca, quum vidisset (ut opinor) Homerus, multa ex illis in suum de inferis poema transtulit, et ipsa etiam carminibus amnium nomina inseruit."

¹¹ "Ἐνθα μὲν εἰς αἶδα καταβάτις ἐστὶ κέλυσθος,
Ἄκτη τε προβλής Ἀχερουσίας ὕψοθε τείνει,
Αἰνίσει τ' Ἀχέρων αὐτῆν διὰ μειόβι τέρμων
Ἄκρης ἐκ μεγάλης προχῶν αἰνίσει φάραγγος."

Apollonius Rhod. Argonaut. Lib. II.

Hermes was here visited by Orpheus, who sought in his society to assuage his grief for the loss of Eurydice. Here we may picture to ourselves the father of literature, holding sweet converse with the first of the Greek poets; and the inventor of the lyre giving the first lessons on its moving powers.

I shall conclude the Chapter with the following account of this singular man from the pen of Diodorus Siculus:

“Τιμᾶσθαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (Οσίριδος) μάλιστα πάντων τὸν Ἑρμῆν, διαφόρῳ φύσει κεχορηγημένον πρὸς ἐπίνοιαν τῶν δυναμένων ὠφελῆσαι τὸν κοινὸν βίον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τε κοινὴν διάλεκτον διαρθρωθῆναι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνωτύμων τυχεῖν προσηγορίας, τὴν τε εὐρησι τῶν γραμμάτων γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας διαταχθῆναι. Περί τε τῆς τῶν ἄστρον τάξεως καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν φθόγγων ἁρμονίας καὶ φύσεως τοῦτον πρῶτον γενέσθαι παρατηρητὴν. καὶ παλαιστρας εὐρετὴν ὑπάρχει, καὶ τῆς εὐρυθμίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα πρεπούσης πλάσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι, λύραν τε εὐρεῖν ἢ ποιῆσαι τρίχορδον, μιμησάμενον τὰς κατ' ἐναντὸν ὥρας. Τρεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑποστήσασθαι φθόγγους, ὄξυν, καὶ βαρύν, καὶ μέσον.— καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας διδάξαι τοῦτον τὰ περὶ ἐρμῆναιαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν Ἑρμῆν αὐτὸν ὠνομάσθαι, καθόλου δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀσίριν τοῦτον ἔχοντας ἱερογραμματέα ἅπαντ' αὐτῷ προσανακοινοῦσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα χρῆσθαι τῇ τούτου συμβουλίᾳ.”

CHAPTER XI.

OF HERCULES.

THREE of the greatest heroes of antiquity, according to the heathen acception of such expressions, contributed by the glory of their exploits to form the deity worshipped under this name.

The first of these was Arcles or Hercules, likewise called Certus or Melcartus, king of Egypt, the last of the dynasty

of Phœnician or shepherd kings¹ who reigned in that country. He was expelled by Aseth or Asis, the great founder of the Titan dynasty, and led his followers into Phœnicia, where he founded the city and kingdom of Tyre, at a place where he found only a small fortified town upon a barren rock²; but by his talents and successful enterprise, left it to his posterity the most powerful and wealthy of maritime states. He explored the Mediterranean to the straits of Gibraltar, the opposite mountains of which were called from him, the pillars of Hercules; he planted rich and flourishing colonies in Spain under his son Hispan, from whom that country took its name; he built also a city in Spain called Carteia after himself; he then extended the Tyrian commerce along the shores of the Atlantic ocean, and even as far as the British islands, in one or other of which it is probable that he planted a colony³. After a very long and prosperous reign, having lived to a great age, he was obliged again to visit Spain, on account of the death of his son Hispan. He there died and was buried⁴, and became the chief deity of his grateful idolatrous subjects, his worship

¹ "Hercules or Melcartus was the great and ancient god of Tyre." See Universal History, Vol. II. p. 347, and the authorities there referred to. There has been much discussion concerning the title or name Melcartus; but as Certus was one of his names, Melc-Certus or Melc-Cartus would simply mean King Certus.

² This place is noticed in Scripture as the strong hold of Tsur, 2 Samuel xxiv. 7, and Joshua xix. 29, it is styled *גַּזְזִיּוֹן*, and Zidon in the same chapter is called "Great Zidon"; and we find Tyre called the daughter of Zidon in Isaiah xxiii. 12. It is therefore probable that Tyre was only a secondary city to Zidon, until the Tyrian Hercules took it, and made it his capital.

³ Both Aristotle and Pliny inform us of the trade which he opened to Spain and Britain for silver, lead, and tin. There were a people called Curetes, dwelling about Gades, brought there most probably by him from Phœnicia. These might be some of the Cherethites mentioned in Scripture.

⁴ "Tyrius Hercules sepultus est in finibus Hispaniæ."

Arnobius, Lib. i.

"Ἐκπλέουσι οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας θαλάττης εἰς τὴν ἕξω δεξιὸν ἐστὶ τοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ Καλπε [Καρτήια] πόλις ἐν τετράκοντα σταδίοις ἀξίολογοι καὶ παλαιά, ναυσταθῶν τότε γενομένη τῶν Ἰβήρων ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους κτίσμα λέγουσι αὐτήν, ὣν ἐστὶ καὶ Τιμοσθένης ὅτι φησι καὶ Ἡρακλείαν ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸ παλαιόν."

"Mons Calpe ad dextram est a nostro mari foras navigantibus; et ad quadraginta inde stadia urbs Carteia vetusta ac memorabilis, olim statio navibus Hispanorum. Hanc ab Hercule quidam conditum alunt, inter quos est Timosthenes, qui eam antiquitus Heracleam fuisse appellatum." Strabo, Lib. III.

See also Newton's Chronology, and Bochart's Canaan.

extending itself to all the maritime states bordering the Mediterranean. He is universally allowed to have been the first great navigator.

This was the great Tyrian Hercules, who had temples in most of the maritime cities, and to whose shrine they used to send tenth offerings from Carthage yearly to Tyre. Pausanias informs us that his worship was introduced into Greece by Thasos the brother of Cadmus, and after some time was incorporated with the worship of the Theban Hercules⁵. That the Tyrian Hercules here mentioned was the famous Abibalus (אַבִּיבָל) of Menander, given in his list as the first king of Tyre, I cannot entertain any doubt; but this question belongs more properly to Part iv. of this work, to which I therefore refer the reader.

The second Hercules was an Egyptian prince, a near relative of the great Osiris, and commander of the forces in Egypt, both under him and after his death, under his son Orus. He is famous for his fidelity, military talents, and success in war, which the rebel Titan princes were made to feel severely; some of them being defeated and killed by him in battle, and the rest expelled from Africa. He was one of those who were deified by Osiris, and to whose honour a city was built in Egypt: he is called the Egyptian Hercules.

The third Hercules was the son of Osiris, by Alomena the daughter of Electryo, prince of Argos. He is represented by the legends of that age as a man endued with prodigious bodily strength and great personal courage, but ungovernably passionate, and horribly ferocious when irritated.

⁵ "Θάσιοι δὲ Φοίνικεν τὸ ἀνεκάθεν ὄντες, καὶ ἐκ Τύρου καὶ Φοινίκης τῆς Ἑλλης διοῦ Θάσῳ τῷ Ἀγίνορον κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐκπέψαντες τὴν Εὐρώπης, ἀνέθηκαν Ἡρακλέα, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τὸ βᾶθρον χαλκοῦν ὁμοίον τῷ ἀγάλματι." "Ἦκουσα δὲ ἐν Θάσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν σφᾶς Ἡρακλέα, ὃν καὶ Τύριοι, σέβεσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ ἤδη τελούντας ἐν Ἑλλήσας νόμισαι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ Ἀμφιτρύωνος νέμειν τιμὰς." "Dedicarunt et Thasii (qui ex Tyro et reliquis Phœnicæ oriundi, ad Europam quærendam, cum Thaso Agenoris filio, classe profecti sunt) Herculem in Olympia æneum, super ænea basi." "Et Thasi quidem audivi, Tyrium esse Herculem, quem Thasii ab initio essent venerati; sed enim quum se illi Græcis adjunxissent, captos ab iis Amphitryonis etiam filio honores haberi." Pausanias, Lib. V. Cap. xxv.

See also a confirmation of this in Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. xliv. Herodotus made a journey to Tyre, and thence to Thasos, to ascertain the particulars relative to the Tyrian Hercules.

The poets say that Eurystheus, on whom the crown of Mycenæ devolved, exacted from Hercules, who was his cousin, twelve most laborious and dangerous services, commonly called his twelve labours.

In the celebrated Argonautic expedition he commanded the troops with brilliant and complete success⁶, delivering his cousin Prometheus, killing Æetes king of Colchos⁷, and Laomedon king of Troy, and sacking both of those cities.

He then sailed to Spain, where he defeated and killed the three brothers, the Geryon Titan princes, sons of Atlas or Italus, who reigned jointly in that country, perhaps as their father's lieutenants or deputies. From Spain he proceeded to Italy, where he overcame and slew a sanguinary predatory chieftain named Cacus; he thence returned to Greece with immense spoils.

After this he is said to have had various other extraordinary adventures, and to have spent some time at the court of Omphale queen of Lydia, by whom he had a son named Alcaus, who succeeded her on the throne. He is said to have at different times killed a great many persons with his own hand, and even some of his own children in a fit of insanity; upon the whole, his character must be viewed with horror rather than admiration.

Out of these three personages, the priests and poets formed one great Hercules, whose worship was exceedingly popular until Christianity triumphed over Paganism.

⁶ "Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα φησὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γενέσθαι." "Dionysius Herculeum Argonautorum ducem fuisse recensuit." Apollodorus Athen. de Hercule^o.

And Lactantius says, "Navigavit Hercules cum Argonautis, expugnavitque Trojam, iratus Laomedonti, ob negatam sibi pro filie salute mercedem, unde, quo tempore fuerit, apparet." Lactant. de falsa Relig. Lib. I. Cap. ix.

⁷ "Ἀγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐν τὸν Ἑρακλέα, ὡς ἀποκτείναν μὲν τὸν αἰετὸν, δεῖ ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ τὸν Προμηθεῖα ἐλύπει, ἐξέλοιτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Προμηθεῖα ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν." "Traditum enim est, hoc etiam negotii Herculeum habuisse, ut Prometheus, aquila, que illum male in Caucasos mulctabat interempta, e vinculis eximeret." Pausanias, Lib. V. Cap. xi.

* See also Diod. Sic. Lib. IV. Cap. LIII.

CHAPTER XII.

OF VENUS.

THREE different females appear to have been worshipped as goddesses of beauty and voluptuousness by the ancient heathen nations.

The first of these was of great antiquity, she was called Ashtaroth אַשְׁתָּרֹת in Syria and Judea, and by the Greeks Astarte; she was the chief goddess of the Sidonians, having been probably the wife of Sidon or Zidon their great ancestor. Concerning her worship we meet frequent notices in Scripture, and in fact she appears to have been one of the most ancient objects of idolatry in the world. The worship of the moon appears to have been united with the worship of Ashtaroth. The name of this deity seems most obviously and rationally derived from אֶשֶׁת *brightness*, and תֹּר *Thur*, which in Syrian and Chaldee signifies a heifer, to which the horns of the moon would easily lead the imagination of a fanciful superstitious people¹.

The second Venus was Isis, the wife of Osiris king of Egypt, she appears to have been worshipped even during her life-time in the countries subject to the power of Egypt, and her worship afterwards extended itself over almost the entire heathen world, having absorbed, if I may so express myself, the worship of Ashtaroth, or at least becoming blended and united with it. The moon was considered her great type also, and was worshipped as sacred to her; she was honoured as "the queen of heaven", for worshipping whom the prophets threaten the Jews so severely. Her rites soon became most impure and abominable, especially after this union of Egyptian and Syrian lasciviousness.

With regard to the third Venus, who is generally called by the Greeks Aphrodita, it seems almost impossible to form any certain conclusion, the reports and opinions of ancient authors concerning her are so very discordant. Some thought

¹ In Genesis xiv. 5, we read of a place called Ashteroth-Karnaim אַשְׁתָּרֹת־קַרְנַיִם, which clearly means the horned Venus, being some place devoted to her worship.

that her proper name was Callycopis, and that she was the daughter of Otreus a Phrygian prince. I am rather inclined to think that she was a native of one of the islands belonging to Greece or Asia Minor, perhaps Cythera, as she is so often styled "the sea-born goddess." She was no doubt generally considered the most beautiful woman of her time; and when Osiris in his impious madness, not satisfied with assuming divine honours for himself was likewise conferring subordinate divinity on all his favourites, he dubbed her the goddess of beauty.

She became the wife of Thoas or Vulcan, called by the Greeks Hephaistos, who was king or lord of Lemnos, an island conferred on him, according to the most probable accounts, by Minos the Great. Her repeated or rather continual infidelities, were a favourite theme with some of the ancient poets. She was repudiated by Hephaistos and became the wife or mistress of Anchises a Trojan prince, by whom she was mother to the famous Æneas, when probably about 40 years of age, and about 45 years before the fall of Troy.

Her worship was probably at first confined to Greece, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the islands adjacent to those countries; two of those islands, Cyprus and Cythera being held peculiarly sacred to her. Her worship was often confounded or united with that of Astarte the Syrian or Phœnician Venus, and afterwards extended its impurities over all the Greek and Roman territories.

The name Venus was given to this licentious impure deity, in reference to the rites observed at certain seasons in the סכות-בנות *Succoth-Benuth*, pronounced Succoth Venus, tents of women, over which scenes of abomination² she was supposed to preside. These obscene rites are first mentioned as being practised at Babylon; we find them afterwards observed in other places, the islands Cyprus and Cythera especially. There was a city in Numidia named Sicca Venerea³, where women were obliged to obtain their dowry by prostitution.

² The hire of those voluntary prostitutes in the tents or booths set up near the temple of Venus, was given to the support of her temple, priestesses, &c.

³ From the Latin form of its name probably a Roman colony.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF HEPHAISTOS OR VULCAN.

THIS extraordinary person, whose original name appears to have been Thoas, was honoured with an inferior sort of worship, under the title of Hephaistos by the Greeks, and Vulcan by the Romans.

He appears from the most probable accounts and circumstances to have been a native of Crete; and as he received the island of Lemnos from Minos, according to some, or from Rhadamanthus according to others, it is highly probable that he was the natural son of the former¹. He was chiefly remarkable for his superior talents as a mechanist², and was on that account taken into great favour by Osiris when he visited Asia Minor and Greece, and was probably commissioned to superintend the construction, and take charge of his military engines, some of which in those days were very ingenious and complicated³; with perhaps the general oversight of the weapons of his army, which in such an immense host was a post of great consequence.

He married the Venus called Aphrodita, but was obliged

¹ Cicero says, that he was son of the third or Cretan Jupiter, which seems the truth. Cicero de Nat. Deorum, Lib. III.

See also Thucydides, Lib. I. Cap. xv. Minos set his sons over the islands.

² Pausanias says, that of all the works ascribed to Vulcan, he could depend on the existence of nothing except the sceptre mentioned by Homer, which was preserved and highly venerated at Phocis, and a brazen cup which the Lycians kept in the temple of Apollo.

The most extraordinary work ascribed by the poets to Vulcan was, that he made automata, or self-moving figures. Although it is incredible that he could have made self-moving human figures in that age, it is probable enough that he might contrive to make the arms moveable, as we are told was the case with some of the statues of Moloch. Again, he might perhaps have been the first who improved the art of the statuary, which at first represented figures stiff and upright with the lower limbs joined together. He may have been the artist who first represented men in attitudes of motion. The change from making statues of men moving to making moving statues of men, would not be thought too great a liberty by an ancient Greek poet.

³ The poets represent him and his Cyclops forging the thunderbolts for Jupiter. His Greek title Hephaistos means the god of fire, being derived from ἥφα the perfect of *ἄνω*, to burn.

to repudiate her on account of her shameless incontinence. He afterwards married Minyra or Minerva, by whom it appears that he had two children; Erichthonius famous in the history of Athens, and a daughter named Hypsipyle, who succeeded him in the government of Lemnos, and was visited there by the Argonauts, whom she entertained hospitably. Cicero likewise says that he had by Minerva a son named Apollo, who was held in great honour at Athens⁴.

Herodotus says that Hephaistos was the chief deity of Egypt, and that his temple had a grand portico for the god Apis to enter at⁵. This error (for an error I am convinced it is) was, I suspect, occasioned by his mistaking Aphas-Theus an Egyptian title of Osiris, for the Greek word Hephaistos, which is not unlike it. Osiris, or Aphas-Theus (Pater-deus) was unquestionably the chief deity of the Egyptians, and his worship was eventually united with that of Apis. There is every reason also to think, that this very temple is the one called in Scripture No-Ammon, (LXX Ναος-Αμμωνος) which certainly means the temple of Jupiter or Osiris, for Herodotus tells us plainly that Osiris and Jupiter were the same person.

The Egyptian deity called Ser-apis, was I think, formed by the uniting of Osiris and Apis, as mentioned above. But Hephaistos, so far from being the chief deity of Egypt, as reported by Herodotus, was very little if at all known

⁴ See in the article Minerva, Chap. XIV.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus seems here to have followed Herodotus, as does Cicero, who says that the Egyptian name of Vulcan was Opis; but this is plainly a slight corruption of Apis; and he says that he was the son of Nilus, which might be probably given as a title to Belus, the father of Osiris, but could have no reference whatever to the lame king of Lemnos.

I must further remark, that it nowhere appears that the Egyptians were Sabians, or fire worshippers. From considering this passage in Cicero, I must conclude that Apis was by him confounded with Osiris. "Secundus (*Vulcanus*) Nilo natus, Opis, ut *Aegyptii* appellant, quem custodem esse *Aegypti* volunt. Tertius extertio Jove et Junone, qui Lemni fabricæ traditur præfuisse." "The second (*Vulcan*) whom the Egyptians call Opis, and whom they looked upon as the protector of Egypt, was the son of Nilus. The third, who is said to have been the master of the forges at Lemnos, was the son of the third Jupiter and of Juno." Cicero de Nat. Deorum, Lib. III. Cap. LV.

Here Cicero himself tells us plainly, that by Opis he means the great Egyptian deity, and not the Vulcan of the Greeks. By the third Jupiter, he elsewhere tells us was meant the Cretan Jupiter, who was certainly Minos the Great.

in that country; and was indeed but very moderately respected even in Greece. We are told that the Argonauts found Thoas at Lemnos, a poor neglected old man. There has been an ingenious attempt to account for his receiving the name of Vulcan, by supposing that the Egyptians, who were not unacquainted with Scripture names and characters, when they saw the wonders of his art, called him instead of Thoa, Thoa-Bal-Cain (pronounced by them Thoa-Vaul-Cain⁶), as much as to say, "You are a second Tubal-Cain⁷." But this would sound to the Greeks as if they styled him, the god Vaul-Cain. It is conjectured that thus he came to be called Vulcan.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF MINERVA.

THIS heathen deity was greatly honoured by the Greeks and Romans, and is said to have been a great favourite with Osiris, whose natural daughter she probably was. She was called Tritonia, it is said, from the lake Tritonis in Libya, the place of her birth.

Mr Bryant has shewn her to be also the famous Medusa of heathen mythology. The poets and priests made no scruple of thus making two characters out of one personage, or compounding two or three individuals into one deity when it suited their purpose. The name Medusa (*Μεδουσα*) was no doubt given to her as the goddess of wisdom; some of her other names or titles, Myrhina, Minerva and Pallas, have not been explained. We may suppose her, which is most probable, to be called Athené, from her being principally worshipped at Athens¹. But it may have been that

⁶ The Jews in certain cases pronounce כ as our V; and I understand they express the Latin V by their כ. See Gesenius's larger Hebrew Grammar.

⁷ "Tubal-cain (תובל-כין) an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." Gen. iv. 22.

¹ That the name of Athens was given to that city as a second name in the time of Cecrops, seems probable from the following in the Scholiast on Lycophron:

she on the contrary gave her own name to that city, which had been before called Cecropia, from its first founder, but was remodelled by Theseus under her patronage. It appears that she and some of her Amazons spent much of their time at Athens, during Osiris's residence in Greece; some of the Amazons being buried in that city².

From all that we read of her, it appears that she must have been a woman of most extraordinary talents and attainments; she was chief of the troop of female warriors which attended Osiris in his expedition; and she was killed and beheaded by Perseus in his last terrible attack on the Egyptians, in their retreat or flight from Greece. She was first married or otherwise connected with Python, the brother of Osiris, by whom she had a son named Atlas Chrysaor; she was afterwards married to Thoas or Hephaistos, by whom she had Erichthonius, who governed Athens for some time³, and was said to be the first Greek that ever used a chariot⁴. She had also a daughter named Hypsipyle, who succeeded her father in his little kingdom of Lemnos. Cicero says, that she had also by Hephaistos, a son named Apollo, who was greatly honoured at Athens⁵.

“*Ἐλθὼν δὲ (ὁ Κέκροψ) ἀπὸ Σαΐσι πόλεως Αἰγύπτου τὰς Ἀθήνας συνέκισε. Σαῖσι δὲ κατ’ Αἰγυπτίουσιν ἡ Ἀθηναῖ λέγεται, ὡς φησὶν Χάραξ.*” “Cecrops coming from Sais a city of Egypt, settled a colony at Athens. Sais was called Athens by the Egyptians, as Charax informs us.” Lycophron, Vol. III. Scholiast.

² I think however that most of these graves of Amazons at Athens were belonging to those who were killed there in battle by Theseus. When Perseus routed them from the Peloponnesus, they thought to get possession of Athens, but were driven out.

³ “*Πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα εἶναι γονέας δὲ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Γῆν.*” Pausanias, Attica, p. 5. Hujus fabulæ ortum, et quomodo res evenit, nomen ipsum Ἐριχθόνιος (in lactatione humili genitus) satis indicat.

⁴ This could not be true; but he probably introduced chariot racing at Athens.

⁵ “*Primus (Vulcanus) Cælo natus, ex quo Minerva Apollinem eum, cujus in tutela Athenas antiqui historici esse voluerunt.*” Cicero de Nat. Deorum, Lib. III. Cap. LV.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE DATE OF CRONOS, ASTERION OR SATURN.

THIS object of ancient worship was known to the Greeks chiefly by the first of these names, and to the Romans by the last¹. He was worshipped as the god of time, and likewise as the male deity presiding over agriculture; and emblems answering to both characters were usually associated with him. He was sometimes represented devouring his own children, which had likewise a double meaning, referring both to the horrid Phœnician practice of immolating infants; and also to the nature of time, which devours the hours, days and years, which it has produced.

If the interests of the heathen priests required that the history of their chief deity Jupiter should be involved in as much mystery as possible, and placed beyond the reach of vulgar or profane scrutiny; this seems, a fortiori, to have been considered still more necessary, with regard to the history of his father; and in fact they did succeed in veiling every thing relative to this extraordinary personage in a degree of obscurity, exceedingly difficult either to dispel or penetrate. In this work they have been also a good deal assisted by some modern commentators, whose well intended labours have thrown any thing else rather than light upon this cloudy subject.

However, historical truth has the property of darting its rays through any fissures however small, which fraud and imposture may have neglected or perhaps may have been unable to close; and fortunately, even this dark passage is not wholly without that sort of illumination.

First, all the ancient accounts agree that he reigned

¹ Cronos was probably his proper name, and Asterion a sort of epithet, signifying illustrious, from *αστηρ*, to shine brightly. This sort of name was not uncommon in Phœnicia. We find Astarinus, Astarimus, and other such names among their kings. The Greek word *αστηρ*, a star, comes from the same root*. When he came to Italy, an exile and a fugitive, he received his contracted name Saturn, perhaps saying to his followers, call me no more Asterion, or illustrious, but Saturn, or obscure; the latter word being derived from *αστηρ*, *obscurus*.

* Ashtaroth and Astarte are also formed from it.

originally at a city called Biblus in Phœnicia. Now this city appears to have been built by Abibalus, father of Hiram king of Tyre, and named after himself. As Abibalus flourished between the years 1040 and 1080 B. C., Biblus was built probably about 1050 or 1060 B. C., certainly not much earlier. We must therefore look for Cronos after that date.

Secondly, Cronos or Asterion was honoured as the father of Minos the Great, the Cretan Jupiter, whose birth as we have already shewn, must be dated about 125 years before the destruction of Troy, that is, about the year 1015 B. C.²; and from the circumstances of his history, it seems probable that Cronos was then rather under than above the middle age, probably at most not more than 30 or 40, when carrying off the young and beautiful daughter of Agenor his sovereign. He was therefore probably born about the year B. C. 1050.

Thirdly, he was dethroned and expelled by his son Minos, which from the history of that prince must have occurred about 980 or 990 B. C., and he afterwards reigned many years in Italy, greatly beloved and honoured even to idolatry³. We cannot therefore suppose him to have arrived in Latium, when much beyond 60 years of age. This likewise makes it probable that he was born about the middle of the eleventh century, or about 1050 B. C.

² Many ridiculous stories were invented by mythologists to account for his endeavouring to destroy his son. His being a Phœnician at once explains it fully. It had been the horrid custom of that nation many centuries before his time, and from them the Carthaginians carried it into Africa.

³ Οὐδὲ οὖν θαυμαστὸν τοῦτε παλαιοὺς ἱερὰν ὑπολαβεῖν τοῦ Κρόνου τὴν χώραν ταύτην τῶν μὲν δαίμονα τοῦτον οἰομένους, εἶναι πάσης εἰδαιμονίας δοτῆρα καὶ πληρωτὴν ἀνθρώποις. Εἴτε Χρόνον αὐτὸν δεῖ καλεῖν ὡς Ἕλληνας ἀξιοῦσιν, εἴτε Κρόνον ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι. "Neque mirum est sane, si antiqui sacram Saturno regionem hanc existimarunt, quippe cum omnium bonorum, omnisque feracitatis auctorem et largitorem, hunc dæmonem crediderunt, sive Chronum ipsum nominari convenit, ut arbitrantur Græci, sive Kronum (Cronum vel Saturnum) ut Romani." Dion. Hal. Lib. 1.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF PAN.

PAN was a general of great rank and authority in the army of Osiris, and was most probably a prince in his own country. He stood very high in the favour and confidence of Osiris, who placed him in the number of his attendant deities, and named one of the great cities of Egypt after him¹.

Pan commanded the irregular troops from Ethiopia in the expeditions of Osiris; they were called Satyrs², and were armed and clothed after the wild uncouth manner of their country. When the Egyptians were driven out of Greece by the Greeks and their Scythian allies, we are told that they were saved in their retreat by the timely advance of the Egyptian Hercules with a body of fresh troops, which met them it appears in Asia Minor, somewhere near Troy most probably, as there they appear to have first stopped to breathe a little, long enough to bury the body of Minerva. I think they returned thence to Egypt by sea³; otherwise their retreat would have probably been noticed in Jewish and Syrian records. Lest the enemy might follow up their success by an attack on Egypt, Pan was stationed on the east bank of the Nile, with his front towards Syria, and a fleet at his rear to supply and recruit his army⁴.

The poets and mythologists therefore represent Pan as Capricornus, in the form of a he-goat, with horns (the wings of his army) and a fish's tail; and thus he was depicted among the zodiacal asteriods.

¹ Hermes, the brother of Osiris, had a son by an Arcadian nymph, who was called after Pan, and was confounded by the Poets and Mythologists with him.

² "Ὅντι δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἀχθῆναι λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τῶν σατύρων γένος." Diod. Siculus.

³ They probably had the fleet of Minos with their own if necessary.

⁴ The attachment of Pan to Osiris is represented as very great; so that when he heard of his murder, he was for a time deranged with horror and affright, a state of mind called from him *panic*.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE AMAZONS.

THE poetical and legendary accounts of these female warriors are greatly exaggerated, as is indeed almost every statement concerning the period in which they lived; nevertheless their existence must have some foundation in truth, or we should not find it noticed, directly or indirectly, by so many respectable ancient authors.

The following is their true history, as well as I have been able to collect it, from various authorities.

Minerva, who was (although illegitimate) the favourite daughter of Osiris, brought with her from Libya a troop of young females, mounted and armed, which attended him in his expeditions.

As Osiris was excessively fond of pomp and shew, a troop of handsome young women, elegantly mounted and splendidly armed and caparisoned, would seem quite to his taste. From the title or name of one of them "Chorias Mænados" found on her tomb, as given by Pausanias¹, it would appear that they were Bacchantes, and that it was part of their duty to sing the praises of the great Bacchus². The nine muses, as they were called, appear to have been the band of this female troop, which we may suppose was intended rather for show than for actual service. According to Pausanias, many of them fell in the battle with Perseus at Olympia; many more were killed at Athens, to which place they retreated when driven from the Peloponnesus; and the remainder were cut off in attempting to escape across the river Thermodon in Bœotia.

It was probably in this retreat that Theseus captured Hippolyte, whom he afterwards married, and had by her a son named Hippolytus, famous for his virtues and his misfortunes. The mythologists said that it was Hercules that captured Hippolyte, and that he gave her to his friend Theseus. But

¹ Pausanias, Lib. II. Cap. xx. See Chap. iv. Note 26.

² The ancients were in the habit of singing in their public processions, and when advancing to battle, beattime on their shields.

this could not be true, for Hercules was then an infant : nor could it refer to any other Hippolyte, or to any later transaction, for Hippolytus came to manhood some time before the captivity and subsequent dethronement of Theseus.

As to what we read of the Amazons founding a female kingdom on the river Thermodon in Asia Minor, with their queens, their wars and conquests, their invasion of Attica, &c., they are all mere poetical fictions, arising from the two rivers having the same name.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE MYTHOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANCIENTS CONSIDERED IN CONNECTION WITH EACH OTHER.

I SHALL NOW proceed to enquire, whether any, and if any, what light can be thrown upon the chronology of those periods, by a reference to the mythology of the nations under examination.

It appears to me that in general each system and even each circumstance of the ancient idolatry, may be marked by a careful observer in three stages of its progress.

First. The historical event which gave rise to the idolatrous institution.

Secondly. The actual institution or the existence of the idolatrous worship in question, where first established.

Thirdly. The extension of this system or form of idolatry to other nations. It is in this last stage that we generally see it noticed in Scripture, as infecting or endangering the people and Church of God.

Let this principle of gradation be applied to some of the leading portions of history.

I. The conduct of the inhabitants of the earth in the valley of Shinar, previous to their dispersion, shewed a lamentable declension from the true religion ; and after they had formed settlements in the various countries to which they migrated, there can be no doubt that very soon, instead of worshipping God, they in general deified their se-

veral patriarchal founders; in some places calling him Baal or Lord, in other places Moloch or king. This local idolatry was in rapid progress in the time of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but had acquired complete and rooted possession in most countries of Asia by the time of the Exodus, when the abominations of the Amorites were at the full. And we find the different kinds of idolatry by which the children of Israel were surrounded, and to which they were so often tempted, continually mentioned by the inspired historian.

Here we have the three stages of the worship of Baal and Moloch distinctly marked.

II. The horrid practice of parents immolating their children is supposed, with much appearance of reason, to have originated from a corrupt and mistaken tradition of Abraham offering up his son Isaac.

Here also we may observe an interval of time sufficient to allow grossness of principle to ripen into cruelty of practice. We find that by the time of the Exodus, which was about four hundred years afterwards, this horrid rite had become very generally prevalent. And we see Balak, king of Moab, consulting Balaam, whether such a sacrifice would be acceptable and efficacious. (See Micah vi. 7.)

Let us now apply this principle of gradation to the case of Osiris and Isis.

The ancients said that Osiris who was also called Ammon, was a king of Egypt who had great extent of territory, and an immense army; that he fought bloody battles and subdued many kingdoms; but that many nations submitted to him without a contest.

After his return to Egypt, they say that he built many splendid cities, besides other great public works; but that he was murdered by a conspiracy of his chief nobles, conducted by his brother; and that his body was shockingly mangled and cut in pieces by the conspirators.

They say, that Isis his queen, fled terrified in a boat¹

¹ This boat in which Isis escaped, was called Argha in their mythology, and Mr Faber and others think that the name Argo was taken from it. As the Argo was built by an Egyptian, and the galley from which it was copied was brought from Egypt, it seems very probable that both words (if they are not the same word differently written) were derived from some Egyptian word signifying a sacred vessel.

to Biblus the place of her birth, but afterwards ventured to return and seek for the remains of her husband, which after a long search she recovered and had interred.

Upon the above circumstances, the Egyptian priests grounded annual commemorative rights; and the women used at that season every year, to go about lamenting for Thamus or Thamosis, one of the names of Osiris; and a boat, with an image of Isis in it, was carried about in procession. Isis was also called by her worshippers the queen of heaven, and her worship was connected with that of the moon².

Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, was also worshipped, and said to preside over the sun; and there were a chariot and horses dedicated to him in each of his temples.

Let us now examine at what time these idolatrous practices are first noticed in Scripture.

The prophet Nahum wrote about 710 B. C. at the eighth verse of chap. vi. of his prophecy, No-Ammon נֹאֲמֹן *Nao's 'Amuānos*, the temple and city of Ammon is first mentioned in Scripture.

In II. Kings xxiii. 11, (about 624 B. C.) we read that Josiah took away the horses dedicated to the sun, by former kings of Judah, and burned the chariot of the sun with fire.

In Jeremiah xlv. 17, burning incense to the queen of heaven is noticed; and at xlv. 25, the prophet threatens Ammon-No; he wrote about 590—600 B. C.

In Ezekiel viii. 14, we read of women weeping for Thamus; Ezekiel wrote about 590 B. C.

Now, if Osiris or Ammon and his queen Isis, and their son Horus, flourished about the middle of the tenth century, that is, between the years 940 and 980 B. C., the intervals as above stated would allow sufficient time for historical facts to grow into religious observances, and afterward

² Both vanity and interest induced the heathen priests to give their deities as much antiquity as possible. But the Greek authors agree in declaring that Isis or Demeter came to Greece, and that she came in the time of Danaus and Lynceus, kings of Argos, Erechtheus king of Athens, and many other noted characters. She introduced into Greece rites and ceremonies, which were continued from that time without any interruption, to the time when these historians wrote. This uninterrupted succession of commemorative rites is considered the strongest kind of historical evidence. According to Clemens Alexandrinus, Isis was contemporary with Lynceus, king of Argos and Asa, king of Judah.

to extend from the place of their institution to neighbouring countries, whose princes, priests and people were so greedy of every novel abomination.

As to that view of the subject taken by the Rev. Mr Faber, and some other respectable writers, I cannot perceive any resemblance or coincidence whatever between the Scripture account of Noah and his family, and the Egyptian account of Osiris and his family.

Some commentators have thought that the Scripture account of Noah planting a vineyard, and making too incautious an experiment with its produce, is sufficient ground for identifying him with the Dionysius or Bacchus, or Osiris of the heathen world. But they would certainly not admit such a course of reasoning on any other subject, such a monstrous departure from every sound rule of criticism, as to identify a great military character, profligate in the extreme, glorying in vice of every kind, natural and unnatural, and an habitual drunkard:—I say, to identify such a character with one absolutely opposite in every thing, with one set before us in Scripture as a pattern of holiness, a preacher of righteousness, merely because it is recorded of him that once in his life he was intoxicated³.

Moreover, it does not seem at all probable, that if the events referred to, occurred so far back as the time of the general deluge, we should find no mention of them in Scripture during sixteen hundred years; or, if we take the longer chronology, during two thousand three hundred years, that is, from the time of the deluge to the year B. C. 713, al-

³ Apollodorus Athenæus informs us that Dionysius introduced the vine into Greece, in the reign of CENEUS king of Calydon, "Οἰνεὺς δὲ βασιλεύων Καλυδῶνος, παρὰ Διονύσου φυτὸν ἀμπέλου πρῶτος ἔλαβε." "CENEUS Calydone imperans vitis plantam a Dionysio primus accepit." Apoll. Athen. Lib. 1. p. 25. The tables place the reign of CENEUS B. C. 1260, antedating it, with all the other events of that age, about 300 years; still placing Osiris and Noah at an irreconcilable distance from each other; about 11 centuries by one system, and 19 centuries by the other system of Scripture chronology.

Mr Faber also argues that the Argonautic expedition is only an allegory, referring some way or other to the general deluge. But really there is nothing which can be called a resemblance, and it seems utterly improbable that this expedition should be noticed by all the respectable Greek historians, as one in which the principal persons of their country were concerned, and which was attended with great and permanent effects to several states, and that their statement should never have been contradicted if it had no foundation in facts.

though our Scriptures are the brief public authentic records, religious and political, of the country immediately adjoining; with which country there was also a very constant intercourse; and as the Israelites were exceedingly prone to copy the idolatrous practices of the neighbouring nations, it seems incredible that this would not sooner have gained a footing among them.

The name Ham, or rather CHaM (חם) has been thought by some to be meant by Ammon (אמון) the object of Egyptian worship. But if that were the case, we should certainly have had some notice of it in Scripture, before the time of the prophet Nahum, B. C. 713. Nor indeed ought we to build much on the similarity of two names, in which, as every beginner in Hebrew knows, there is only one letter coincident, the solitary letter *ח* *m*.

I shall conclude this chapter by observing, that the account transmitted to us of Osiris or Sesostris, and his family, seems so well supported and authenticated by institutions and religious observances, claiming to have been founded in their time, and on their account, some in Egypt and others in Greece; and continued afterwards for above a thousand years in the most powerful nations⁴; that however we may differ as to other matters, we cannot well avoid the conclusion, that their history in its general outline must be founded in fact, and that those monuments of his conquests which Herodotus and others declare that they themselves saw, must have had some real existence.

CHAPTER XIX.

ON THE USE OF FORTICAL FIGURES IN THE ANCIENT MYTHOLOGY.

IN concluding this division of my work, I must observe, that I think it very interesting to compare the airy and fanciful compositions of the poet and mythologist with the graver labours of the historian regarding the same subject.

⁴ The evidences of their existence abound to this day in Egypt, Greece, and Italy.

Here you see Jupiter on his throne, with his eagle at his side, receiving the incense of a prostrate world. The other picture shews you Osiris or Sesostris, conqueror of the earth, receiving idolatrous worship from servile nations, and attended by the minister of his pleasures, Æeton (or Eagle) flying if possible to anticipate his wishes.

One side shews you Prometheus chained to Mount Caucasus, with an eagle gnawing his liver. On the other side you see Prometheus confined at Colchos, in the custody of Æeton, who aggravates his captivity by petty cruelties¹.

Here you see Jupiter's eagle carrying off Ganymede, and transporting him to heaven². On the other side you see Æetes or Æeton, the pander of Sesostris, bringing Ganymede to the Egyptian court in Asia Minor.

One side represents Phoibos Apollôn³, driving the chariot of the sun. The other side shews you a terrible devastating tyrant, whose name Horus or Cherres (חֶרֶס) signifies the sun⁴; and whose subjects made the sun the emblem of his reign.

The poets represent Hermes or Aidoneus cutting off the head of Argus, after playing him to sleep with the music of his pipe. The historian informs us, that Armais or Danaus fascinated the people of Argos by his eloquence, and supplanted their king or head.

The Greeks were remarkable for the poignancy of their wit more than any other nation of antiquity, and indulged themselves much in that figure called Paronomasia, somewhat

¹ The ancients used to say of any tedious affliction, that it gnawed the liver of the sufferer.

² We may perceive something of the state of Roman morals in the Augustan age, by the expression "rapti Ganymedis honoris," Æneid i. 32. with which Virgil strives to palliate this kind of profligacy in compliment to his patron Augustus, whose character lay under a similar imputation.

³ Phoibos means terrible, and Apollon a destroyer.

⁴ חֶרֶס signifies the sun. See Judges viii. 13, and xiv. 18, Job ix. 7, &c. The Egyptian hieroglyphics often represent Horus by a hawk with a whip or scourge, or by a man with a whip or scourge in his hand. Ovid repeatedly mentions him by the great family name, Titan.

"Nullus adhuc mundo præbebat lumina Titan."

Ovid, Met. Lib. I. Fab. i. 6.

"Jungere equos Titan velocibus imperat Horis."

Ibid. Lib. II. Fab. i. 118.

like what is called punning, as also in the use and abuse of alliteration.

The poets often made witticisms of this kind the groundwork of their fables⁵, and they even found their way into the mythology of the country.

Calisto the Arcadian princess, they transformed into a she-bear, by a play on the two words Ἀρκάδη and ἀρκτή.

Osiris's eagle has been already considered.

Helen's remarkable long white neck made them say that her father had borne the figure of a swan.

The mountain Meros, near the city of Nysa, on which Bacchus was nursed, caused them to say that he was kept in the thigh (Μηρός) of Jupiter so many months.

When Proserpine was carried off by Hermes, Isis or Ceres changed her name, calling her by metathesis, Perisephone (פרי ספורה) which means fruit concealed, that is, my lost child.

Asterion, when in exile, changed his name, which signified illustrious, being derived from שֵׁשׁ *splendor*, (whence αστηρ a star,) and took the name of Saturn, which means obscure or hidden from סתר *latuit, abscondit*.

The circumstance which suggested the transformation of Pan into a he-goat with horns and a fish's tail, as he is represented in the asteroids, has been already noticed at p. 209.

⁵ Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a work which seems entirely borrowed from the Greek mythologists, abounds with this figure, which forms the groundwork of most of his fables.

PART IV.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION.

IN the course of the foregoing discussions, I have endeavoured, and I hope not altogether without success, to remove as much as possible the darkness which involved the history and chronology of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks. The gross absurdities of the ancient tables have been I trust traced to their true sources, the misstatements and frauds of the heathen priests, and the attempts of ingenious men ignorant of the first principles of the science, to form out of these monstrous fictions something like a general system of ancient chronology.

I consider that in setting before the reader the great discrepancies in their tables, and also the way in which they calculated dates and epochs, and constructed the Parian Chronicle and other tables, I have afforded the best means of clearing the subject of the effects of prejudice in favour of a system so erroneous, and yet so long and so generally received by the world as truth.

By their doubly erroneous mode of calculation, multiplying one error into another, the ancient chronologers contrived to obtain results truly wonderful, throwing back events which occurred in the times of David, and within a century previous to it, to the time of the patriarch Abraham¹, being from eight to ten centuries in error.

In Mitford's history of Greece, the learned and talented author ably exposes the absurd pretences of the Grecian states to any very great antiquity².

¹ The founding of Sicyon by Ægialeus in 1040 B. C. they transferred to 2090 B. C., and the conquest of Egypt by the Shepherd Kings they transferred from 1176 B. C. to the time of Abraham.

² He also rejects the separate existence of Erichthonius and Erechtheus, the two Minoses, two Pandions, two Cecropses, &c.

Many of his observations are so just and luminous, that I feel it only right to set them before the reader. After mentioning some of the absurd statements of the old chronologers, he proceeds thus:

“Sir Isaac Newton’s conjecture, far more consonant to the most authoritative traditions concerning the train of events, is that Sicyon and Argos may have been founded nearly together, about 1080 years before the Christian era, and scarcely 80 before the reign of Minos³. Indeed, from the traditions preserved by the oldest poets, and all the inquiries reported to us by the most judicious prose writers concerning the antiquities of their country, it appears rather probable that scarcely a wandering hunter had ever set foot in Peloponnesus so early as the period assigned by chronologers even to the foundation of Argos⁴.” Again: “But as history cannot hold together without some system of chronology, and as the result of my researches will not permit me to accept what has of late most obtained, it appeared an indispensable duty of the office I have undertaken to risk the declaration of my opinion, not without some explanation of the ground of it⁵.” Again: “The genealogies of eminent men have perhaps been every where the first assistants towards ascertaining the dates of past events⁶.” “In the unsettled state of governments and the deficiency of writing, registers of magistrates were little regularly kept⁷.” “Plutarch’s testimony against the chronologers is most explicit: ‘Thousands,’ he says, ‘continue to this day endeavouring to correct the chronological canons, and can yet bring them to no consistency.’”

At p. 190 he thus proceeds: “The chronology most received in modern times has been formed chiefly from those famous marbles brought from the Levant for the Earl of Arundel, and now in the possession of the University of Oxford, together with some fragments of the chronologers Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Thrasyllus, preserved chiefly in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, and the *Stromata* of Clemens Alexandrinus. Those marbles, whose fame has so much exceeded their worth, have

³ The reader will see how nearly this agrees with the dates in Part II. Chap. ix.

⁴ Vol. I. p. 20. Edition 1835.

⁵ p. 184.

⁶ p. 185.

⁷ p. 186.

⁸ p. 189.

been proved in some instances false; and what can we think of the authority of the chronologers when such authors as Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, coming after them, never deign even to quote them, but endeavouring to investigate the same subjects, declare that they were unable to satisfy themselves, and report the uncertainties that occurred?"

The chronology built on such frail foundations is also in itself improbable, and even inconsistent with the most authentic historical accounts.

"All these considerations together urged the great Newton to attempt the framing of a system of chronology for the early ages of Greece from the best historical traditions of political events, compared with the most authentic genealogies; and he endeavoured to verify it from accounts of astronomical observations."

At p. 191 he justifies his preference of Newton by giving a synopsis of the other system from Dr Blair's tables, as follows: "The deluge, according to Archbishop Usher, whom Dr Blair has followed, was 2348 years before the Christian era. The kingdom of Sicyon is said to have been founded only 259 years later. The list of kings of Sicyon is carried up to that period; but the next historical event in Greece is the founding of Argos by Inachus, 233 years after the founding of Sicyon by Ægialeus. I shall not enlarge upon the absurdity of the pretence to establish the date of such an insulated fact, and of tracing a succession of kings so far beyond all connected accounts of transactions in the country; because it has been a supposition not less received that Phoroneus and Ægialeus, sons of Inachus, founded Argos and Sicyon nearly at the same time". We have indeed Plato's testimony, that earlier than the age of Phoroneus nothing was known of Greece. After the founding of Argos, the flood of Ogyges is the next event of any importance: it is supposed to have happened 60 years later. Whether any

² This must have been the truth, for Pausanias informs us that Apis the fourth king of Sicyon was cotemporary with Pelops, who was the grandfather of Agamemnon and Menelaus, and came to Greece about 100 years before the Trojan war. Moreover Apis, the third king of Argos, was dethroned by Telchin, the third king of Sicyon, which proves incontestibly that the two states were founded about the same time, and proves the utter absurdity of the old system.

person of the name of Ogyges ever lived in Greece appears however very uncertain." "After Ogyges a void follows which chronology would ascertain to be just 208 years. Then Cecrops founded Athens. Dates thus wide of all connection with history are not for the historian to comment upon. With Cecrops however we find ourselves approaching to a train of historical events, so far connected that the memory of man might possibly reach from one to the other, and link tradition sufficiently for some conjectural calculation. Deucalion is said to have been cotemporary with Cecrops. Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, is the reputed founder of the council which bore his name. Cadmus was cotemporary with Amphictyon. Danaus came into Greece only eight years after Cadmus¹⁰. The connection is then less satisfactorily supported during near a century and a half to Acrisius¹¹, it holds afterwards better through 80 years to the Argonautic expedition."

"And here at length a crowd of remarkable personages, and many important events break upon us in probable succession; Pelops, Ægeus, Ceneus, Augeas, Neleus, Tyndareus, Eurystheus, Hercules, Jason, Theseus, and that Minos mentioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo; for the chronologers have imagined a prior Minos unknown to all those authors. With these personages we have the Argonautic expedition, the wars of Thessaly, the wars of Hercules in Peloponnesus, the Theban war, the war of Minos with Athens¹², the establishment of the Cretan maritime power, with the suppression of piracy, the reformation of the Athenian government, the expulsion of the posterity of Perseus from Peloponnesus, with the full

¹⁰ Danaus came to Greece near 70 years after the arrival of Cadmus, but was antedated 62 years.

¹¹ This century and a half is made up by repetitions of reigns. Acrisius or Criasus was reigning in Argos when Cadmus came to Greece. See Part II. Chap. II. See also Mr Clinton's collocation of events, *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. I. p. 139. The Argonauts sailed about 13 or 14 years after the arrival of Danaus, whose reign at Argos was very short, about seven years probably.

¹² The growth and establishment of the power of Minos, and his war with Athens, was during the reign of Ægeus. Hercules was born early in the reign of Theseus; and the Theban war occurred during the government of Pandion as Hierophant. See Part II. Chap. v.

establishment of the power of the family of Pelops, and finally the war of Troy."

"History regularly connects these events, and the chronology which fixes the Argonautic expedition to the year B. C. 1263¹³, places the expedition against Troy less than 70 years later¹⁴. Chronology then continues to go hand in hand with history as far as the return of the Heraclids; but here many ages of darkness ensue. The next events in Peloponnesus of any importance, and which bring forward any considerable characters to the notice of history, are the institution of the Olympian games by Iphitus, and the legislation of Lacedæmon by Lycurgus; and chronologers assert that this interval in which neither (any) man acquired fame, nor (any) event had any consequence, was of no less than 220 years¹⁵. Freret makes it 283."

"Then follows another void of 108 years to another Iphitus, under whose presidentcy at the Olympic festival, Coræbus was victor in what ever after bore the title of the first Olympiad¹⁶."

"From this era chronology begins again to approach toward a connection with history; but for near 200 years it still remains very uncertain. The most important events of the most polished state of Greece, the legislation of Draco, and even the legislation of Solon at Athens, are of uncertain date; though the former is on probable grounds placed above a century and a half after the first Olympiad." * * *

"The Olympian Catalogue was first published by Hippias the Eleian, not till toward the hundredth Olympiad, B. C. 376.

¹³ They dated the Argonautic expedition 30 years before the accession of Theseus instead of 30 years after it.

¹⁴ This 70 years Mr Clinton has reduced to 42, with every appearance of correctness.

¹⁵ Iphitus was the nephew of Oxylus, who was with the returning Heraclids, yet they put 220 or 283 years between them.

¹⁶ Pausanias knew of only one Iphitus, in whose time he says the regular Olympiads began, and Coræbus was victor. From Strabo's statement it would appear that Oxylus, Iphitus, and Coræbus were all cotemporary, which I think partially true; that is, that Oxylus probably lived until about 800 B. C. when Iphitus might be between 20 and 30, and Coræbus four or five years old. (See Part I. Chap. XVIII.) "With Newton, therefore," says Mr M., "I have no scruple to strike from my chronology, that period of above a century which has been imagined between Iphitus and Coræbus."

The first history digested by Olympiads, that of Timæus, was above a hundred years later, B. C. 276; and Eratosthenes, called the father of ancient chronology, did not flourish till about the hundred and thirty-third Olympiad¹⁷, B. C. 244.

I know not whether I owe an apology to the reader for the very copious extract I have here given from Mr Mitford's truly valuable work. I have been induced to do so by my knowledge of the strong deep-grounded prejudice in favour of the old absurd system of chronology, which appears still to exist in the minds of some learned and talented individuals. This I thought fully justified me in availing myself of the support of authority so respectable. I must add that I consider Mr M.'s opinion as to the date of Homer and Hesiod and his arguments in support of it, well worth attention. There is however one passage in p. 199 to which I cannot at all assent. It is as follows: "To complete the evidence which the poet himself (Homer) furnishes concerning the time in which he lived, we must add his ignorance of idolatry, of hero-worship," &c.

Now the direct contrary appears to me to be the case as to the poems of Homer, who is second to Hesiod only in diffuse notices of the Grecian superstitions of the age in which he lived; and is mentioned by Herodotus, either as joined with Hesiod in the great work of methodising the idolatrous system of the Greeks about the year 845 B. C.; or as employed then separately in a work of the same kind. The worship of images was certainly far more ancient than the date assigned to Homer by any author ancient or modern; and we have the very best ancient authority to prove, that their deities represented by those images were εἰδωλα or δαίμονες; that is, departed kings, heroes, and conquerors, and some of their wives or daughters.

In what sense therefore Homer could be supposed ignorant of idolatry and hero-worship, I cannot comprehend.

To conclude, after mentioning various errors and anachronisms, and Newton's emendations and corrections, some from calculation and others conjectural, Mr M. thus gives the result of his enquiries: "Upon the whole, however, Newton appears to have strong reason on his side throughout.

¹⁷ p. 193.

He seems indeed to have allowed too little interval between the legislation of Draco and that of Solon; and perhaps this is not the only instance in which his shortening system has been carried rather to an extreme: but when centuries are in dispute, we must not make difficulties about a few years¹⁶."

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

THERE is perhaps no nation upon earth, concerning whose ancient history and venerable existing monuments, more has been written, and less known with tolerable certainty, than Egypt.

Except the very brief incidental notices of that country which occur in Scripture, we find but little in which we can place implicit confidence, even among the more respectable ancient authors; a circumstance which I am inclined to attribute in general, not to a want of fidelity in these historians, but to deception in those persons from whom they were obliged to derive their information, and to the gross and wilful corruption of the public records by the heathen priests.

At the same time that so much of what has been handed down to us concerning that interesting country, must be condemned, or rather condemns itself as palpably fictitious; we are further perplexed by finding even in those documents of a better character, which are really worthy of attention, much error, discrepancy, and opposition of statement.

In prosecuting an enquiry under such circumstances, the greatest coolness and caution is necessary; to enable us to avoid two errors, opposite in their nature and tendency, and perhaps equally injurious to the cause of truth.

On the one hand, if we are too credulous, we shall admit and pass for truth what is unsound and apocryphal. And if on the other hand we are too sceptical, and reject too hastily that which is founded in fact and fairly supported by historical evidence, we shall injure the cause of

¹⁶ p. 207.

literature, by diminishing the small portion of true light which still remains to direct us¹.

Egypt has always been regarded as the most ancient and venerable of the heathen nations; and its history, although imperfect and obscure, must nevertheless be peculiarly interesting to the learned, on account of the stupendous monuments of antiquity, and the hieroglyphic remains still to be seen in that country; and to the religious, on account of its intimate connection with the history of God's ancient people, the Jews.

The accounts given by the Egyptian priests, and by the Greek historians, of the state of Egypt before the time of the shepherd kings, are so palpably fictitious, and the lists which they give of the more ancient kings, bear such evident marks of later fabrication, that I cannot think them deserving of any serious attention.

It seems possible, and not improbable, either that the shepherd kings might have succeeded in destroying the ancient records; or the vanquished party might have lost them in the confusion of their retreat or flight².

If the shepherd kings had been expelled, by the lineal descendants of the original possessors of the throne of Egypt, it is probable, that those records might by some means have been restored or recovered, as the lapse of time was but little more than a century. But it seems probable, that the shepherd kings were expelled by a new dynasty, whose interests would therefore not be advanced, by the revival of former records, and with them perhaps the claims of the ancient family.

Syncellus gives the following table of the first kings of Egypt, to the time of its conquest by the shepherds.

¹ Some late writers on history have taken this course, which I regret exceedingly.

² The old Egyptian Chronicle, they said, contained at first thirty dynasties; but fourteen had been lost from the beginning of it. In that table the five Persian kings, who held Egypt under their dominion, form the 27th dynasty. Africanus and Eusebius give accounts of ancient Egyptian dynasties; and they doubtless report faithfully what they could collect on the subject. But the internal marks, either of a spurious origin, or of transposition, may be seen in most of the dynasties which they have given, as belonging to the more ancient periods.

	Years.		Years.
1. Mestram or Menes } reigned	35	15. Amesises	65
2. Curudes or Cudrus...	63	16.	14
3. Aristarchus ³	34	17. Use	50
4. Spanius	36	18. Rhameses	29
5.	72	19. Rhamesesmenes.....	15
(.....		20. Tysimares	31
7. Serapis ⁴	23	21. Rhamesescos	23
8. Sesonchosis	49	22. Rhamessemeno.....	19
9. Amenemes	29	23. Rhamesse, son of } Baëtes	39
10. Amasis or Amosis ...	2	24. Rhamesse, son of } Uaphes	29
11. Acecephthres	13	25. Concharis	6
12. Achoreas	9	Shepherd kings, Silites, &c.	
13. Amiyses or Armiyses	4		
14. Chamois	12		

Any one, by comparing the names in the above table with the names given by Eusebius and Herodotus, may, I think, readily perceive that the above kings, except the two first names, reigned not before but after the Shepherd kings, until the Persians conquered Egypt. He must be ignorant indeed, who can believe that the second in succession from Mizraim, bore the name of Aristarchus.

The name of Menes, at the head of the series, is also undoubtedly surreptitious, and its interpolation was, I think, occasioned by the Egyptian priests declaring, that Menes was the first mortal king of Egypt; but by this they certainly meant Proteus, surnamed Menes or Amenophis, who succeeded Horus, the last of the deified kings.

The names without doubt refer to the Titan dynasty, and in the following order :

³ We have here a most curious specimen of ancient blunders and corruptions. The beginning of the above table is, I think, evidently copied from some list of the deified kings of Egypt, in which the first name was Curudes (Certus), to which the compiler added the expletives "Aristarchos Spanios," that is, "Curudes, the great prince or founder of Spain." Of these two expletives Syncellus made two kings. The corruption of Certus into Curudes need not surprise us; the Cherehites who settled in Spain and Italy were called Curetes.

⁴ Serapis, No. 7, means Totmosis or Belus, the father of Osiris, Serapis שר אב. Pater dominus would be a very suitable title for the father of their supreme deity. Sesonchosis, No. 8, refers to Sesak or Sesostris, Achoreas to Horus, Armiyses to Hermes II. or Proteus, and Chamois to Chermis.

No. 2. Curudes Aristarchos Spanios.	Certus or Arcles, the last shepherd king.
3.	1. Asis or Totmosis.
4.	2. Chebron.
5.	3. Amenses.
6.	4. Miphra.
7. Serapis	5. Belus or Totmosis.
8. Sesonchosis	6. Sesac, Sesostris, Osi- ris, Ammon, &c.
9. Amenemes.....	
10. Amasis or Amosis	
11. Acecephthres	Python.
12. Achoreas	7. Horus.
13. Armyses.....	8. Harneses-mi-Amun or Proteus.
14. Chamois, &c.....	Chemmis or Cheops, &c.

In the table given by Syncellus, as a list of all the kings of Egypt, he has repeated the same dynasty at least four times with some dialectic difference.

Manetho, an Egyptian priest, wrote a history of Egypt in Greek by the desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, taking the facts as he said, from some ancient sacred pillars: most of his work has been lost, but Josephus has preserved an extract containing two dynasties, that of the Shepherd kings, and that of the Titan kings, who expelled and succeeded them on the throne of Egypt. These two dynasties I have already placed before the reader in Part II. Chap. VIII. although not accurate, they are not unworthy of attention.

There are three other tables of Egyptian dynasties ascribed to him and adopted by Africanus, which seem entitled to attention also, on account of their agreement, in a sort of loose general way, so far as they extend, with the laterculus of Eratosthenes. They end with a queen called Nitocris, whose reign stands in the Laterculus No. 22, sixteen reigns before Amyrthæus, with which his list closes, being No. 38. If this king be the same who revolted from the Persians about 413 B. C., he is No. 87 in the list of Syncellus. And the Chuther-Tauros No. 27 of Eratosthenes would then probably be Tara-cus, No. 77 of Syncellus, and the Tirkaka of Scripture.

Unfortunately, almost all the names in the laterculus are quite different from those in Josephus and Syncellus. We have therefore no certain means of checking and correcting them by comparison.

THREE MEMPHITE DYNASTIES FROM
MANETHO AND AFRICANUS.

	Years.
No. III. The first Memphite dynasty.	1. Necherophes..... 28
	2. Tosorthrus..... 29
	3. Tyris..... 7
	4. Mesochris..... 17
	5. Soiphis..... 16
	6. Tosertasis..... 19
	7. Achis..... 42
	8. Siphuris..... 30
	9. Cerperes..... 26
No. IV. The second Memphite dynasty.	10. Soris (a)..... 29
	11. Suphis (b)..... 63
	12. Suphis (b)..... 66
	13. Mencheres (b) ... 63
	14. Rataeses (c)..... 25
No. IV. The second Memphite dynasty.	15. Bicheres (d)..... 22
	16. Sebercheres (e)... 7
	17. Thamphis (e).... 9
No. VI. The third Memphite dynasty.	18. Othoes.....
	19. Phius (f)..... 53
	20. Methusuphis..... 7
	21. Phiops (f)..... 94
	22. Mentesuphis..... 1
	23. Nitocris..... 12

I can only set the above before the reader; to understand or explain it is beyond my ability.

THEBAN KINGS FROM THE LATER-
CULUS OF ERATOSTHENES.

	Years.
1. Menes.....	62
2. Athothes I.....	59
3. Athothes II.....	32
4. Diabies.....	19
5. Semphos or Pem- phos.....	18
6. Toigar.....	79
7. Stoichos.....	6
8. Gosormies.....	30
9. Mares*.....	26
10. Anophes †.....	20
11. Siroes or Sirius (a)...	18
12. Chnubus Gneurus (b)	27
13. Rauosis (c).....	13
14. Biyris (d).....	10
15. Saophis (e).....	29
16. Sensaophis (e).....	27
17. Moscheres (e).....	31
18. Musthis.....	33
19. Pammus Archon- des. (f).....	35
20. Apappus the Great (f).....	100
21. Echescus Caras.....	1
22. Nitocris.....	6
23. Myrtæus.....	22
24. Thyosimares.....	12
25. Thyrillus.....	8
26. Semphucrates.....	18
27. Chuther Taurus.....	7

Years.		Years.	
28. Meres the philosopher	12	34. Maris	43
29. Choma Ephtha.....	11	35. Siphos Hermes	5
30. Anchunius Ochy	60	36.	14
31. Pentecathyris	16	37. Phruron or Nilus ...	5
32. Stamenemes.....	23	38. Amurthæus or } Amythantæus }	63
33. Sistosichumes	55		

Note. Menes No. 1, is, I think, surreptitious, and belongs to No. 10. The names marked with small letters (*a*) &c. seem the same in both lists. (*) Mares may be Horus, one of whose titles was מַאֲרִי *Mavors* or *Mars*. (†) Anophis may be Anubis or Hermes the younger who succeeded Horus. No. IV. I think a confused repetition of No. III.

Thyosimares No. 24 in this list, and which stands fifth after Pammus, is probably the same with Tysimares No. 20, in the list of Syncellus, which is the fifth name after Chamois in that table. Pammus and Chamois seem to refer to Chemmis or Cheops.

Syncellus informs us, that Eratosthenes obtained the names in his catalogue at Diospolis, and translated them out of the sacred or hieroglyphic characters into Greek.

Sir William Drummond remarks, I think very justly, that if Eratosthenes really examined and read the Egyptian Archives, he must probably have misunderstood them.

The list of Eratosthenes begins evidently with the Thoth or Titan dynasty, as the first name (after the surreptitious name of Menes) is Athothes I. If we strike off the second dynasty of eight reigns, as repetitions, this leaves 29 reigns in about 660 years, from the expulsion of the Shepherd kings about 1070 B.C. to the revolt of Amyrtæus, which ended with his life about 410 B.C.

The differences between Manetho and Eratosthenes, as to most of the names, prove that the latter did not copy from the former; while the points in which they agree, prove that they derived their information from materials substantially the same.

Having given the reader a comparative view of the laterculus of Eratosthenes, as collated with the tables of Manetho and Syncellus, I shall now compare in the same way,

the list of Egyptian kings after the expulsion of the shepherds, as given by Syncellus with those given by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

We find in each of these tables somewhat that agrees with the other two, and also that agrees with what Josephus quotes from Manetho, and with lists given by Africanus and Eusebius; I consider them all therefore deserving of some attention.

The chief variations in Diodorus consist in placing some anonymous reigns in various places between the names of the kings; but such variations do not require critical examination; anonymous matter of any kind we are not bound to attend to, except when collaterally well supported.

In Syncellus, the chief difference consists in the far greater number of names of kings contained in his list, which has four, five, and even six times as many names as some of his predecessors. This I attribute plainly to repetition and interpolation by the Egyptian priests and historians during the interval.

The confused, unsatisfactory, corrupted statements of most other authors, make the labours, fidelity and discernment of Herodotus appear only so much the more valuable. On the contrary, Syncellus appears to have adopted and inserted all the corruptions and interpolations of all his predecessors.

EGYPTIAN KINGS AFTER THE EXPULSION OF THE SHEPHERDS⁵.

Herodotus.	Diodorus Siculus.	Syneellus.
	Busiris	1. Aseth.
	* * * *	2. Amosis or Themosis.
	Busiris	3. Chebron.
	Osymandyas (a) . . .	4. Amephes.
	Uchorcus (b)	5. Amenses.
Moeris (δ)	Myris (δ)	6. Misphramuthosis. }
	Sasyches (a)	7. Misphees. }
Sosostris (a)	Sesoosis I. (a)	8. Tuthmosis. (δ)
Pheron (b)	Sesoosis II. (b) . . .	9. Amenophthis. (a)
	Amasis (b)	10. Horus
	Actisanes the Ethi- opian	11. Achencheres } 12. Athoris } 13. Chencheres } 14. Achres } (b)
Proteus (ζ)	Proteus (ζ)	15. Armæus or Danaus.
		16. Rhameses or Ægyptus. (c)
		17. Amenophis. (ζ)
		18. Thuorus. (b)
		19. Nechepsos. (c)
		20. Psammuthis.
		21.
Rhampainitus . . .	Remphis	22. Certus.
		23. Rhampsis.
		24. Amenses.
	Nilus	25. Ochyras. (b)
		26. Amedes. (b)
Cheops	Chemmis	27. Thuorus or Polybus. (b)
Cephrenes	Cephren	28. Athothis or Phusanus.
		29. Cencenes.
Mycerinus	Mycerinus	30. Uennephees.
		31. Sussacim. (a)
		32. Psenus or Senipsue- rus (b).
Asychis	Gnephacthus	33. Amenophis. (ζ)
		34. Nephecheres.
		35. Saites.
		36. Psinaches.
		37. Petobastes.
		38. Osorthon. (f)
		39. Psammus.

⁵ The expulsion of the Shepherd kings was to Egypt what the return of the Heraclidæ was to the Peloponnesus, and the Norman conquest was to England.

EGYPTIAN KINGS AFTER THE EXPULSION OF THE SHEPHERDS.

(continued.)

Herodotus.	Diodorus Siculus.	Syncellus.
		40. Concharis ⁶ . (b)
		41. Osorthon. (f)
		42. Tacelophes.
Anysis	Bocchoris	43. Bocchoris.
Sabaco	Sabaco	44. Sabacon. (d)
Anysis again..	Interregnum 2 years	45. Sebechon. (d)
Sethon	* * * *	46. Taracus ⁷ .
		47. Amaes.
12 kings co- temporary ...	12 kings	48. Stephinates.
		49. Nacepsus. (e)
Psamitichus...	Psamitichus	50. Nechaab I. (e)
Necus	4 generations	51. Psamitichus.
Psammis	* * * *	52. Nechaab II. (e)
		53. Psammuthis or Psamiti- chus II.
Apries	Apries	54. Uaphres.
Amasis	Amasis	55. Amasis.
Psamenitus ...	(The Persians	conquer Egypt.)
		56. Amyrtæus.
		57. Nepherites.
		58. Achoris.
		59. Psamuthis.
		60. Menas.
		61. Nectanebis.
		62. Teos.

Note. When the names appeared to me to refer to the same person, I placed them in the same line where it could be done; but in the list of Diodorus, Osymandyas, Sasyches, and Sesosis I. belong, I suspect to the same king Sesostris. I also think Uchoreus and Sesosis II. to be the same king Horus.

⁶ The syllable con, cen, or chen, with which many of the names of Egyptian kings begin, seems derived from or the same with the Hebrew word כהן, pronounced rabbinically, Cohen, which signifies a priest, and sometimes a prince, invested most probably with a sacred character.

⁷ Tirhaka probably.

The Arab writers give a list of Egyptian kings from the beginning of that monarchy down to Shishak, which has the recommendation of being somewhat consistent with itself; and if we except the legendary matters contained in it, is neither so grossly improbable nor so inconsistent with cotemporary Scripture, as the accounts of the Egyptian priests, which have come to us through some of the Greek historians.

KINGS OF EGYPT ACCORDING TO THE ARABS.

1. Beisar the son of Ham; he built Mesr, that is Cairo.

2. Mesr the son of Beisar, born while the city of Mesr was building; he divided Egypt among his sons, giving the middle part to Kift, the upper to Ashmun, and the lower to Athrib and Sa.

3. Kift or Kibt, reigned after Mesr; the Copts are named after him.

4. Ashmun, according to some accounts, succeeded his brother; from him the city of Ashmun in Upper Egypt took its name.

5. Athrib the son of Mesr; he built Ain-Shams or Heliopolis; Athribis in lower Egypt was called after him.

6. Sana or Sa, another son of Mesr, is supposed to have built the city of Sais, and was the first who made laws.

7. Tedaris or Edris.

8. Malik.

9. Kharaya, the son of Malik.

10. Kelkeli, the son of Kharaya, a wise and potent prince.

11. Harbiya, the uncle of Kelkeli, an infidel and very wicked.

12. Tulis, was as bad as his predecessor; in his reign Abraham came into Egypt.

13. Juriak Khatun, daughter of Tulis.

14. Dhalka or Zalka, daughter of Manun Khatun; this princess being unable to defend her kingdom, Walid, son of Thardon, king of the Amalekites, invaded Egypt, and having subdued the Copts, seized the crown.

15. Walid, the first king of Egypt of the race of Amalek, took the surname of Pharaoh, which in Coptic signifies king, and was used by his successors; he was an impious man.

16. Riyan, the son of Walid, succeeded his father, and first dwelt at Ain-Shams, but afterwards removed to Memphis; in his reign Joseph was sold into Egypt, and having lain in prison 12 years, was at length delivered on his interpreting a dream, and being brought to court was made Wazir or Visir over the whole kingdom. This Riyan is said to have embraced the true religion, and to have flourished four hundred years before the time of Moses.

17. Darem, the son of Riyan, was an impious king, and excessively proud; he was drowned in the Nile.

18. Cathim, the son of Madan an Amalekite, was famous throughout the world for the magnificent buildings erected by him. Some ascribe the pyramids to this king; he was the last Amalekite king of Egypt.

Some writers say, that the Wazir of Cathim succeeded to the crown, and was the Pharaoh of Moses, but the more exact, leaving out both these last reigns, say that Riyan was succeeded by his grandson.

19. *Kabus*, the son of Mashab, and grandson of Riyan, died soon after Joseph.

20. *Walid*, the brother of *Kabus*; he is generally supposed to be that king of Egypt, with whom Moses had to do, and who was drowned in the Red sea. Most of the commentators on the Koran tell us that this prince was an Arab, others say he was of Coptic descent^a.

21. *Daluka*, surnamed Al-Ajuz, or the old woman, succeeded the Pharaoh who perished in the Red sea. This queen is said so have been most expert in magic; she lived an hundred years, and encompassed the city of Mear with walls. Some attributed the pyramids to her.

22. *Darkun*, the son of Maltus, came to the crown very young.

23. *Tardas*, this king reigned a long time.

24. *Lofash*^b.

^a There was a Saracen Kaliph named Al-Walid. The name occurs also in the Abyssinian annals.

^b *Lofash* may perhaps be a contraction of Halisphramuthosis who expelled the shepherds; such contractions have been always usual in Eastern countries.

- 25. *Marina.*
- 26. *Malus.*
- 27. *Manakil.*
- 28. *Bula*¹⁰.

The actions of these six kings are not recorded, and there seems to be an omission of some intermediate princes, as also between the two following.

29. *Ashyaf*, or as Ebn Shohnah more correctly writes the name, Shishak, was cotemporary with Solomon, and after his death took Jerusalem, and greatly distressed the Israelites¹¹.

It is supposed that many names are omitted in this part of the account.

30. Pharaoh, surnamed Al-Araj, or the lame; in his time Nebuchadnezzar, governor of Babylon, led an army of 600,000 men against Jerusalem, and slew a third part of the Israelites, carried a third part into captivity, and imposed a tribute on the remaining third; but many of them flying into Egypt he pursued them thither, and demanded them from Pharaoh, who refusing to deliver them up, Nebuchadnezzar besieged his capital city Mesr, and having taken it hanged him. See Jeremiah xliii. 4—11.

Beside those omissions already noticed, it is evident that there must be other deficiencies in this Arab list, but to what extent cannot now be ascertained.

¹⁰ The father of Sesostris was called Belus or לבק.

¹¹ Ashyaf for Asis-Apha.

	B. C.	Cotemporary.
Saites or Salites, founder of Sais . . .	about 1176	Sampson.
Beon or Pachnan.....		Eli.
Aphobis		Samuel and } .
Arcles or Certus, founder of Tyre ¹²		
Asis or Tutmosis expels the Shep- herds.....	..... 1070	Saul. }
Chebron.....	..... 1046	David.
Amenemes . . . . .	..... 1033	David.
Miphramuthosis conquered Philistia	..... 1012	Father-in-law to Solomon.
Belus or Tuthmosis.....	..... 989	Solomon, Minos.
Sesostris, or Amenophis, or Osiris..	..... 980	Solomon and Re- hoboam, Ægeus, Theseus, Minos.
Horus or Pheron ¹³ (Titan's war)...	..... 952	Asa, Theseus.
Python and Armais about 4 } in re- Python or Typhon alone 1 } bellion.		
Horus afterwards 7		
—		
in all about 12 years.		
(Invasion of Zerah or Actisanes the Ethiopian) . . . . .	..... 940	Asa.
Proteus, Amenophis, Menes or Her- mes-Mi-Amun.....	..... 930	Trojan war, Ahab, Eth-Baal.
Rampsinitus or Remphis.....	..... 880	Jehu, Carthage built.
Cheops or Chemmis . . . . .	..... 860	Joash, Return of Heraclidæ.
Cephren or Cephrenes . . . . .	..... 820	
Mycerinus or Cherinus . . . . .	..... 800	Uzziah.
Aaychis or Gnephactus . . . . .	..... 785	Menahem.
Anysis or Bocchoris . . . . .	..... 769	Ahaz, Nabonas- sar ¹⁴ .
Sabaco or So . . . . .	..... 737	Hoshea, Salmana- sar.
..... Anysis restored.....		
Sethon (Tirhaka holds Upper Egypt ¹⁵) . . . . .	..... 720	Hezekiah, Senna- cherib.

¹² Eusebius makes the reign of the Shepherds in Egypt 106 years.¹³ Φερων Pharaoh.¹⁴ Africanus makes the era of Nabonassar commence in the 22nd year of the reign of Bocchoris.¹⁵ II. Kings xix. and Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. cxli.

	B. C.	Cotemporary.
Tirhaka or Taracus ¹⁶	about 700	Manasses.
Esarhaddon makes Egypt tributary	in 673	
12 cotemporary kings or probably governors of provinces under Assyria		Manasses.
Psamiticus	about 668	Manasses, Ammon.
Necho .....	..... 625	Josiah, Nebuchadnezzar.
Psammis .....	..... 600	Jehoiakim.
Hophra or Apries .....	..... 594	Zedekiah, Jeremiah, &c.
Amasis .....	..... 569	Solon, Cræsus, Thales.
Cyrus conquers Egypt .....	..... 535	
Psaminitus (1st Revolt) .....	..... 525	
Cambyses reduces Egypt		
Darius Histaspes (2nd Revolt) .....	..... 522	
Xerxes reduces Egypt .....	..... 484	
Artaxerxes Longs. (3rd Revolt) .....	..... 460	
..... reduces Egypt .....	..... 456	Inarus taken and crucified ¹⁷ . Herodotus visits Egypt, 448.
Darius Nothus (4th Revolt)	in 413	under Amyrtæus.
Amyrtæus .....	..... 413	
Pausiris		
Psamiticus II.	about 400	
Nephercus .....	..... 395	
Achoris, he joined Evagoras against the Persians in 387 .....	..... 389	Artaxerxes II.
Nectanebis .....	..... 382	
Tachos or Teos .....	..... 370	Agésilas.
Nectanebis II. (or the first restored) .....	..... 369	Agésilas, Ochus.
..... Ochus reduces Egypt .....	..... 350	
Alexander conquers Egypt .....	..... 332	

¹⁶ Probably the Chuther-Taurus of Eratosthenes.

¹⁷ See Thucydides, Lib. I.

Egypt was probably inhabited very soon after the dispersion, as it was named after one of the grandsons of Noah. Mizraim, from whom it received its ancient name, is supposed to have taken possession of it about the year B.C. 2200, according to the system of chronology most generally received; but if we adopt the opinion of some learned writers, among whom is Dr Hales, we must place the dispersion at a much earlier date, between 2500 and 2600 years before the Christian era.

We are informed in Scripture that Mizraim had seven sons¹⁸, Ludim, Ananim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistin) and Caphtorim. These settled in various parts of the country which afterwards bore their names.

The descendants of Mizraim continued to increase and extend themselves in Egypt for many centuries; the head probably of the elder branch bearing the title of Pharaoh. The superior fertility of their own country left them but little temptation to invade their neighbours, and their frontier towards Asia, which was for a long time the only assailable part, was so narrow¹⁹ as to be easily defended against any enemy then in existence.

The world appears indeed from the Scripture account, to have been very thinly peopled until after the time of Abraham²⁰, but to have increased greatly between his time and the Exodus; this seems according to the course of nature.

The ratio of increase is probably nearly geometrical, until the population nearly equals the means of support. When-

¹⁸ Or "begat seven nations," as some would translate the passage. The plural or dual form of these names has perplexed commentators with a question, whether tribes or individuals are meant in Scripture; but as Mizraim is certainly the name of an individual son of Ham (Genesis x. 6), and again is construed in the 13th verse as a noun singular, ילד ארז-לחים, ומצרים ילד ארז-לחים, we may, I think, conclude the same of his sons; especially as in verses 16, 17, and 18, where tribes are clearly intended, the national form is plainly used without the ם final.

¹⁹ The country anciently called Egypt by Greek writers, lay west of the river Nile. The tract between the Nile and the Red sea, was considered part of Arabia, but subject to Egypt.

²⁰ The entire history of Abraham proves this: with his establishment, which did not equal that of many of the ancient Roman senators, he was considered a powerful personage in Canaan; he even attacked and routed five of the neighbouring kings.

ever population passes that point in any country, either War, or Dearth, or Disease, or Emigration, and sometimes all these together, will naturally arise and check its exuberance.

Population in fact fluctuates exceedingly, ebbing and flowing at different times, and in different places, being continually influenced by the state of religion, politics, commerce, agriculture, &c.; and, indeed, the places still uninhabited, would, if added together, amount to a considerable portion of the surface of the globe, although its population has been now in progress above 4,000, or, as some think, near 5,000 years since the deluge. If population proceeded, as some theorists assert, in a regular geometrical ratio, every habitable spot of this planet must have been fully peopled long enough before our time.

Population is at present decidedly advancing in the British empire and the united states of America. It is as decidedly retrograding throughout the Turkish dominions, in Spain, Italy, among the aborigines of America, and perhaps in many other places.

There are also many countries in which population appears to be nearly stationary.

But to return to our more immediate subject; to the circumstances above referred to, it was probably owing, that Egypt enjoyed a state of tranquillity and prosperity, which far exceeded in duration any thing of the kind known among the other nations of antiquity.

In the mean time however, a power was growing up to maturity in its own neighbourhood, which was destined to disturb its repose, and to contend with it for the sovereignty of Africa. Another branch of the family of Ham, a tribe of the descendants of Cush, had been compelled or induced by circumstances to emigrate from Shinaar, and at length reached Africa, where they founded the powerful kingdom called by the Greeks Ethiopia, but in Scripture, and no doubt in the native and neighbouring dialects, it was called Cush כוש, after the name of the parent stock in Middle Asia ²¹.

²¹ It appears probable that they moved along the western shore of the Persian Gulf, and settled for a time in the south of Arabia, at a place which they named

After crossing the straits and entering Africa, it seems probable that they turned northward²², and made their principal settlement at or near the place which still bears the name of Senaar.

This kingdom often contended with Egypt for the supremacy²³; and to these contests between two powerful branches of the same family²⁴, the introduction of the shepherd kings into Egypt may, I think, be attributed with the greatest appearance of probability²⁵; whether this was actually the case, cannot now be determined.

All that we know with any degree of certainty is, that the first of these shepherd kings was named Saites or Salites, that he was an enterprising chief with a powerful army under his command, and having obtained a footing in the country, either by force or treachery, he enslaved the inhabitants and left the crown to his posterity.

This is called by historians the dynasty of the Phœnician shepherd kings²⁶ of whom, according to Eusebius, four

Babel after the Chaldean city of that name. Thence it seems they extended themselves, and crossed the straits to the opposite coast of Adel. I think the name of the strait, between Arabia and Africa, was originally Babel-min-Adel, from which the present name Babelmandel would be readily formed, in the usual way of corrupting eastern names. It is said that Arabia Felix went formerly under the name of Ethiopia, because the Abyssinians conquered and possessed it for a long time*. According to Eusebius, this migration to Africa occurred while the Israelites were in Egypt; but Syncellus places it in the time of the judges †.

²² By turning northward they would come into a milder climate, and perhaps also into a more fertile country.

²³ Africanus and Eusebius mention three Ethiopian kings reigning over Egypt.

²⁴ It appears from Scripture that the Ethiopians were very powerful. In the time of Asa, king of Judah, Zerah the Ethiopian had an army of a million of soldiers; and again, in the reign of Hezekiah, we read that Tirhaka, king of Ethiopia, was considered an opponent fit to cope with the great Sennacherib.

²⁵ Even if the chronology did not contradict such a supposition, I cannot think with Sir Isaac Newton, that these shepherds could be the remnant of the Canaanites which escaped the sword of Joshua. The wreck of an almost exterminated army, fugitives from their own country, seem scarcely fit to achieve such a conquest. I think it more rational to suppose that the Egyptians called in these strangers at some time of national difficulty. It was in this way that the Saxons first got footing in England, and afterwards conquered the natives.

²⁶ Whether or not they were Phœnicians, or as some think Amalekites, is quite uncertain. Their king and chief section going to Phœnicia, when expelled from Egypt, makes the former idea probable.

* Univ. History, Vol. XVIII. p. 38, note.

† Ibid. p. 112.

reigned in Egypt, viz. Saites, Beon, Aphobis, and Arcles; and their reigns occupied in all 106 years; they were detested by the Egyptians as tyrants and foreigners, and perhaps still more on account of their religious principles, especially their impious cruelty in killing those animals which were considered sacred in the country.

At length Arcles or Certus, the fourth and last of these shepherd kings, was expelled by the Egyptians under Aseth or Asis, who effected this counter-revolution soon after the beginning of the eleventh century, about the year 1070 B.C. and about 180 years before the destruction of Troy²⁷.

Arcles, thus expelled from Egypt, made his way into Phœnicia, where he founded the noble city of Tyre, at a place repeatedly noticed in Scripture, as the strong hold of Tzur צור. (Joshua xix. 29. II. Samuel xxv. 7.) He became famous as the Tyrian Arcles or Hercules, likewise called Melc-Chartus (or Certus) the first great navigator²⁸.

At the same time others of the expelled chiefs formed settlements in different countries.

Inachus led a party of adventurers to Greece, and founded the kingdom of Argos in Peloponnesus, where his descendants long reigned and were called Inachidæ.

Cecrops, a native of Sais, settled in Attica, where this Egyptian colony was at first called Cecropia, and comprised several villages; these were afterwards consolidated by Theseus into one city, which received the name of Athens.

Lelex, another of these emigrant chiefs, led his followers to the southern part of Peloponnesus, and founded the famous state of Sparta, by the river Eurotas, in the country afterwards called Laconia.

Arcles, the Tyrian Hercules, and the first of that name mentioned by historians, was one of the most distinguished

²⁷ See Part I. Chap. ix.

²⁸ The invention of sails for ships has been attributed to Dædalus the celebrated engineer of Minos the Great; but this could not mean the common square sail, the use of which is known to the most savage tribes, and which must have been used by the Tyrians long before his time. The sails which Dædalus invented are compared to wings, and were probably the same nearly with those at present used in the Mediterranean, which are indeed somewhat like wings; by means of these he could sail close to the wind, and thus escape from his pursuers. This was an improvement truly valuable.

characters of antiquity; he built the city and founded the kingdom of Tyre²⁹, which was justly considered the parent of commerce and navigation. He also built in Phœnicia some other cities of less note³⁰. He established colonies in Spain, a country with which the natives of Asia do not appear to have had any intercourse before his time; he there built the city of Tartessus and some others³¹.

That such a person, in an age so prone to idolatry, should become an object of worship, was only what might be expected. Temples were erected to his honour after his death, not only in Tyre and its colonies and dependencies, but likewise in many other maritime states and cities. Even Egypt, from which he had been expelled, worshipped him as one of its deified monarchs; and the Egyptian priests calculated one of their great eras from his reign in that country³².

A due consideration of all the circumstances, will, I think, make it clearly evident that this Tyrian Hercules was the Abibaal or Abibalus of Josephus and of Menander the Ephesian³³; before whom they say there is no record of any

²⁹ "Hercules or Melcartus was the great and ancient god of Tyre." See *Universal History*, Vol. II. p. 347, and the authorities there referred to. There is much discussion as to the title Melcartus; but as Certus was one of his names, Melc-Certus or Melc-Cartus would mean simply king Certus or king Cartus.

See also Cumberland *Orig. Gentium Antiq.* p. 114.

³⁰ He was the founder of Biblus and Cartha, both named after himself. Bochart says that Cartheia was at first called Melcarteia from Melcartus its founder. Bochart's *Canaan*, Lib. 1.

³¹ There were people called Curetes, dwelling about Gades in Spain, brought thither by him from Phœnicia.

³² "From Hercules to Amasis 17,600 years." Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. XLIII.

³³ Josephus, in his work against Apion, Book I. Chap. XVIII. quotes Menander the Ephesian, who gives a list of the kings of Tyre, beginning with Abibalus. "Ἄλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ παραθήσομαι Μένανδρον τὸν Ἐφέσιον. γέγραφε δὲ οὕτως τὰς ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάρους γενομένας, ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιχωρίων γραμμάτων σπουδάσαι τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθεῖν. Γράφων δὲ περὶ τῶν βασιλευκότων ἐν Τύρῃ, ἔπειτα γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν Ἱερομον, ταῦτά φησι 'Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιβαλου, διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἱερομον', &c."

"And now I shall quote Menander the Ephesian as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus: 'Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom', &c.'" Whiston's *Joseph. cont. Apion.* Lib. I. Cap. XVIII.

king reigning in Tyre; nor in fact, does it appear that before his time there was in that place any thing except a castle upon a steep rock, such as are still to be seen in many parts of the world.

Abibaal or Abibalus אֲבִיבָאֵל which means the paternal tutelary deity, was an idolatrous title, the highest in their power to bestow, and shews that they considered the person on whom they conferred it, as their founder and great benefactor. It appears, so far as I can learn from history, that he had three sons, who were all remarkable men in their age and country; that the eldest was named Hispal or Hisbal; the second was named Hispan; and the third was the famous Hiram mentioned in Scripture³⁴.

Hispal, the eldest son, died in the government of the Tyrian colonies in Spain, in which he was succeeded by his brother Hispan, who after remaining there for some years died there also, after giving his name to the country. On the death of Hispan, Arcles sailed once more to Spain, although he was then very far advanced in years, and after some short time died and was interred there³⁵. He was succeeded in his kingdom, by his son Hiram, the celebrated friend and ally of David and Solomon³⁶.

³⁴ Hisbal, Hispan and Hiram appear to me to be contractions of Ahi-baal, Ahi-pan and Ahi-ram, the letter *s* being introduced euphonically into the two former names, according to a practice very common in those days. As Abibaal means Pater-divus, so would Ahibaal, Ahipan and Ahiram express fraternity in honour as his children. As Abibalus was corruptly shortened to Biblus, so it appears probable that those other names also lost the initial *A*. In fact language at that time was chiefly oral, of which great inaccuracy was the unavoidable consequence.

Josephus informs us that Hiram built a temple to Hercules: and he appears to have been the first man that ever built a temple to any Hercules.

I have here to observe, that of all the very ancient heathen documents which I have seen, the account of the kings of Tyre, from Abibalus to Ethbaal, appears the most free from error and interpolation. According to Josephus and Menander, the time from the accession of Abibalus to the death of Ethbaal, which occurred about the time of the fall of Troy, was 169 years. Theophilus of Antioch however states Baleazor, the son and successor of Hiram, to have reigned 17 years, instead of seven years, as stated by Menander. If we admit this as a correction, the time from the expulsion of the shepherds to the fall of Troy will be 179 years, which agrees with other calculations. See Part II. Chap. VIII.

³⁵ "Tyrius Hercules sepultus est in finibus Hispanie." Arnobius, *Lib. 1.*

³⁶ Hiram was a very powerful prince; the Lycians were tributary to him. It is said that Solomon married his daughter, and with her introduced the Tyrian idolatrous worship.

The time of the expulsion of the shepherd kings from Egypt, is one of the great germinating points in the history of mankind. Let us therefore pause for a moment to consider the important events which mark this period.

The great Jewish Theocracy, under which the Divine law was promulgated, and so many stupendous miracles were wrought, had lately ceased with Samuel the prophet.

The Jewish monarchy in the family of David, the great type of the kingdom of the Messiah, now begins³⁷.

Tyre, the leader in maritime discovery, the nurse of commerce, and the parent of Carthage the great rival of Rome, is now built.

The great states of Greece are founded, and

The dynasty of the Titans commences in Egypt, under which the heathen world received an entire new organization, both religious and political.

Asis or Tutmosis, having delivered his country from a foreign yoke, founded in his own family the dynasty of the Titan kings of Egypt; a succession of princes far surpassing in brilliant achievements any family that ever reigned in Egypt, or perhaps in any other heathen country. Their arms subdued almost all the known world³⁸, and they introduced the arts, agriculture, and learning of Egypt, into all the savage or half-savage nations which they conquered. Their exploits and triumphs have given ample employment for the genius of poets, painters, and statuaries, in every subsequent age; and to their taste for literature we owe the Greek language, with all its riches and all its beauties³⁹.

³⁷ The chronological margin of the Bible (the text does not mention the time) places the anointing of David at 1063 B. C., only eight years before Saul's death. But eight years is much too short for the transactions of the last 16 chapters of the First Book of Samuel; 14 or 15 seem short enough, which brings the anointing of David to 1069 or 1070 B. C. David is also represented as dying of old age at 70; I think it means about 70, perhaps 74 or 75.

³⁸ The Scythians appear to be the only people who were attacked and not subdued by them. Germany was colonised by one of the branches of the Titan family, as their ancient name Teutones seems to testify. But from what direction this colony came it is difficult even to form a conjecture; whether from the north of Italy, where Atlas and Hesperus settled, from Epirus where Toth reigned, or from Colchos on the Euxine.

³⁹ It is universally admitted that the Greek language is indebted for its forms and graces to Hermes, the brother of Sesostriis or Osiris.

Beside all this, they were able to impose on the pagan world, in their own persons, an entire new assemblage of deities with new forms of worship, which not only superseded the old deities and forms, but took such a firm possession of mankind, as nothing but omnipotent Christianity was able to disturb⁴⁰.

From Asis, the fourth in succession was Miphra or Miphra-muthosis, who appears to have been father-in-law to Solomon. Not satisfied with his hereditary dominions, he invaded Philistia, which he conquered about the year 1006 B. C. He gave Askelon to his son-in-law Solomon, and it appears that he gave the remainder of the country to one of his own sons, named Agenor or Cepheus⁴¹, a prince often mentioned by the Greek writers.

Miphra-muthosis was succeeded on the throne by his son Tothmosis, a warlike prince, who, by his conquests considerably extended the dominions of Egypt, bringing the greater part of Africa under his government; he was on that account honoured with the idolatrous title of Baal or Belus⁴².

After a short but glorious reign, he was succeeded by his son Sesostris⁴³, who was by much the greatest and most powerful monarch that ever reigned in Egypt. He finished the conquest of Africa, subdued all middle and southern

⁴⁰ In India, which was conquered by Osiris, the worship of him and his family prevails to this day, and many of the Hindu idols are very similar to those in the Egyptian temples.

⁴¹ As Agenor and Cepheus reigned over Philistia at the same time, and each had a queen named Cassiope, I have therefore no doubt of their identity. Agenor or Cepheus had five wives, and many children, of whom Cadmus, Europa, Andromeda, Phoenix, Cilix, Isis or Isea the wife of Sesostris, and Melia the wife of Toth, are the most remarkable. The name or title Cepheus might possibly be given to Agenor, as king or conqueror of Cepheia or Arabia Petrea. Phoenix is said to have conquered and given his name to Phœnicia; if this be true, it probably occurred after the death of Hiram. Cilix, another son of Agenor, is said to have conquered or colonised Cilicia.

⁴² This king is called Bala by the Arab writers.

⁴³ The name Sesostris is formed from Seac and Ostris, the letter *t* being euphonic, like *δ* in *διδόσθαι*, *β* in *μεσημβρία*, &c. Seac *πρω*, comes from *πρω* *βιβί*, and signifies a hard drinker, which Dr Hales gives as a reason why Seac could not be Sesostris. But if Sesostris was called Bacchus, which has been proved, and if Bacchus signifies a bottle companion, this would rather be a confirmation.

Asia, as far as India; and in Europe he conquered Spain, Italy, Sicily, with Greece and the neighbouring states. In the countries which he subdued he set up pillars and statues to mark his progress⁴⁴.

Intoxicated by a prosperity so extraordinary, and by adulation proportionably extravagant, he caused himself to be worshipped as the supreme deity wherever he came, and had divine honours of an inferior degree paid to his family and favourites. After his return to Egypt, he executed some very noble public works of different kinds⁴⁵, but his arrogance and tyranny became intolerable, and he was assassinated at a banquet by a conspiracy of the princes of Egypt, headed by his own brothers, after he had reigned about 28 years.

Sesostris was succeeded by his son Horus, who ascended the throne when the affairs of Egypt were in a state the most unsettled and dangerous that can be conceived. The death of Sesostris was not only the first movement of a formidable rebellion, and the signal of revolt to many extensive provinces⁴⁶, but was in itself a momentous advantage to the conspirators, as it removed a man celebrated in the field as the greatest of generals, and revered by the people as a supernatural being, the glory of their country.

⁴⁴ "Τούτοις μὲν στήλας ἐτίθηκε ἐς τὰς χώρας, διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσαι τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τῆς πατρὸς, καὶ ἕως δυνάμει τῇ αὐτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφραγῆς." Herodotus, Lib. II. Cap. cii.

And again, "Τὰς δὲ στήλας τὰς ἴσθα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῖστες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεούσαι· ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὄρεον εἴσασαι, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα, καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωσίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολλημένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, &c." Ibid. Cap. cvi.

The Egyptians retained possession of great part of middle Asia for a considerable time, most probably until the time of Belus, king of Assyria, and his son Ninus. Pharaoh-Necho endeavoured to recover part of these dominions in the reign of Josiah king of Judah, but was repulsed and finally defeated by Nebuchadnezzar.

⁴⁵ Among other great works, Sesostris began a most magnificent city for his own residence, which he called Thebes (The-beth); by the Greeks translated correctly enough, Diospolis; he did not live to finish it, that work devolved on his successors.

⁴⁶ Ethiopia became free at the death of Sesostris.

"Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μόνος Αἰγύπτῳ Αἰθιοπίῃ ἤρξεν."

"This was the only Egyptian king that ruled over Ethiopia."

Herod. Lib. II. Cap. cx.

After some years of doubtful warfare, Horus, with the assistance of Arcles, the faithful friend and relative, and the ablest general of his father, succeeded in suppressing the Titan princes. As soon, however, as he thought himself firmly seated on the throne, he gave himself up to his natural disposition, and became one of the most proud and cruel tyrants that ever existed⁴⁷, shewing no mercy to any that offended him or excited his suspicions. This severity, so ill timed and injudicious, produced another and a more general rebellion, supported and perhaps fomented by the king of Ethiopia, in which there are some indirect intimations that Arcles himself took a part, shocked and disgusted by the spectacles of cruelty which he daily witnessed.

Horus was defeated and drowned in the Nile, after a turbulent and sanguinary reign of about 12 years, distinguished by no one honourable action, except his victory over Python or Typhon⁴⁸, the brother and murderer of his father.

The king of Ethiopia, whom I have just mentioned as intermeddling in the affairs of Egypt, appears to be the king called Zerah in Scripture, (II. Chronicles xiv. 9.), and Actisanes by Diodorus Siculus. He retained possession of Egypt for about ten years, but going against Asa king of Judah, whom he thought to subdue, he was by him defeated and his army destroyed.

The crown of Egypt now devolved upon Hermes-Mi-Amun⁴⁹ or Toth the younger; or as he is more commonly called, Proteus, which seems a corrupt Greek way of writing

⁴⁷ He was on this account called *'Απελλων* and *Φαίβορ*, and is generally represented in Egyptian sculpture with the head of a hawk, and brandishing a scourge.

⁴⁸ He received the name of Pythius on account of this victory, in which mythologists represent him as killing a great aquatic serpent or crocodile with his arrows.

⁴⁹ See the table of Egyptian kings given by Josephus in his answer to Apion, Book 1. This name Hermes-Mi-Amun, or Hermescs-Mi-Amun, that is Hermes-Asis son of Ammon, served to distinguish him from his uncle Hermes, surnamed Trismegistos, who was the brother of Ammon. He was also called Anubis, which was probably a corrupt contraction of Amenophis (*p* and *b* often interchanging)—and again, from Anubis, by a further corruption, they made Obnus. Strange as these barbarous corruptions appear to a man of letters, they are not without examples in modern times; I have myself known some instances of the kind.

Phro-Teuth or Pharaoh-Teuth, (Heb. פְּרֹעֶזְטוּת). He was also styled Amenophis, and Menes, either as a contraction of it, or as some say because he made a general division of Egypt, but whether into Nomes or otherwise, is not now certainly known.

He is also said to have built the city of Memphis⁵⁰, often called No-Ammon, from the great temple of Ammon which stood there. The Egyptian priests said that he was the first human king of Egypt, as he succeeded Horus, the last of the gods who reigned there. Sometimes they used to express this in other language, saying that he was the first man that reigned in Egypt. This led many to suppose, that by Menes they meant the person called Mizraim in Scripture, and this mistake has caused great confusion to some chronologers and historians.

Proteus or Menes reigned about 50 years, during which time, as far as we can learn from history, the country enjoyed a continuance of peace and prosperity. His reign commenced a short time after the Argonautic expedition, and about 40 years before the destruction of Troy, and it continued some years after that event; he is the last king of Egypt whose history is connected with that of the Heroic age⁵¹.

⁵⁰ The city of Memphis was the metropolis of Lower Egypt, as Thebes of the Upper. Whether it was built by Amenophis the Great, that is, by Sesostris, or by Amenophis the last, that is, Proteus, cannot now be ascertained. It was probably begun by the former and finished by the latter. But I have no doubt whatever that its original name was Amenophis, after its founder, of which Memphis is a corruption, first by throwing off the initial A, and then changing the n into m, as was usually done before b, p, or ph.

We meet other contracted names of this city. Isaiah xix. 13, calls it Noph n, as does Jeremiah ii. 16. It is called Moph m, by Hosea ix. 6. It is called Minph and Munph by the Arab geographers, and the modern Copus call it Menph, Menoph, and Nough, of all which words authors have given very ingenious explanations. Plutarch thought it meant Ταφος-Οαίριδος. See also Jablonski, whose opuscula abound with fanciful etymologies.

⁵¹ The constellation Procyon, or Canis-minor was assigned to him. The dog was the Egyptian hieroglyph for Thoth or Hermes, and Canis-minor represents Thoth junior. Proteuth and Προ-κύων are therefore correlative words.

CHAPTER III.

OF ASSYRIA.

AFTER Egypt, the great object which next claims our attention is Assyria¹, which, for a season, ruled among the nations as a king over the kings of the earth.

No subject whatever has perplexed historians and commentators more, or led them further from the bounds of truth and probability, than the question concerning the Assyrian monarchy in its earliest state.

This was occasioned by the state of their national records, which have been corrupted, perhaps more than those of any other nation². The Noachian deluge, which might serve as a limit to the most extravagant pretensions of ancient historians and genealogists, could not confine those who made dynasties for Assyria, and traced the lineage of her monarchs, many of whom they said reigned before the flood.

Under such circumstances, I see no way whatever of extricating this portion of history from the gross absurdities in which it has been involved, except to lay aside in toto, the fables of the Chaldean priests, invented no doubt for the two-fold purpose of giving an appearance of venerable antiquity to their religious institutions; and at the same time flattering their monarchs with a fictitious genealogy, traced back to deities and heroes³. I shall give one of these tables as a specimen.

¹ The name Syria and Assyria seem to have been used indiscriminately by the most ancient Greek authors. Apollodorus, in his 3rd Book, evidently uses one for the other. Some thought the former name only an abbreviation of the latter.

² I find the following judicious observation in the *Universal History*, Vol. IV. p. 201: "We have no objection to the antiquity of the Assyrian kingdom, which may claim a place among the first; but then we make a wide distinction between this simple kingdom and the grand monarchy which reared its head many ages afterwards."

³ Their accounts, in fact, condemn themselves, giving Greek names to some Assyrian kings, and Egyptian names to others. Some were even so absurd as to transport Saturn from Italy and place him at the head of the first Assyrian dynasty. See Berosus de Regibus Assyriorum.

ASSYRIAN KINGS ACCORDING TO SYNCPELLUS.

	Years.		Years.
1. Belus	reigned 55	20. Belatores	reigned 30
2. Ninus.....	52	21. Lamprides.....	30
3. Semiramis	42	22. Sosares	20
4. Ninyas or Zames.....	38	23. Lamphræus.....	30
5. Arius.....	30	24. Panyas.....	45
6. Aralius	40	25. Sosarmus.....	22
7. Xerxes.....	30	26. Mithræus	27
8. Armamithres.....	38	27. Teutamus or Tautanes	32
9. Belochus.....	35	28. Teutæus.....	44
10. Balæus.....	52	29. Arabelus.....	42
11. Sethos	32	30. Chalaus.....	45
12. Mamythus.....	30	31. Anebus	38
13. Aschalius	28	32. Babios	37
14. Sphærus	22	33. * * * * *	
15. Mamylius.....	30	34. Dereylus.....	40
16. Sparthæus.....	42	35. Enpacmes.....	48
17. Ascatades	38	36. Laosthenes.....	45
18. Amyntes	45	37. Pertiadès.....	30
19. Belochus	25	38. Ophratæus	21
Here ends the first dynasty according to Bion and Alexander Polihistor. The kings, above named were called Der- cetadæ, from Derceto mother of Semiramis.		39. Ephceres.....	52
		40. Acragenes	42
		41. Thonos Concoleros by the Greeks called Sar- danapalus	15

Neither Belus the first king in this list, nor the four kings No. 29, 30, 31, 32, are in the list given by Eusebius, which otherwise agrees with the above very nearly. Eusebius places the Trojan war in the time of Tautanes No. 27, who, I have no doubt, was Tithonus, brother of Priam, and father of Memnon; he was a great favourite with Sesostris and his successors, and under them governed Assyria, in which lay Chusiana the eastern Ethiopia.

Syncellus confirms this statement of Eusebius, but yet makes it occur in the time of Babios, No. 32, who, he says, was by the Greeks called Tithon, and was father to Mem-

non who fell at Troy. They therefore appear to mean the same person, and those four names are in all probability, repetitions either of Tautanes or Tithonus the governor of Chusiana, or of Teutamus or Proteus the king of Egypt, his master, who was also king of Assyria⁴.

Those tables of the Assyrian kings, compiled by Ctesias⁵ and Berosus⁶, transcribed by Eusebius and also by Syncellus, whose work is vitiated with all the corruptions of his predecessors, are utterly unworthy of credit, the very names being any thing but Assyrian⁷. I must however observe, that absurd and fabulous as this table evidently is in many particulars, there is a striking coincidence in point of time between the latter part of it, that is, from Babios to Sardanapalus, and the results already stated as to the time of the Trojan war. Syncellus gives eight reigns between Babios, whom he makes cotemporary with the Trojan war and Sardanapalus, who is considered by many commentators to be the Esarhaddon of Scripture, an opinion, which the close similiarity of the two names strongly supports⁸.

	B. C.
Troy destroyed	890
Esarhaddon began to reign.....	710

Difference 180 years,

⁴ See note at the end of Part I. Chap. xviii.

⁵ Ctesias was a Greek, and physician to Artaxerxes, who took him prisoner at the battle of Cunaxa. He remained in his service 17 years, and wrote a history of Assyria, in which he appears no way scrupulous as to truth or falsehood.

⁶ Berosus was a Chaldean, and priest of Belus. We are told that he was a man of great learning and astronomical knowledge, and held in great respect at Athens; but, strange to tell, even the age in which he lived is not exactly known; some say that he was cotemporary with Alexander the Great. The book which passes under his name is most wretched and contemptible, filled with matter wholly and evidently fictitious. In it the Assyrian dynasties are carried back far beyond the general deluge.

⁷ Of those names by far the greatest part are Egyptian, referring probably to the time during which the kings of Egypt had possession of Assyria. On the other hand, Lamprides, Laonthenes, Pertiades, Ascataides, Acragenes and Sphaerus, are palpably of Greek origin; Xerxes and some others appear to be Persian or Median.

Teutamus, Teutæus and Anebus (a corruption of Anubis), are only other names for Proteus, in whose reign Troy was destroyed.

⁸ During this interval there were eight reigns in Egypt and eight in Judah.

which divided into eight reigns, allows an average of $22\frac{1}{2}$ for each reign, an average quite agreeable to historical experience.

From memorials so vitiated with apocryphal matter, let us now turn to the Scripture, where, although the notices of the heathen world are only brief and occasional, we have this decided advantage, that whatever we find there may be relied on as unquestionable truth.

The first notice which we find in Scripture of the great Assyrian monarchy, is in the person of Pul, who invaded Israel in the reign of Menahem B. C. 771⁹.

From this time we find the Assyrian kings continually extending their conquests over the nations west of the Euphrates¹⁰, until the reign of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, who reigned over all Assyria, and brought the glory and power of that empire, by his achievements, to the highest point it ever attained. The capture of Nineveh, made him master of all Assyria. He next completed the subjugation of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, which last occurred about the year B. C. 600. After this he invaded and conquered Egypt, to which he was provoked by the unsuccessful attempt of Pharaoh-Necho, to regain part of the territories of Assyria, which had formerly been in the possession of Egypt.

After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, the Assyrian empire soon declined, and Belshazzar, who is thought in general to

⁹ Babylon, or Babel, as it is always called in Hebrew, is not once mentioned in Scripture from Genesis x. 10, where it is first mentioned in connexion with Nimrod, soon after the deluge, until the year 720 B. C., when it is mentioned as part of the territory of Assyria, under Shalmaneser, II. Kings xvii. 24, 30. What is called a Babylonish garment in Joshua vii. 21, is in the original called only a garment of Shinar שׁוּר. This shows the impropriety of the Greek practice of translating proper names, or substituting others. It would be far better to give the true original name in the text, and if necessary a translation or gloss in the margin.

Babylon is not mentioned by any heathen writer until long after the above-mentioned date. (678 B. C.) Herodotus, who wrote about two centuries later, is I believe the first Greek historian that notices its existence. The word Babylon is formed by an amplification of Babel, and implies grandeur or magnificence.

¹⁰ Their power eastward had been very great long before this. Shalmaneser was master of Media, and transplanted Israelites into that country about 720 B. C. See II. Kings xvii. 6.

have been the second in succession from him¹¹, lost his crown and life together; the Medes and Persians having entered and taken his capital, while he and his nobles were engaged in a banquet. This occurred about the year B. C. 538, and put an end to the Assyrian empire.

I have briefly hinted at the causes which vitiated the records of Assyria. I shall next consider the circumstances which appear to me to have misled some modern commentators, with regard to the same subject.

We have in the book of Genesis, Chap. x. 8, a brief but well marked character of Nimrod, who appears to have been the first man among the posterity of Noah that deviated from the simplicity of the patriarchal institution, and sought to found more extensive authority on his personal talents and prowess. As his sphere of action was in or near the country since called Assyria, and as Babel is particularly mentioned as one of the places belonging to him, some authors have taken occasion from this circumstance to magnify him from a patriarchal shepherd chieftain into a mighty emperor; and to transform him from a hunter of wild beasts into a conqueror of kingdoms. They seem almost to have forgotten that Nimrod was the grandson of Ham, of a man who was married before the deluge; and they have even gone so far as to confound him with Ninus, the great founder of the Assyrian empire, the conqueror of the east, who brought into the field nearly a million of soldiers.

Doctor Hales (Vol. I. p. 15) speaks of Nimrod as a great conqueror, living in a populous age; but the Scripture, while it describes him as powerful in his day, explains this sufficiently, by calling him a great hunter, which character applies to a chieftain in the earliest stage of society, and to a country very thinly peopled; when wild beasts were the principal or only enemies, and the boldest hunter was the greatest hero. Nimrod's cities, if I mistake not, were what we would call walled villages, and probably not unlike many described by modern travellers in Asia and Africa.

Sir Walter Raleigh was led into erroneous conclusions of a similar kind, as to the state of the world in the pa-

¹¹ He is supposed to be the Nabonadius of heathen authors.

triarchal ages. He speaks thus of Abraham. "In this patriarch's time all the then (known?) parts of the world were peopled, all nations and countries had their kings; Egypt had many magnificent cities, and so had Palestine, and all the bordering countries, yea all that part of the world beside, as far as India."

Except that every family or tribe had its patriarchal chief from the beginning, which has nothing to do with the present question, there is not a particle of the above found in Scripture, or in any other history whatsoever, at least in any which I have seen or heard of. The existence of Egypt as a kingdom, in the time of Abraham, is indeed mentioned, but its existence only; not a syllable of its greatness or magnificence. It was doubtless an infant state so soon after the dispersion.

India is not mentioned at all; and what Sir Walter means by "the then parts of the world," I do not exactly comprehend; but this is sufficiently clear from Scripture, that only a small portion of the earth was at that time inhabited at all.

The Scripture accounts of those primitive times are clear enough if learned authors would only be satisfied with them, instead of indulging their own imaginations. Abraham, with his three hundred and eighteen servants, and his friends Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre¹², defeated five of the kings of that day, one of whom was the king of Shinar, by which we suppose is meant the very country now under our consideration; and I must observe, that this is not related as a miracle, as when Moses or Joshua conquered by especial divine assistance; in fact, Abraham is always mentioned as not inferior to the princes of the country in wealth and power.

Again, even in the time of his great grandsons, the country seems to have been but very thinly peopled; two of them went in boldly and slew all the males of one of the cities of Canaan, taking them no doubt by surprise, and when they were in pain, but still the circumstance shews clearly the state of population, and the meaning we

¹² These friends were perhaps assisted by their servants also, although not mentioned in Scripture.

are to attach to the word city in this passage, and others similar.

After the time of Nimrod, the first notice which we find of Assyria in the Bible, is, that it was acting as a secondary state, fighting under the king of Elam, a part of the country afterwards called Persia, in the time of Abraham, about 1920 B. C.

And after this, except in the prophecy of Balaam, we hear nothing more concerning it until the reign of Menahem king of Israel, which kingdom was invaded by Pul, king of Assyria, about the year B. C. 770; and I feel no hesitation in concluding, that it was not very long before this date, that Assyria became either great or powerful.

It has been observed by many able writers, that the great plains of Asia make it a country peculiarly favourable to a spirit of conquest and aggrandisement, an idea fully supported by historical facts. There can be little doubt therefore that when the kings of Assyria once grew powerful, and began to extend their empire, they soon made Syria and Israel feel their yoke.

Assyria was certainly one of the countries conquered by Sesostris about the year 970 B. C. and was a province under the dominion of Egypt at the time of the Trojan war, about 900 B. C. It no doubt continued in that state for some time afterwards, most probably until the time of Belus, the father of Ninus¹³. Even so late as the reign of Josiah king of Judah, about 610 B. C. we find the kings of Egypt asserting a claim to Carchemish, on the river Euphrates, as being in their territory.

¹³ It seems the general sense of antiquity that Ninus lived in an age subsequent to that of Sesostris.

Shorter Chron.
B. C.

Gen. x. 8—10. Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the land (LXX about 2550).....	about 2218
Gen. xiv. Assyria auxiliary or tributary to Elam when Abram defeated Chedorlaomer and his allies..	1913
N. B. There is then an interval of 1142 years without any mention of Assyria or Babylon.	
II. Kings xv. Pul, king of Assyria, invades Israel.....	771
II. Kings xvi. Tiglath-pileser takes Damascus	740
II. Kings xvii. Salmanser makes Israel tributary.....	728
..... ————— leads ten tribes into captivity.....	721
II. Kings xviii. Hezekiah revolts from Assyria.....	717
..... Sennacherib invades Judah.....	713
II. Kings xix. ————— is killed and Esarhaddon succeeds.....	712
II. Kings xx. Merodach-Baladan king of Babylon sends an embassy to Hezekiah.....	...
II. Chron. xxxiii. Manasses brought captive to Babylon as is supposed by Esarhaddon.....	677
N. B. There is here an interval of 67 years in which we meet nothing about Assyria. It appears that the Lord kept them away from Judah during that time. There were most probably two or three Assyrian reigns in the mean time ¹⁴ .	
II. Kings xxiii. Pharaoh-Necho invades Assyria.....	610
II. Kings xxiv. Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem.....	607
II. Kings xxv. ————— destroys it.....	588
Ezek. xxix. ————— takes Tyre.....	572
II. Kings xxv. Evil-Merodach shews kindness to Jehoiachin or Jehoiachin, the captive king of Judah...	562
Dan. vii. Belshazzar begins to reign at Babylon.....	555
Dan. v. ————— is dethroned and killed by Cyrus	538

¹⁴ This interval is thus accounted for in the tables :

	B. C.
Esarhaddon dies, and is succeeded by Sæoduchinus at Babylon ...	668
Chyniladan (or Nebuchadonosor) succeeds Sæoduchinus	647
Nabopolassar succeeds Chyniladan	626

He reigned until about 604 B. C., the latter part of his reign jointly with his son Nebuchadnezzar, who joined with Cyaxares king of Media in destroying Nineveh.

We shall now enquire what is to be found on this subject in Herodotus, the most respectable of heathen authorities, as to those ancient periods. He informs us that Semiramis lived five generations before Nitocris, the mother of the last king of Babylon¹⁵, and daughter-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar. Semiramis therefore lived four generations before the great Nebuchadnezzar; he took Jerusalem in or about the year 607 B. C. when we must suppose him at least between 30 and 40 years of age, (suppose 35) and to have been born as early as the year 642 B. C., which certainly cannot be far from the truth.

Four generations before this, reckoned at the mean rate of $33\frac{1}{2}$ years each, make 133 years, and bring us to 775 B. C.¹⁶. We have next to add the three successive reigns of Belus, Ninus, and Semiramis, which as these reigns were very long, we may safely take at 90 years: this number added to 775 gives 865 B. C. for the beginning of the reign of Belus, the founder of the Assyrian empire: a date, which for many reasons I believe cannot be far from the truth¹⁷.

The next question for our consideration is—Who was this king Belus?

The ancient Greeks had a ready way of solving a difficulty of this kind. When they were ignorant of the family and country of the founder of any state, they used to pronounce him Autochthon, that is, sprung from that soil; but as my readers might not be satisfied with this convenient mode of solution, we must look round among the neighbouring nations, and see whether their history at that period can afford us any assistance.

In the list of the kings of Lydia, a neighbouring

¹⁵ Herodotus, Lib. I. Cap. CLXXXIV, et seq. How different from the account of Syncellus, who gives 38 reigns after Semiramis.

¹⁶ The first mention in Scripture of a king of Assyria is the invasion of Israel by Pul, about the year 771 B. C. By a comparison of Scripture with Herodotus, he appears to have been the son and successor of Semiramis, and to have begun his reign about the year above-mentioned, 775 B. C.

¹⁷ All who have written on the subject agree that these three reigns were very long, Belus and Ninus especially. We may therefore take them in such a case at 40, 30 and 20, in all 90.

country¹⁸, and the most warlike nation of Asia at that time, Herodotus gives the names Belus and Ninus, next after Alcæus the successor of Omphale, being her son by the Theban Hercules. Belus is called by Herodotus the son of Alcæus, the son of Hercules¹⁹.

Hercules died about the year B. C. 916, soon after the birth of Alcæus, who might therefore without any improbability, live to the year 865 B. C. when he would be only about 50 or 60 years old²⁰.

In a case like the present where certainty is unattainable, we must seek for the nearest degree of probability, and with it we must rest satisfied.

Now I think it highly probable, that Belus, the king of a very warlike nation, knowing himself to be the grandson of Hercules, and the great grandson of Osiris, should seek distinction and dominion by some great enterprize, in an age when military glory and conquest was valued so highly. The feeble tenure by which Egypt at that time held Assyria, a very remote province, seemed more likely to invite than to intimidate²¹, a prince so circumstanced.

This seems a solution savouring much of conjecture, and yet if we reject it, we must suppose that there were two kings named Belus living at or about the same time, the one in Lydia and the other in Assyria, and that they had each of them a son named Ninus who succeeded him, which seems highly improbable, much more so than the other supposition.

It is here worthy of remark, that there are no actions recorded by Herodotus or any other historian, of Belus or

¹⁸ The ancient Lydians had wars, treaties, &c. with the Medes, who were farther from them than Assyria.

¹⁹ Alcæus and his successors were called the Heraclidæ kings of Lydia; as Eurysthenes and Procles, and their successors were called the Heraclidæ kings of Sparta. Such claims of divine origin had great influence among heathen nations. Herodotus, Lib. I. Cap. VII.

²⁰ It is only natural to suppose that the exploits of Belus, Ninus, and Semiramis, require reigns longer than the common average.

²¹ The great advance of the power of Assyria was from about 840 B. C. to 690 B. C., from the reigns of Cheops and Cephrenes to the reigns of Pharaoh-Necho and Pharaoh-Hophra, a time when Egypt, though very wealthy, had much declined in military spirit and power.

Ninus, as kings of Lydia. Again, it seems to me more probable that two successive kings of Lydia should at that time perform the actions ascribed to Belus and Ninus, than that such a power should suddenly start into existence in Assyria.

Ninus was probably born about the time his father took the city of Ninus, for so the ancient Greeks called Nineveh, and received his name from the city; it is probable indeed that he was born there.

That Semiramis did not succeed to the throne of Lydia as well as to that of Assyria, may easily be accounted for; sound policy might induce her to compromise the claim of one of her husband's sons, or other relatives in this manner.

The time of the prophet Jonah's preaching at Nineveh, and the magnitude of the city at that time, ought not here to pass unnoticed; that prophet is historically noticed in II. Kings xiv. 25, about 825 B. C. Whether his mission to Nineveh was before or after that time we are no where informed. It may be asked, upon the supposition that the Assyrian greatness began about 840 to 860 years before the Christian era, how Nineveh could be so great and extensive in the time of Jonah.

The answer is found in the state of society and the nature of an eastern government. A monarch like Belus, or Ninus, or Nebuchadnezzar, or Sesostris, returned from the conquest of several kingdoms, with a mountain of spoil and a host of captives, was not long in erecting a city of whatever size he pleased, on a navigable river, to facilitate the carriage of materials from places however distant.

The Assyrian empire from its foundation under Belus, about 860 B. C., to its destruction under Belshazzar in the year 538 B. C., lasted about 322 years.

Nineveh.	Babylon.
B. C. about 865	Belus Ninus or Ninuah. Semiramis. (enlarged and fortified Babylon)
775	Pul. (perhaps the Ninyas of some authors)
747	Tiglath-Pileser Nabonassar.
728	Shalmaneser Baladan.
717	Sennacherib Merodach-Baladan ²² .
710	Esarhaddon ²³ . (conquered Babylon B. C. 680 and made it tributary)
* * * * *	Sarac ²⁵
	Saosduchinus B. C. 668. Chyniladon ... 647.
626	Nabopolassar governor of Babylon, (in 609 he dethroned Sarac and removed the seat of empire to Babylon, having been assisted by Cyaxeres in destroying Nineveh.)
605	Nebuchadnezzar.
561	Evil-Merodach.
555	Belshazzar; he was killed, and Babylon taken by the Medes and Persians 538 B. C.

We have here 14 Assyrian successive reigns, the supreme power being sometimes with the Ninevite branch, at other times with that of Babylon; these 14 reigns occupied about 322 years, according to my view of the subject, as above stated, and would average 23 years.

²² Merodach-Baladan appears to be the same prince called Maadoc-Empad in Ptolemy.

²³ Esarhaddon is thought by many to be the great Sardanapalus of Athenæus and others, who built two cities in one day, according, they say, to an old inscription on his tomb. The list of Ctesias places Sardanapalus the ninth in succession after the Trojan war, which would agree with the reign of Esarhaddon.

Some authors make him the Sardanapulus who was overthrown by Arbaces the Mede, and Belenis the governor of Babylon.

²⁴ Some think the Nebuchodonosor of Judith belongs to this space.

²⁵ Sarac is thought by some authors to be a second Sardanapalus of a worthless effeminate character, but this is very uncertain.

KINGS OF LYDIA.

See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. vi. &c. and other authors quoted in the Univ. Hist. Vol. V. p. 578.

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| 1. Masnes or Manes. | |
| 2. Cotys. | |
| 3. Atys. | |
| 4. Lydus. | |
| 5. Alcymus. | |
| 6. Adrymetes or Adramytia. | |
| 7. Cambletes. | |
| 8. Tmolus. | |
| 9. Theoclymenus. | |
| 10. Marsyas. | |
| 11. Jardanes. | |
| 12. Omphale. (Cot. Theban Hercules) | <i>Kings of Assyria, &c. cotemporary or nearly so.</i> |
| 13. Alcæus, (Cot. Trojan war first of the Heraclidæ.) | |
| 14. Belus. | Belus. |
| 15. Ninus. | Ninus or Ninuah. |
| 16. Agron. | Semiramis. |
| 17. Leon. | Pul or Ninyas. |
| 18. Adrysus. | Tiglath-Pileser. |
| 19. Alyactes. | Shalmaneser. |
| 20. Meles or Myrsus. | Sennacherib.
Esarhaddon. |
| 21. Candaules. (Cot. Romulus) | Saosduchinus. |
| 22. Gyges. (first of the Mermnadæ) | Chyniladon. |
| 23. Ardyes or Ardysus. | Nabopolasar. |
| 24. Sadyattes. | Nebuchadnezzar. |
| 25. Alyattes. (Cot. Cyaxeres of Media and Nebuchadnezzar, great solar eclipse) | Evil-Merodach. |
| 26. Croesus. (taken by Cyrus B. C. 549) | Belshazzar, slain by Cyrus B. C. 538. |

CHAPTER IV.

ON POPULATION.

IN concluding a discussion concerning the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy, and of the great Assyrian empire, it will be suitable to call the reader's attention to "the rationale of population, a subject which has a close intrinsic connection with all discussions concerning the origin of nations, and the state of the world in the patriarchal ages. Were I less inclined to insist upon the natural connection between those important branches of learning, I could not avoid being influenced by the example of the learned men who have heretofore treated on those subjects, and have in general considered them as inseparably connected.

Authors who have written concerning the origin of nations, have made various calculations, some of which are very ingenious, to enable them to estimate the number of persons on the face of the earth, at certain dates after the deluge¹; and especially at the time of the dispersion, so as to enable them to account for the simultaneous foundation of so many kingdoms and states. For this purpose they have supposed different rates of the increase of population, each according to his own judgment. But these authors have in general fallen into the fatal error of supposing the increase of the human species to proceed in some regular ratio, which being once ascertained, they might calculate the numbers existing at any period, with the same certainty that they calculate simple and compound interest, solar and lunar eclipses, &c.

¹ The following judicious observation is extracted from the *Universal History*, Vol. I. p. 448: "Some, relying too much on the profane historians, have taken such a method as might account for the early beginning of monarchies, and the great armies set on foot by Ctesias and his followers, in the time of Ninus, whom many take to be Nimrod, or at least his son."

Again, at p. 449: "It is an easy thing, when a man is determined on the number, to find out a way to help himself to it. Petau has made a computation which in 285 years after the flood (or within seven years of the birth of Abraham, according to his computation) fills the world with above 155 times the number of inhabitants which are supposed to be at present existing in it; and yet he cannot make them rise at the birth of Peleg, to more above 32,768 souls."

Petavius, Perizonius, Cumberland, Mede, Whiston, and some other writers, have exerted their genius and industry in this way². But by supposing a uniform progressive prin-

² As specimens I shall give two of those calculations:

THE CALCULATION OF FATHER PETAU OR PETAVIUS.

Years after the Flood.	Number of sons born.
8	8
31	64
54	512
77	4,096
100	32,768
123	262,144
146	2,097,152
169	16,777,216
192	134,217,728
215	1,065,741,824
238	8,525,934,592
262	68,207,476,736
285	545,659,813,888
Total.....	623,612,368,728
The double ...	1,247,224,717,456

Petav. Doctrin. Temp. Lib. ix.

This table is formed upon the supposition that they began to generate at the age of 17. See Univ. Hist. Vol. I. p. 450. But how different is the Scripture account, in which 29 is the lowest age of procreation mentioned (Gen. xi. 24), "Nahor lived twenty-nine years and begat Terah"; but we read again, "Terah lived seventy years and begat Abram". Abram was 86 years old at the birth of Ishmael, Isaac was 60 at Jacob's birth.

BISHOP CUMBERLAND'S CALCULATION.

Years after the Flood.	Couples born in the first Vicennium after the Flood, and the couples descended from them.
20	30
60	300
100	3,000
140	30,000
180	300,000
220	3,000,000
260	30,000,000
300	300,000,000
340	3,000,000,000
The sum.....	3,333,333,330

Orig. Gent. Antiq. p. 142, 154.

The learned Bishop in composing the above table, supposed that the male issue of the three sons of Noah began to generate soon after they were 20 years old. In this way he endeavours to account for the existence of populous kingdoms and

ciple, instead of one (such as really exists) changing continually and adapting itself to circumstances, they have brought out some results so extravagant, that even the gravity of the subject can scarcely protect them from ridicule.

They were led into these absurdities, in endeavouring to find such numbers as they thought necessary for founding the various kingdoms and states, at the time of the dispersion. And again, for the armies which Ninus brought into the field, under the idea that he was either the Nimrod of Scripture, or a prince of antiquity nearly equal.

But I must say, that I think these were only imaginary difficulties. In my humble opinion, 20 parties of 100 each, would be fully sufficient to people the whole earth, moving slowly to their respective destinations, and increasing as they proceeded. They could meet no enemy in their progress except the *feræ naturæ*, and these twenty hundreds or two thousand, could be easily accounted for without any extravagant suppositions. As to Ninus, so far was he from being either the Nimrod of Scripture, or a prince nearly cotemporary with him, that he lived and reigned at least 14, and by the longer system 17 centuries after that mighty hunter.

empires soon after the flood. But in fact, as no such did then exist, he might have spared his labour.

A table compiled by Mr Whiston of all the persons whose ages can be ascertained from Scripture, from the Flood to David.

	Years.		Years.		
Shem.....	Gen. xi. 10, 11.....	600	Amram.....	Exod. vi. 20.....	157
Arphaxad.....	12, 13.....	438	Segub, Izhar, Pallu and Jochebed.....	about	137
Salah.....	14, 15.....	433	Miriam.....	about	130
Heber.....	16, 17.....	464	Aaron.....	Numb. xxxiii. 39.....	123
Phaleg.....	18, 19.....	239	Moses.....	Deut. xxxiv. 7.....	120
Reu.....	20, 21.....	239	Corah.....	about	125
Serug.....	22, 23.....	230	Dathan.....	about	125
Nahor.....	24, 25.....	148	Abiram.....	about	125
Terah.....	32.....	205	Joshua.....	Josh. xxiv. 29.....	110
Abraham.....	xxv. 7.....	175	Rahab.....	about	135
Sarah.....	xxiii. 1.....	127	Boaz.....	about	125
Iesac.....	xxxv. 28.....	180	Obed.....	about	110
Ishmael.....	xxv. 17.....	137	Eli.....	I. Sam. iv. 16.....	98
Jacob.....	xlvi. 28.....	147	Jesse.....	about	95
Joseph.....	1.....	110	Barzillai.....	II. Sam. xix. 32, above	80
Levi.....	Exod. vi. 16.....	137	David.....	v. 4.....	70
Kohath.....	18.....	133			
Job.....	Job xlii. 16.....	180			

The increase of population has not only an obvious tendency to limit itself to the means of subsistence, but is likewise retarded or stopped, or even made to retrograde from various, and often unforeseen causes. And these causes, which set human controul, and human calculation equally at defiance, are of frequent occurrence in every stage of human society.

If we confine our attention to any one country, we shall see the population, flowing and ebbing at different times; and if we extend our view over the whole earth at any one time, we shall see the population increasing in some countries, decreasing in others, and in many places nearly stationary. At present, population is on the increase decidedly and rapidly throughout the British empire, and the United States of America. It is as decidedly retrograding throughout the entire Turkish empire, (perhaps I might say in all the Mahometan states) in Spain, in great part of Italy, among the aborigines of America, and in many other places. In the South Sea Islands there has been a most awful decrease of population within the last 40 years. And again, there are many countries in which no material alteration is perceived.

The very great proportion of the surface of the globe, which after above 4,000 years from the general deluge, still remains uninhabited and uncultivated, must shew any unprejudiced person, acquainted with the laws of progression, and at all acquainted with history, ancient and modern, that population on the whole does not proceed rapidly, and has not advanced by any uniform ratio since the Noachian deluge.

Any discussion on the subject of population naturally leads me to notice two writers of the present century, who have treated the subject with much ability, and with views and results diametrically opposite to each other; I mean Mr Malthus and Mr Godwin.

With regard to the former gentleman, he appears to be deficient neither in talent nor information, and he has favoured the public with what I consider a valuable and well digested detail of facts and calculations, occupying the greater part of three rather large volumes; but unfortunately

he constructed his theory, not upon these facts and calculations, but upon an assumed principle, the mere offspring of his own imagination, a principle, the truth and soundness of which he does not even attempt to demonstrate. Indeed, if he had made the attempt, it must, I think, have shewn him its fallacy and radical unsoundness.

Mr M. states, that the great danger to the human species, as to excessive population, arises from the difference between geometrical and arithmetical progression; as he thinks that population proceeds according to the former, and that subsistence can only be procured according to the latter. If this jarring of principles, or any thing like it really existed in the world, horrible and hopeless must be the prospects of the human race, expecting sooner or later, with almost mathematical certainty, the fate of the army of Cambyses. Let us not however give ourselves up to these gloomy anticipations, until we examine the two pillars on which he supports his theory.

That population, considered on abstract principles, has a natural tendency to advance in geometrical ratio, is, I think, clear and undeniable; and that under favourable circumstances it does actually proceed for some time with a progress geometrical, or nearly so, is I think also true. But the causes and circumstances which tend to disturb or oppose this advance, are so numerous, so fluctuating, and so powerful, that it seldom or never continues equable or steady for any great length of time, before it slackens, stops, or retrogrades. For the truth of this, I appeal to the entire volume of history, and to the state of the world as we now actually see it.

As to his other proposition which respects the means of supporting human life, the question may indeed be involved in much curious speculation, and lies open to a great variety of contingencies; but I feel no hesitation in declaring, that with it arithmetical progression has no connection or relation whatever, direct or indirect, remote or proximate; and indeed this is so clear, that I am only at a loss to conceive how or where such an idea could possibly originate.

Our food, whether animal or vegetable, in its spontaneous propagation or growth, never follows any thing like an arith-

metical ratio; its natural tendency being always to geometrical increase; and when subjected to human care and industry, the manifest object of human exertion is to procure a supply fully adequate to the demand; neither more, which would be so much lost labour, nor less, which would be attended with scarcity.

In whatever ratio men increase, they will use every exertion to make the supply of food conform to the same ratio; and they will succeed (such are the arrangements of infinite goodness), in every society which is tolerably regulated, until all waste lands are brought into full cultivation, and as long as the ocean can be taxed for the same purpose. If ever these sources of food shall be worked to the utmost, then will the increase of the human species approach its limits. But long enough before such a limitation could press on human existence, I am inclined to hope, that notice of its approach would check the waste, luxury, and superfluity, almost every where observable in the upper and middle classes of society. The next effect would be to check the increase of population itself, in various ways hereafter to be considered.

Besides the fundamental error in principle, to which I have already adverted, Mr Malthus appears to me to have also fallen into a very serious mistake in his mode of reasoning upon the materials which lay before him.

The only safe rule for philosophical deduction is, "*a certioribus ad incertiora exquirenda progrediendum est.*" But this rule he has absolutely inverted; he has given a full and luminous detail of facts, calculations, and information of different kinds bearing on the subject, taken from well authenticated reports, of the most settled countries in Europe. Nevertheless he founds his deductions, theoretical and practical, intended by him for our government here in Europe, not on these sound European data, but upon statements received from the United States in North America, a country of all countries in the world the most unfit for this purpose.

Upon the prodigious increase stated in these American reports, and from his own opinion, that if people multiply so rapidly in that country they may do the same in Great Britain, he has drawn the most melancholy presages for

these countries, full of misery and privation to us or to our children. Mr Malthus has, I think, formed his conclusions far too hastily; not giving sufficient attention to two most important considerations, on which, in fact, every thing depends. In the first place, to ascertain what degree of accuracy (if any) belongs to this sort of data; and secondly, to enquire how far, if sound and accurate, it is fairly applicable to an old long settled country such as Great Britain.

The United States of North America possess indeed great extent and resources, and are rising rapidly in the scale of nations³. But as to the population, it is objected that these reports are wholly unfit for our use as data; because, in the first place, the state of that country has been such hitherto, as to make it impossible, or nearly so, to execute a census of its inhabitants at all approaching to accuracy. As to an actual census, if such a thing were possible, the expence would be incalculable; when we think of the immense extent, and the nature of the country and its population; in

³ Mr M. prefaces what he says of the United States by asserting that their manners are *more pure* than those of any of the modern States of Europe (Vol. I. p. 7). I must say, I do not think this the language of a judicious advocate. There are very great numbers of excellent people in America, and they will be the very first to condemn such a statement, a statement so contrary to probability, and to the concurrent testimony of travellers. If he had only said *as pure*, no remark would have been made.

It may naturally be asked what could induce Mr M. thus to extol the morals of America, at the expence of such an imputation on those of his own country. The question is of easy solution; he had a theory to advance, monstrously absurd and revolting to humanity in its application to Europe; it was also contrary to European statistics and experience. But, says he, "do not regard these European reports, I will bring you reports supporting my theory from a country of purer morals, from a people whose reports deserve your entire confidence." What will not men do, says Mr Shandy, to support a favourite hypothesis!!

Here let me not be mistaken: I consider the Americans, a great, intellectual, enterprising people; and the societies for religious and moral purposes established in many places, are greatly to their honour. But Mr M. cannot make us believe, either that they breed so much faster, or that they are more virtuous and honest than other people.

His statement concerning France is equally absurd. He says, that its population was as great at the end of the wars of the revolution, as at their beginning. But all travellers attest the very contrary, and say that at length, few full grown men were to be seen through the country, except those who were either too old or too infirm for military service.

the back country the houses are so far from each other, and the country so wild, much of it without even any roads; so that in many parts of it, a man must travel many hundreds of miles to reckon 1,000 persons, traversing in his route dense forests, and rivers which his horse must cross by swimming⁴.

There is also another insurmountable obstacle to making any thing like an actual census in America, in the present state of that country. All travellers agree in stating, that not only the new comers in general, which are exceedingly numerous, but a great proportion of the older population also are shifting, and in transitu from one province or place to another.

Again, it is an established maxim in jurisprudence, not to admit the evidence of an interested party, on any questionable subject. Now, I suppose it will not be denied, that it is clearly the interest of Americans, to give the inhabitants of Europe the highest possible idea of the fertility of their country and the healthiness of their climate, in order to induce Europeans of property to emigrate⁵.

It is but too well known, that North America abounds with land jobbers and speculators, who continually circulate through Europe, and especially in these islands, statements the most fallacious in every particular, to induce ignorant persons to emigrate and purchase their land. Any statements respecting the population, coming from that country at pre-

⁴ If actual enumeration be difficult or impossible, it is however easy enough to say, "I guess," in the colloquial style of the country.

⁵ The American reports state a deficiency of persons above the age of 45. This speaks volumes, as to the shortness of life and the unhealthiness of their climate; but they say, it only shews that their population is chiefly native. If this were the cause, the same effect would of course be still more observable in countries, whose population is entirely native; but the reverse is the fact.

An American engineer, a gentleman of talent and observation, informed me, that the inhabitants of the United States were by a comparison of statistical reports, the shortest lived of any civilized nation in existence. In other countries, people often complain of the great towns being unhealthy; but in America the climate seems to press also upon the health of its rural population. Forests, prairies, dismal swamps, and inundations, with the great and sudden changes of temperature, are the perpetual sources of fever, ague, rheumatism, &c. Their pallid countenances, and early loss of teeth, so generally noticed by travellers, are symptoms far from equivocal. These evils, we trust, will gradually be diminished as the land is gradually cleared by an increased population.

sent, will therefore be received by well informed persons, with a great degree of caution⁶.

Here I must further observe, that even if an accurate census could be taken of the inhabitants of those wild and extensive regions, and if Europeans should agree to its correctness, there remains still a third objection to its being applied to European affairs, as an acknowledged standard for our government on this side of the Atlantic. The following objection must, I think, in fair argument be considered fatal and decisive.

Emigration, great and constant, but not regular and uniform, from the old to the new world, is the most prominent feature in the relation which subsists between the two hemispheres⁷. It requires but a very moderate share of common sense to perceive, that such a stream must powerfully propel the population of any country; but no faculty whatever could enable us to calculate, or even to guess at, the quantity of the correction which we ought to make on this account, before we could apply fairly an American cen-

⁶ Mr Malthus himself detected an error in their statements which might have taught him to be more cautious. (See Vol. II. p. 151. See also Godwin on Population, p. 421.) There is no fact relative to the subject better established or understood, than that $4\frac{1}{2}$ is the proximate average of births produced by marriages, and that premature marriages do not produce more, while on the contrary, they injure population, by shortening the term of vigour and of life. But the American reports boast of an average as high as six, and this is attributed by their advocates to their marrying so very young. Mr M. however very prudently examined the figures of their calculation, and found the true quotient number to be $4\frac{1}{2}$, which is rather less than the average in Europe!!

“ In 54 years

Births.....	2247
Deaths.....	1113
Marriages.....	521

Proportion of births to marriages $4\frac{1}{2}$ nearly.”

One of their returns gives an annual average of deaths 1 to 43. This is really quite absurd and unaccountable, (in Europe the deaths average in different places from 1 in 30 to 1 in 37) except we suppose the town in question to be a mere place of passage, and thus resembling a large inn. An inn is certainly not more healthy than other places, yet few deaths in proportion occur in such a place for obvious reasons.

⁷ Much indeed has been done in the United States; but they have still much to encounter before the entire country is cleared, drained, and brought into full cultivation. And this perhaps could not be accomplished in any reasonable time, without the aid of continued emigration of fresh healthy labourers from Europe.

sus to the case of a country already at maturity, and depending on its own internal resources.

Emigration from Europe was what created at first the population of the United States: that emigration has gone on increasing, regularly or irregularly ever since. In one year it is allowed to have exceeded 16,000 persons, and there is reason to think that some other years have even exceeded that amount; and yet we are gravely told, that America, still confessedly a new country, is so little beholden to emigration from other countries, that its effect on population is comparatively a mere evanescent quantity, and as such is not even noticed by Mr Malthus in his statements and calculations.

Mr Godwin on the other hand fiercely attacks Mr Malthus and his theory, and supports his objections with a considerable weight of argument and evidence; but he appears to me to have gone into the opposite error, endeavouring to make it appear that whatever progress in population has taken place in America, must be wholly ascribed to immigration, and that in all probability the domestic increase, if any, must have been exceedingly small⁶.

The fair and legitimate conclusion from the whole appears to be, that however useful the censuses and statements made in North America, may be to its own government for local purposes, they are for many reasons unfit to be used as data, in calculations affecting the political economy of any country in Europe.

After a careful examination of the treatises above referred to, and of various other works and documents upon the same subject, it appears to me, that the following view of the subject must be very near the truth, as it regards European countries, and more especially the British islands, when under favourable circumstances, that is, when they are not pressed or threatened with war, commotion, dearth, pestilence, want of trade, &c.

⁶ It does not properly belong to this work to enter into an exposure of the dangerous principles as to politics and religion, elicited by Mr G. As to the increase of population in the United States, under the present difficulties of the question, it seems the fairest course to ascribe about one-third to immigration, and the remaining two-thirds to domestic increase, until some more exact information can be obtained.

The annual number of marriages is to the entire population, in a proportion varying from 1 in 110 to 1 in 120 nearly⁹.

The annual number of births is to the entire population, on an average nearly as 1 to 26¹⁰.

The average number of births produced by each marriage is about $4\frac{1}{2}$, certainly not more¹¹.

The annual average number of deaths is to the entire population nearly as 1 to $34\frac{1}{2}$ ¹².

From all the various documents and calculations which I have examined, it appears to me, that in settled states in general, there is an annual increase of about 1 in 100¹³, of course geometrically progressive. This would cause the entire population to double itself in about 70 years, a rate which I suspect has never been exceeded in any country in Europe for any considerable time in continuance. And I must observe, that on the great scale,

⁹ See Malthus, Vol. I. p. 449, and al.

¹⁰ "The number of births in proportion to the whole population in Russia, is not different from a common average in other countries, being about 1 in 26." Malthus, 5th Ed. Vol. I. p. 420. This common average Mr M. proves by various documents and calculations.

¹¹ See Malthus, Vol. II. p. 153, 154, and al. and Godwin, p. 421 and al. Of infants born nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ die in the first year, or perhaps we might say 1 out of the $4\frac{1}{2}$, and about one more dies before the age for marriage: thus leaving $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $2\frac{1}{4}$ to marry or to continue single. These numbers are certainly very near the truth.

See also on this subject, Dr Price's tables.

¹² Price on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 126, and al. and Malthus, Vol. I. p. 368, 417, 440, 459.

¹³ In the Quarterly Review for June 1825, on "the past and present state of the country," among other valuable information, we meet the following at p. 165.

From the year 1754 to 1824, the population of Great Britain increased from 8,000,000 to 15,000,000, being an increase in 70 years of 87 per cent., which is under 1 per cent., annual geometrical increase.

Again, at p. 169, we are told that in the 20 years between 1801 and 1821, the population increased 31 per cent., which is a little above 1 per cent., annual geometrical increase.

And again, at p. 194, "It appears that the population from 1764 to 1824' that is, in 60 years, has been augmented at the rate of 78 per cent." This again is somewhat under 1 per cent., annual increase.

These results are taken from the most authentic documents in existence, and from such only.

this increase is a prodigious thing, even to think of¹⁴, for were this rate of increase to continue, population would increase four-fold in 140 years¹⁵; and would in about 160 years be multiplied five-fold¹⁶, and twenty-five-fold in 320 years.

After the explanations given above, it will be easy for any one, who acknowledges the superintendence of an all-

¹⁴ The following useful extract appeared in the Dublin Philosophical Journal for March, 1825.

POPULATION OF IRELAND.

An abstract of returns made in pursuance of the late Act of Parliament for "taking an account of the population of Ireland, and ascertaining the increase or diminution thereof," has been published by order of the House of Commons.

Calculations of population of Ireland at different periods :

Moryson, who visited Ireland under Lord Mountjoy, about the year 1600, stated it at.....	790,000
Sir W. Petty, before the Civil War in 1641.....	1,400,000
The same writer says, in 1671 it had fallen to.....	1,100,000
Captain South in 1695.....	1,034,102
By the Established Clergy in 1731.....	2,010,221
By the Hearth Collectors in 1785.....	2,845,932
Mr Gervais Bushe, 1788.....	4,040,000
Hearth Returns, 1791.....	4,206,612
Doctor Beaufort, 1792.....	4,088,228
Major Newenham, 1805.....	5,395,456
Conjectural Census, 1813.....	5,937,856
Parliamentary Return, 1821.....	6,801,827

This last is supposed to be the only one framed upon a direct and apparently accurate investigation.

N. B. The superficies of Ireland is stated at 12,001,200 Irish acres.

The fluctuations observable in this report, shew either the great difficulty of procuring accurate returns on an extensive scale, or the irregularity of the increase of population.

¹⁵ That is to say, upon this hypothesis, the population of England is four times as great now as it was in the reign of James the Second, a prodigious increase indeed. There was a census in Ireland in 1831, which states the population 7,787,401. But it is said to be enormously exaggerated by false returns made to Government. Again, in 1838, there was a sort of report, or rather rough estimate (on information of the same kind as before), which represents the population as 8½ millions. But this neither has obtained credit, nor appears to merit any, being so evidently contrary to truth. It is indeed to be feared, that Ireland has latterly retrograded in population. It has at least been in circumstances which always cause decline in other countries—want of domestic peace and security; causing want of trade, money, and food; all naturally accompanied by immense constant emigration.

¹⁶ If we could rely on the correctness of the returns, this five-fold increase actually took place in Ireland, in the 160 years preceding 1792.

wise kind Providence¹⁷, to perceive, that whenever the population of any country may approach too near to an equality with the means of subsistence, a very small change in one or more of the elements of increase would instantly check it; in fact, a deduction equal to $\frac{1}{200}$, either from the annual number of marriages, or of births, and an addition equal to $\frac{1}{300}$ of the population to the annual number of deaths, would put an absolute stop to this formidable increase¹⁸. But the Almighty is not obliged to act in this way, or to increase the mortality for such a purpose¹⁹. An almost imperceptible change in the annual number of marriages, and in the fruitfulness of those marriages, would have an equal effect, although not perceived or suspected by any mortal²⁰, or if perceived would be probably only ascribed to some secondary causes.

Further, if beside the births being diminished, the annual amount of deaths should at the same time be increased by $\frac{1}{100}$ of the population, which any epidemic sickness or unhealthy

¹⁷ The increase of mankind seems to be, in an especial manner, kept by the Almighty under his own immediate sovereign disposal, and so mysteriously, that we cannot calculate nor even guess at the probable produce of any marriage, under whatever circumstances, of rank, wealth, health, age, or climate. The most healthy of every class in life are very often barren, while we constantly see numerous families from sickly, diseased, and even deformed parents.

Uncertainty of this kind does not exist, as to the lower orders of the creation; as to their increase, we are allowed to calculate and speculate with tolerable exactness.

This utter uncertainty, as to the very root of population, involves the whole subject more or less in its consequences, and with all our labours and tables, however useful and convenient we may find them for the present purposes of life, no sooner do we attempt to open vistas into futurity, than we find ourselves on ground forbidden to the children of men.

¹⁸ In a civilized country, labouring under adverse circumstances, the anxieties of life check population long before actual want of necessaries could occur to restrict it. Mr Malthus himself mentions the prudent reserve of the middle and lower classes in Great Britain, preventing them from marrying without a fair prospect of comfortable support.

¹⁹ Far less can we suppose Him obliged to use vice and misery, as a means to limit the population of His rational creatures, to the means ordained by Him for their support.

²⁰ If the annual number of marriages was only lowered to 1 in 140, which is a rate very common in every part of Europe, and if the average fruitfulness of marriages was lowered to 4, which is likewise a very usual rate, as may be seen by reference to all the books and tables on the subject; these two moderate changes by their joint operation, would not only stop the increase of population, but even cause it to retrograde a little, without any increase of the mortality.

seasons will readily do²¹; then the population will actually retrograde at the rate of one in a hundred annually, and would be diminished to one half in about seventy years. These checks to exuberant population may be, and doubtless are, proportioned and administered by the Almighty, in such a way, as best suits the circumstances, religious, moral and political, of each nation and country.

Thus the population of civilized nations, in general oscillates between limits sufficiently remote from the two extremes; from a superabundance of food exempting man from labour, and a scarcity incompatible with comfortable existence.

This is somewhat analogous to the planets moving in their elliptical orbits; they continually change their distance from the center, but always within limits prescribed by infinite wisdom.

It is natural to men of acute and active minds, to begin to generalise and calculate upon every subject which attracts their notice, and to this propensity much of the knowledge existing in the world must be attributed; but unfortunately for weak fallible man, as soon as he becomes a little acquainted with secondary causes (and it is but a little we can know of them) he is too frequently led to forget the great first cause. It is therefore not wonderful that his theories are often miserably defective²².

²¹ Dr Short formed a table of all the plagues, pestilences, and famines of which he could find any record.

Thirty-two instances of pestilences are recorded before the Christian era, and 399 after it. This last number shews that epidemic complaints recur, at least somewhere, every 4½ years on an average.

Of great famines or dearths, 16 were recorded before the Christian era, beginning with that which occurred in Palestine in the time of Abraham. Since the Christian era there have been 239, which gives an interval of about 7½ years between each famine or dearth. This shews the great improbability that population should ever become excessive for want of checks. Short's Hist. of Air and Seasons, Vol. II. p. 202, 366; and Malthus on Population, Vol. II. p. 200.

²² "Writers upon Population, appear generally much too ready to place implicit reliance upon loose and unauthenticated data." "They assume, that in 1600, the population (of England) amounted to 3,000,000, and that from 1600 to 1800, it gradually increased at the rate of about 3,000,000 per century. All this is from conjecture, utterly unsupported by any facts; for before the first population return in 1801, we possess no authority on the subject except the assertions of political writers; if we can depend upon the abstracts, which we have partially obtained from parish registers, no doubt can be entertained that the population of England in 1600, has been usually estimated much below its real number." Quarterly Review for March 1826, p. 445.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ASTRONOMY OF THE ANCIENTS.

ASTRONOMY, considered as a science, was only in its infancy among the ancients¹. Those principles, so stupendously sublime, and at the same time so exquisitely harmonious, by which thousands of suns, and perhaps thousands of systems are moved and regulated², were utterly unknown to them; they knew not even the most simple fundamental fact belonging to the science, the diurnal motion of earth on its own axis.

If it be objected that Philolaus, Aristarchus, Pythagoras, and some others, were not wholly unacquainted with the present theory of the solar system, I can only say, that allowing that to be the case, it seems at least extraordinary, if not unaccountable, that it was not known to Aristotle, Hipparchus, Ptolemy, and other subsequent astronomers of great talent and repute.

It seems therefore probable, that they only hazarded some speculations upon the subject, without forming what could be called a theory or system, and that those speculations were not attended to, at least not as much as they deserved.

I suspect that some of these philosophers went so far as to discover the figure and diurnal motion of the earth, but no farther. This would relieve their astronomical system from its greatest absurdity, that of supposing the whole starry firmament, with the sun, moon, and planets to move round the earth every 24 hours; they would suppose the sun to revolve round the earth in 12 months, which is

¹ Cicero gives some very interesting notices as to the state of astronomical knowledge, in his time, in the second book of his treatise "De Natura Deorum," to which I refer the reader.

² Well might the angelic host shout with transport, when they first beheld this glorious manifestation of infinite wisdom and almighty power, when they first enjoyed the music of the spheres,

ברן ייחד כוכבי בקר ויריעו כל־בני אלהים.

Job xxxviii. 7.

much less revolting to common sense. Of the earth's annual motion, I believe the ancients in general had no idea whatever. But although so ignorant of the theory, their practical knowledge of astronomy, the mere result of constant and diligent observation, was by no means contemptible or inefficient; it was an inestimable addition to their security at sea, before the discovery of the compass, and contributed much to their comfort and regularity on land before the introduction of calendars or other regular tables.

The Quarterly Review for July 1828, has the following valuable remarks: "The formation of the library of Alexandria; the erection of its observatory; the invitation to his court of the philosophers of every clime; his participation in their conversation and in their labours, and the accessions which astronomy thence derived, have immortalized the name of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

———"Aristarchus, one of the earliest astronomers of this great school, determined that the distance of the sun was at least 20 times greater than that of the moon, and convinced that the earth moved round the sun, he inferred from the position of the stars when the earth was in the opposite points of its orbit, that their distance was immeasurably greater than that of the sun."

It seems wonderful that discoveries so valuable and important should be afterwards lost. Ptolemy in the second century of the Christian era was ignorant of them. This excellent article proceeds as follows:

"These important steps in the science were pursued by Eratosthenes, whom Ptolemy Euergetes invited to his capital. With instruments erected by his patron, he found that the diameter of the sun was at least 27 times greater than that of the earth, and by comparing the distance of Alexandria from Syene, with the celestial arc between the zeniths of these two cities, he concluded that the circumference of the earth was 25,000 stadia, a result not excessively different from the measurement of modern times. Important as these results were to astronomy, yet it was from his successor Hipparchus, that the science derived the most valuable improvements."———"He ascertained the length of the tropical year; discovered the equation of time;

fixed the lunar motions with greater accuracy, and determined the eccentricity and inclination of the moon's orbit. His grand work however, is his catalogue of the longitudes and latitudes of 1022 fixed stars; by means of which he discovered the precession of the equinoctial points. In carrying on these enquiries, he was led to the principles and rules of spherical trigonometry, one of the most valuable branches of geometry.

"The leading works of this eminent astronomer, perished in the flames which destroyed the Alexandrian library; but his most important observations have been preserved in the writings of his successors."

As to the astronomical knowledge of the Jews, Scripture is almost silent; we are not told that our great progenitor received any scientific information from the Almighty.

The great longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs was doubtless exceedingly favourable to astronomical observations and discoveries; and Josephus goes so far as to say, that "God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time of foretelling the periods of the stars unless they had lived 600 years; for the GREAT YEAR is completed in that interval³." On this passage the London Encyclopædia (article Astronomy) observes, "by this remarkable expression is probably meant the period in which the sun and moon came again into the same situation in which they were at the beginning of it, with regard to the nodes, apogee of the moon, &c. 'This period, says Cassini, of which we find no intimation in any monument of any other nation, is the finest period that ever was invented; for it brings out the solar year more exactly than that of Hipparchus and Ptolemy, and the lunar months within about one minute of what is determined by modern astronomers.' If the antediluvians had such a period of 600 years, they must have known the motions of the sun and moon more exactly than their descendants knew them for many ages after the flood."

Josephus also mentions pillars with astronomical inscrip-

³ Josephus, Antiq. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 14.

tions existing in his time, which, he says, were the work of the antediluvians; this does not merit a serious refutation; these pillars however, might, perhaps, be some of those set up by Sesostris to mark his Indian expedition. The mention of some stars or constellations in the Book of Job, shews that the people of that country were not inattentive to the celestial phenomena, but does not necessarily imply any great proficiency in astronomical knowledge.

It was a happy circumstance for the ancients, that with regard to the phenomena of the sun and fixed stars, the practical application was not at all affected by the gross fundamental error under which their theory laboured. As the diameter of the earth's orbit is a quantity comparatively evanescent, in regard to our distance from the fixed stars; the celestial sphere, and every thing connected with it, bears to us precisely the same appearances and motions, whether the earth be considered as the permanent center of the universe and all the heavenly bodies making their daily circuit round us; or if we consider the earth as a little planet, whose revolutions cause the same changes of phenomena to its inhabitants.

With respect to the planets and comets, the case was far otherwise. A system so opposite to the truth involved these bodies and their motions in great and unaccountable confusion.

They considered them as *Astra-errantia*, Πλανήται⁴, wanderers, whose irregular motions and changing aspects, were beyond the reach of philosophical enquiry, but had a fearful influence upon the destinies of nations and individuals.

⁴ The Greeks and Romans gave the following names to the planets:

Φαίωνα,	Saturnus [*] .
Φαέθων,	Jupiter, (the Egyptians call it the Star of Osiris.)
Πυρρόεις,	Mars†.
Στίλβων,	Mercurius‡.
Φωσφόρος,	Venus§. Cicero, De Nat. Deor. Lib. II.

They thought Venus the lowest of the planets, as being nearest to the earth, and therefore placed her last in the series, calling her Lucifer when she preceded the sun in the morning, and Hesperus when she followed him in the evening.

^{*} The Egyptians call it Nemesis.

† Others call this planet Hercules.

‡ Others call him Apollo.

§ Others call this planet Juno, Isis, or the mother of the gods. See Pliny, Book II. Chap. 111. Achilles Tatius on Aratus, Hyginus, Book II. Macrobius, Book III.

Thus impelled by their nightly and daily necessities, and encouraged by a climate peculiarly favourable⁵, the Egyptians, Phœnicians⁶, Chaldeans, and Greeks, cultivated an acquaintance with the constellations, more perfect, and more generally diffused among them than moderns can readily conceive.

The shipmasters, the shepherds, the philosophers, and the priests, were all, in their own various ways practical astronomers; and this last class, by the addition of judicial astrology, contrived to make the heavenly bodies efficient auxiliaries, both as to power and emolument.

The invention of asterisms or constellations, those mnemonics of the sky, was an important advantage to the ancients in their astronomical practice. It also enabled them to teach it easily to their children, and even to render it an amusement in the refreshing coolness of the night.

To the pilot, this practical acquaintance with the heavenly bodies was of vital importance, before the discovery of the magnetic needle. It was not only in the clear and cloudless night that his astronomical skill availed him in shaping his course with more or less certainty; if he could only discern a part of a constellation, or a single well known

⁵ "We halted the first evening at the wells, about 11 miles from Kossier; it was already dark, so we did not pitch our tents but spread our mats upon the sand, with our camels kneeling round us; made a cheerful repast of cold provisions, and lay down to rest with the starry firmament for a canopy. From the purity of the atmosphere, the planets shone out of a size, and with a lustre surprising even to the eye of an old resident in India." *Scenes and Impressions in Egypt*, p. 68.

⁶ "Οἱ τὴν μὲν Κυνόσουραν ἐπέκλησιν καλέουσι·
Τὴν δ' ἐτέρην Ἑλικὴν. Ἑλικὴ γὰρ μὲν ἄνδρες Ἀχαιοὶ
εἶν ἀλλ' ἑκαίρουται, ἵνα χρηὴ νῆας ἀγινῶν,
τῇ δ' ἄρα Φοίνικες πῖσσυοι περόωσι βάλασσαν.
'Ἄλλ' ἢ μὲν καθαρὴ καὶ ἐπιφράσσασθαί ἐτοίμη,
Πολλὴ φαινομένη Ἑλικὴ, πρῶτης ἀπὸ νυκτός·
'Ἡ δ' ἐτέρη ὀλίγη μὲν, ἀτὰρ ναύτησιν ἀρείων·
Μειοτέρη γὰρ πᾶσα περιστρέφεται τροφάλιγγι,
τῇ καὶ Σιδόνιοι ἰθόντατα ναυτίλλονται."

Aratus *Phænomena*, Sect 5.

"Of these the Greeks call one Cynosura, the other Helice."

"This the Phœnicians choose to make their guide,
When on the ocean in the night they ride.
Adorn'd with stars of more refulgent light,
The other shines, and first appears at night:
Tho' this is small, sailors its use have found;
More inward in its course, and short its round."

In nocturnal navigation the Greeks chiefly used the great bear, and the Phœnicians the little bear.

star, if not too near the zenith, he could tell in what quarter it lay at that time of night, and of course the azimuth of his situation.

I cannot admit the supposition, that the Egyptians were indebted to the Chaldeans for astronomy, or indeed for any other art or science. The nature and circumstances of their country would lead, or almost compel, a civilized people to turn their attention to both geometry and astronomy. "All the learning of the Egyptians," is spoken emphatically, referring to a date, many centuries before we hear any thing concerning either Babylon or its sages⁷.

The Brahmins report celestial observations made in India for 5,000 years; but their records of every kind are proverbially false and corrupt, and it can scarcely be called scepticism to doubt the veracity, and reject the testimony of men, to whom perjury is familiar, and who consider fraud of every kind an allowable exercise of superior talents.

When the disastrous war of the Titan princes drove so many learned Egyptians to seek an asylum in Greece, they brought with them, among other useful acquisitions, their knowledge of astronomy.

This emigration, as we have already noticed, took place a short time before the Argonautic expedition.

Diogenes Laertius informs us that Musæus, the son of Eumolpus, and Linus the son of Hermes, wrote on astronomy; and that the former made a celestial sphere⁸. This Musæus was one of the Argonauts. We are also told that Chiron, who flourished at the same time, was famous, among other attainments, for his knowledge of astronomy, and that he made "*σχήματα οὐρανῶν*," by which I understand either celestial charts or celestial spheres.

Upon the whole, I can see nothing whatever improbable,

⁷ "Καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη Μωϋσῆς πάση σοφίᾳ Αἰγυπτίων." Acts vii. 22.

⁸ "Ἴδὸν γοῦν παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις γέγονε Μουσαῖος, παρὰ δὲ Θεβαιοῖς Λίνος. καὶ τὸν μὲν Εὐμόλπου παῖδά φασί, ποιῆσαι δὲ θεογονίαν καὶ σφαιρὰν πρῶτον." — "τὸν δὲ Λίνον παῖδα εἶναι Ἑρμοῦ καὶ μούσης Οὐρανίας· ποιῆσαι δὲ κοσμογονίαν, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν, καὶ ζώων καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις."

Diogenes Laertius, Proem.

"Nam Musæo Athenæ, Thebæ Lino inclytæ sunt. Horum alterum Eumolpi filium, asserunt primum deorum generationem tradidisse, spheramque invenisse." "Linum vero Mercurio musæque Urania genitum affirmant: scripsisse autem mundi generationem, solis item et Lunæ cursus, animalium et fructuum generationes."

in the ancient account of their having a celestial sphere constructed for their use and government; and indeed as the ancients thought the firmament was actually a sphere, to make an artificial one in imitation of it, would readily occur to any ingenious artist. It is indeed probable, that there were many such spheres made at a very early date; and it is said that Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, king of Phæacia, was possessed of one. But after all, the great difficulty of the case has been created by placing those events in the 13th century before the Christian era, instead of the 10th, in which they actually occurred.

If we were told that Solomon had a celestial sphere, we should not think it at all improbable; and the Argonauts lived half a century later than Solomon.

Newton made the Argonautic expedition his cardinal point for adjusting the dates of the uncertain periods of Grecian history; and he rested one of his proofs upon the equinoctial and solstitial points in the sphere, constructed for the use of the Argonauts, which points he supposed to have been exactly in the middle of their respective signs; a supposition, which though probable enough, is not supported by evidence. There is a draught of the constellation Aries in the *Aratæa* published at Leyden and Amsterdam in 1652, which seems to confirm Newton's opinion; but the antiquity and authority of the original draught may still remain in question.

This, however, has nothing to do with the existence of the sphere itself, of which I think there can be no reasonable doubt. But commentators have confounded the sphere, as it was, or could have been originally delineated for the use of the expedition, with those alterations and additions, which were made by the Argonauts at their return, to commemorate their exploits and their successes*.

The sign Gemini, for example, had been represented by two kids; these gave place to the two Argonautic heroes, Castor and Pollux, and various asterisms were formed or altered to suit other persons engaged in the expedition. The

* That the ancient sphere with its asterisms was the work of the Argonauts, is made to the highest degree probable by the fact, that almost all the asterisms refer to them and their cotemporaries, and to their exploits.

ship Argo must have its constellation¹⁰; and I think they shewed both taste and judgment, by assigning to her a group of stars exactly on a level with the sea.

To those who navigated the Mediterranean, this asterism appeared like a stately galley sailing along¹¹; and I have no doubt that it was in their triumphant return through that sea, that they formed the constellation.

Among the rude and simple observations made by those who first cultivated the science of astronomy, the heliacal rising of the stars held a very principal rank. A phenomenon of so much practical utility, in its daily application to the affairs of life, of which they could make so much use in marking the seasons of the year, and regulating their public observances, and at the same time one which required a degree of accuracy so very moderate, either in the instrument or in the observer, was well suited to the infancy of astronomy. To ascertain on what day a certain star rose heliacally, was all that was required; for this purpose the observation ought to be accurate within about one degree of space; and, moreover, the operation could be checked and corrected by the observations of one, two, or three other nights.

With this view of the subject, we need not be surprised at finding the frequent reference to heliacal risings in the earlier periods of the history of astronomy. Newton, for the purpose of confirming the testimony of Herodotus, as to the time when Hesiod flourished, gives the result of a calculation based on the rising of Arcturus at sunset, as observed in Hesiod's time, 60 days after the winter solstice¹², which

¹⁰ Some moderns have asked why the constellation Argo was not placed in the northern hemisphere, but the ancients certainly did better.

¹² Thus she appeared to the ancients; in the 10th century B. C. the constellation appeared upright. The equinoctial precession makes the ship Argo now appear very oblique, as if she was thrown upon her beam ends.

¹¹ "Εὐτ' ἂν δ' ἐξήκοντα μετὰ τροπᾶς ἡλίου
Χαιμέρι' ἐκτελέσῃ Ζεὺς ἡμάτα, δὴ ῥα τότε ἀστὴρ
'Ἀρκτοῦρος, προλιπῶν ἱερὸν ῥόον ὠκεανοῖο,
Πρῶτον παμφαίνων, ἐπιτέλλεται ἀκροκνήφαιος."

Hesiod, *Ἔργων*, &c. Lib. II. v. 182.

* Cum sexaginta post versiones solis
Hibernos perfecit Jupiter dies, tunc sane stella
Arcturus, relinquens sacrum fluctum Oceani,
Primum tota apparens eroritur vespertina.

Newton therefore dates about 100 years after the death of Solomon, or 875 B. C. Against all this some respectable modern commentators object, that the ancient notices of the heliacal rising of stars are of no sort of value, on account of the great refraction of light near the horizon in those countries.

If this specious objection was supported either by the modern improvements in astronomy, or by authentic historical facts, it would well deserve our serious attention; but the very reverse is the case, even in the circumstance selected by themselves for animadversion. The broad fact is, that the ancients were enabled, by some means or other, whether simple or complex, to ascertain the heliacal risings, with a degree of accuracy, abundantly sufficient for their own purposes; and the most accurate modern observations prove that the refraction could not be an obstacle.

Hesiod testifies that the large bright star Arcturus, rose heliacally 60 days before the winter solstice in his time; and Newton found by retrospective calculation, that this was the case at the time assigned to Hesiod by the most authentic history. We need not therefore seek better evidence of any fact, and seldom indeed find an ancient fact so well authenticated.

Herodotus declares that Hesiod and Homer wrote those poems, which embodied the Grecian mythology into a system, within 400 years of his time¹³, and we have the fullest proof that all ancient statements err more or less in excess. Hesiod therefore composed, or at least published his Theogony after the year 845 B. C., and Homer, who was between 30 and 40 years younger, probably began to flourish about 810 B. C.¹⁴, and continued until 780 or 790 B. C.

The poem on 'Works and Days,' to which Newton refers,

¹³ Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἠλικίῃν τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλησι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημνάντες. Herodot. Lib. II. Cap. LIII.

¹⁴ As Homer must have composed the Iliad near a century after the Trojan war, the advocates of the old system found some support in the Parian Chronicle dating Homer 907 B. C. But here their old fatal enemy, Herodotus, again meets them with a decided contradiction. It is interesting to see those two giants, the father of ancient history, and the father of modern science, fighting side by side in the cause of truth.

is supposed to have been Hesiod's first work of any note, and composed many years before his great and last work, his *Theogony*. I have already said that Newton computed the 'Works and Days' to have been written about 875 B. C. But as he rated the equinoctial precession at a degree in 72 years, a rate which later astronomers have found to require still farther correction, we must subject his date of Hesiod to the same correction¹⁵.

The Rev. J. Challis, Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge, has kindly favoured me with the result of his latest observations, which settles the equinoctial precession at a degree in $71\frac{3}{4}$ years, or $50''\cdot168$ annually. This will deduct nine years from Newton's date, and leave 866 B. C. as about the time when the 'Works and Days' were written. It must here be understood, that a calculation by the heliacal risings, does not pretend to point decidedly to the particular year of any transaction; the slowness of precession making this impracticable; but it is extremely important as a guard or remedy against any serious error in dates. It informs us certainly and safely, in what century, and in what quarter of that century, the event in question occurred. Where two systems differ from each other by three whole centuries, this will therefore enable us at once to choose between them; and after the great leading dates are once settled, the more minute and dependent occurrences are easily brought into collocation¹⁶.

Professor Challis has also favoured me with the following notices on the subject of horizontal refraction, which I think answers every objection or cavil on that head.

"With respect to the amount of refraction, between the parallels of 25° and 40° , north latitude, it will not be very different from the refraction in this latitude."

"It is calculated that the horizontal refraction, when the temperature by Fahrenheit is 55° , is about $33'$; and when the temperature is 70° , which is nearly the mean temperature of the latitudes in question, the refraction is reduced

¹⁵ Dr Bradley calculated the equinoctial precession at a degree in $71\frac{1}{2}$ years, and when I wrote the note on the date of Hesiod in the *Parian Chronicle*, I was not aware of any doubt on the subject, or that farther correction had become necessary.

¹⁶ Mr Mitford well observes, that "where centuries are in dispute, we must not make difficulties about a few years."

to 32'. This small difference will not affect the determinations of dates by heliacal risings." I have already observed that such an observation requires only to be accurate within one degree of space.

Doctor Hales, in Vol. II. of his Analysis, p. 57, has favoured us with an elegant example of the application of astronomy to biblical chronology, in two calculations, made to ascertain the date of the patriarch Job. The former was made by M. Descoutant, a French mathematician, in 1765. This author followed the LXX and other versions in making Chimah כִּימָה signify the Pleiades. He calculates Job to have lived B. C. 2136.

Doctor Hales gives likewise another calculation for the same purpose, made upon an hypothesis of his own, that Chimah means Taurus, or rather Aldebaran, the principal star in that constellation.

He gives the result of an accurate calculation made from these premises by Doctor Brinkley, the late Bishop of Cloyne, which makes the date of Job 2337 B. C., a result which seems much in favour of the long system of biblical chronology.

But still it may be fairly objected, that the LXX translators could scarcely be mistaken in the meaning of the word Chimah, or be so grossly ignorant, as not to know the Hebrew name of a constellation so remarkable as the Pleiades, and so much noticed by the ancients in the division of their seasons. Indeed, were this the case, they would have been wretchedly qualified for their undertaking. I think their translation of the passage both elegant and most probably correct as to the general meaning. It is moreover confirmed by the opinion of the most learned Rabbinical writers.

הַקָּשֶׁר מֵעֲנֹת כִּימָה אֲרֻמְשׁוֹת כֶּסֶל תַּתַּח : הַתַּצִּיא
 מִזֹּת בַּעַז Job xxxviii. 31, 32.—

Συνήκας δὲ δεσμὸν Πλειάδος, καὶ φραγμὸν Ὠρίωνος ἤνοιξας;
 * Ἡ διανοίξεις Μαζουράθ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ;

This translation however has one defect; it does not give the sense of מֵעֲנֹת, so well expressed in the authorized version by "sweet influences." Buxtorf translates it "deli-

cias Pleiadum." Ἡδονή (voluptas) would not only have given the meaning of ΠΛΗΡΥΣ, but comes plainly from the same root ΠΥ *oblectare*, one of whose verbal nouns is ΠΥΡΥ *edinali voluptaria*. I think the passage ought to be translated thus :

Συνήκας δὲ δεσμὸν ἡδονῶν Πλειάδος, καὶ φραγμὸν Ὀρίωνος ἡνοιξας ; κ. τ. λ.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.

IN the reign of Lynceus, the successor of Armais or Danaus, king of Argos, the princes of Greece undertook the celebrated Argonautic expedition ; an occurrence to prove and disprove, to explain and perplex which, so much has been written by learned and ingenious men. Mr Bryant especially laboured hard to disprove the existence of any such event ; although he admits that it has the sanction of all the respectable Greek historians, and the concurrent assent of Usher, Cumberland, Jackson, Newton, and several other great modern writers. To these authorities, he only opposes his opinion of its improbability¹, in which opinion, he supports himself by the authority and arguments of Dr Rutherford², which give so full, and at the same time, so concise a view of what can be advanced on that side of the question, that Mr Bryant has quoted the entire passage. And I feel that I cannot treat their objections candidly, or meet them fairly, without doing so likewise.

¹ The opinion entertained by Mr Bryant, Mr Rutherford, and perhaps others, as to the improbability of the Argonautic expedition, was, no doubt, much increased by the romantic accounts given of it by some of the ancient poets. They represent one fine vessel, built partly of sacred timber, and manned entirely with princes and heroes or demigods. This small, but illustrious band, is represented as overturning two kingdoms, killing their sovereigns, and performing other great achievements. But Homer, who is both earlier, and in this case far better authority, informs us, that the Argonauts had a fleet of six ships, of which, we may suppose, Argo was the principal. Homer, *Iliad*. Book v. 641.

² Rutherford's *System of Natural Philosophy*, Vol. II. p. 349.

“Pagasæ, from whence the Argonauts sailed, is about 39°, and Colchos, to which they were sailing, is about 45°, north latitude. The star Canopus of the first magnitude, marked (α) by Bayer, in the constellation Argo, is only 37° from the south pole, and great part of the constellation is still nearer to the south pole. Therefore this principal star, and great part of the constellation Argo, could not be seen, either in the place that the Argonauts sailed from, or in the place to which they were sailing. Now, the ship was the first of its kind, and was the principal thing in the expedition, which makes it very unlikely that Chiron should choose to call a set of stars by the name of Argo, most of which were invisible to the Argonauts. If he had delineated the sphere for their use, he would have chosen to call some other constellation by this name; he would most likely have given the name Argo to some constellation in the Zodiac; however, certainly to one that was visible to the Argonauts, and not to one which was so far south, that the principal star in it could not be seen by them, either when they set out, or when they came to the end of their voyage.”

This objection will, I think, fall at once to the ground, if we consider that it was not when sailing from Pagasæ to Colchos they were raising trophies or forming constellations; but when they were returning triumphant from Spain, through the Mediterranean, laden with spoils³.

To those navigating the Mediterranean, the constellation Argo appears like a stately galley, on a level with the sea, and proudly sailing along, so that they could scarcely avoid the application of it to that purpose⁴. Moreover, it was

³ There is an elegant narrative of this expedition in prose, by Diodorus Siculus, besides the elegant poem of Apollonius Rhodius.

⁴ “Ἡ δὲ κούρῃ μεγάλῳ κατ’ οὐρῆν ἔλκεται Ἀργῶ
 Πρύμνοθεν οὐ γὰρ τῇ γε κατὰ χρεῖος εἰσι κέλευθοι,
 Ἄλλ’ ὄπισθεν φέρεται τετραμένη, οἷα καὶ αὐταὶ
 Νῆες, ὅταν δι’ αὐτὰι ἐπιτρέψωσι κορώνην,
 Ὅρμον ἐσπρχόμενοι τὴν δ’ αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνακόπτει
 Νῆα, παλιῖροβὴ δὲ καθάπτεται ἠπειροῖο.
 Ὅς ἦγε πρύμνοθεν Ἰησονὶς ἔλκεται Ἀργῶ.
 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἠερίη καὶ ἀνάστερος οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν
 Ἴστυν ἀπὸ πρῶρης φέρεται, τὰ δὲ πῶσα φαινή⁵
 Καὶ οἱ πηδάλιον κεχλασμένον ἐστήρικται
 Ποσσὶν ὑπ’ οὐραίοισι κυνὸς προκάρπειν ἰόντος.”

Aratus Phenomena. Sect. 34.

then upright, but the equinoctial precession has since thrown it somewhat oblique. As to their placing it in the northern hemisphere or the zodiac, I have only to observe, that even if any constellations in those regions of the sky had been equally suitable, in stars and position, they appear to have been long before filled with memorials of preceding heroes and their exploits.

Although so much has been already written and published concerning this expedition, I am obliged, as a foundation for further discussion, and on account of its connection with other important events, to insert a brief sketch of the leading circumstances, as they stand, when divested of all poetical embellishment.

Phryxus and his sister Helle, the children of Athamas, a Boeotian prince⁵, fled from the persecution of their step-mother, Ino the daughter of Cadmus; they sailed for Colchus⁶, the kingdom of Æetes, who was their relative, and had received the crown from Osiris, king of Egypt, and they brought with them in their flight treasures belonging to their father. We gather from the legendary accounts, that the vessel in which they sailed, was called the Ram, its prow being probably adorned with a figure of that animal. The poets represented them as carried by a ram, which had a golden fleece, by which they meant the treasure on board.

Helle unfortunately fell overboard, and was drowned in those straits called after her, the Hellespont. Phryxus was

“At canis ad caudam serpens prolabitur Argo,
 Conversam præ se portans cum lumine puppim:
 Non aliæ naves ut in alto ponere proras
 Ante solent, rostro Neptunia prata secantes,
 Sed conversa retro cœli semper loca portat,
 Sicut cum cœptant tutos constringere portus,
 Obvertunt navem magno cum pondere nautæ,
 Adversamque trahunt optata ad littora puppim:
 Sic conversa vetus super æthera vertitur Argo,
 Atque usque a prora ad celsum sine lumine malum,
 A malo ad puppim cum lumine clara videtur,
 Inde gubernaculum disperso lumine fulgens,
 Clari posteriora canis vestigia condit.” Cicero.

⁵ Echion and Athamas, the sons-in-law of Cadmus, had territories in *Boeotia*.

⁶ An Egyptian settlement on the Euxine, founded by Osiris or Sesostris, and called after Colchis in Egypt. From it Caucasus, the name of the neighbouring mountain is corruptly derived.

at first hospitably received, but afterwards basely murdered by Æetes on account of the treasure he had brought with him.

To revenge the murder and recover the treasure, were objects exactly suited to the spirit of the age. Six ships were accordingly fitted out for the enterprise, and manned by the Grecian princes and their followers⁷.

Jason a Thessalian prince was admiral of this fleet, and the admiral galley was, we are told, built after the model of that in which Danaus came from Egypt. It was called Argo, some say, after the name of Argus the builder; others conjecture, after Argha the name of the sacred vessel in which Isis fled to Biblus after the murder of Osiris. Homer, Apollodorus, and Dionysius inform us, that the land forces and operations were under the command of the Theban Hercules⁸, and the most brilliant achievements were performed by him.

Herodotus has recorded a circumstance, which strongly marks the genius of the age, in which nothing was undertaken without consulting oracles, and presenting offerings. He says the ship Argo was first sent to Delphos⁹, with a hecatomb and a brazen tripod as an offering, and being driven by a violent storm to the coast of Libya, narrowly escaped shipwreck.

⁷ ————— “ένεχ' ἵππων Λαομέδοντος
“Εξ οἴης σὺν νησὶ καὶ ἀνδρασι παυροτέροισιν
Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν.”

Homer, *Iliad* v. 641.

————— “seeking here
The horses of Laomedon, achieved
With six ships only, and a little band,
The fall of Troy.” Cowper.

⁸ “Διονύσιον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα φησὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γενέσθαι.”
Apollodorus Atheniensis de Hercule, p. 45.

“Dionysius Herculeum Argonautorum ducem fuisse recebit.”

See also Diod. Sic. Lib. IV. Cap. LIII. and Homer's *Iliad*, Lib. v. 636, et seq.

⁹ “Ἰήσωνα ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ ἐξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλῶϊ ἡ Ἄργω, ἐσθόμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἑκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χαλκεῶν, περιπλάσειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλόμενον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ μιν αἰς πλείοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μυλήην, ὑπολαβεῖν ἄνεμον Βορῆην, καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Αἰθίαν.” Herodotus, Lib. IV. Cap. CLXXIX.

“Ajunt Jasonem, posteaquam sub Pelio compacta est ab eo Argo, quum eam oneravisset tum alio centum victimarum onere, tum vero etiam tripode aereo, circuisset Peloponnesum, animo Delphos eundi: cumque, quum teneret cursum circa Maleam, abreptum a vento aquilone, et abductum in Africanum,” &c.

Every thing in the course of the expedition succeeded according to the wishes of the adventurers. They slew Æetes, delivered Prometheus the cousin of Hercules, who had been confined at Colchos for 30 years¹⁰, carried home the treasures, and brought to Greece Medea, the king's daughter, who became the wife of Jason. They had also many other adventures, and in their way home plundered the city of Troy, and killed king Laomedon, in revenge for some ill treatment real or pretended. His daughter Hesione became the prize of Hercules, who gave her to his friend Telamon; but his son Priam purchased his liberty by a large ransom, and succeeded his father, reigning until the Trojan war.

The Argonauts then proceeded through the Mediterranean sea to Spain, in which country there were rich and flourishing colonies from Tyre and Egypt, and mines of gold and silver. Spain was at that time governed by three princes of the Titan family called the Geryon¹¹ or Geryones¹², sons of Atlas or Italus, surnamed Chrysaor, who then reigned in Italy¹³.

¹⁰ "Λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς ἀποκτείνει μὲν τὸν ἌΕΤΟΝ, δὲ ἐν τῇ Κανκασῶ τὸν Προμηθεά ἐλύπει, ἐξέλιτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Προμηθεά ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν. Pausanias, Lib. V. Cap. XI.

"Traditum enim est, hoc etiam negotii Herculem habuisse, ut Prometheum, aquilæ, quæ illum male in Caucasos mulctabat, interempta, e vinculis eximeret." Thus the mythologists, by a play on the name Æetes or Æeton, turned this transaction into a poetical fable. See Hesiod, Theogonia, v. 521.

¹¹ The editor of Virgil Delphini gives the following note on Æneid VII. 662, "Γηρωίων, Γηρωόνης, Γηρωονεύς rex fuit Hispaniæ, qui tria dicitur habuisse corpora, quod tribus etiam insulis Hispaniæ adjacentibus imperaret; vel quod tres essent fratres amore conjunctissimi quibus devictis, Hercules eorum armenta diripuerit, et secum in Italiam advexerit."

¹² It would appear from the ancient history of Spain, that their names were Sic-Orus, Sic-Anus and Sic-Eleus or Sic-Ulus. The word Sic or Sheik probably then signified a Prince, as it still does in Egypt and Arabia. Sic-Anus gave his name to the river Ana, and the Eleo is called after Sic-Eleus. See Univ. Hist. Vol. XVIII. p. 375. Note.

Thucydides says, that the Sicani came from the banks of the Sicanus in Spain, and inhabited Sicily after the Cyclops and Lætrygonæ, and gave the island the name of Sicania, which was before called Trinacria. Thucydides, Lib. VI. p. 410.

They were in their turn dispossessed by the Siculi, who gave their own name to the island, which still continues.

¹³ Atlas or Italus surnamed Chrysaor or golden sword, was the son of Python the brother of Osiris by Medusa, the name given by mythologists to Minerva, whenever any thing is recorded to her disadvantage. Atlas and his brother

Hercules overcame and slew the Geryones, in revenge for the murder of Osiris by their family, and returned from Spain with great spoils.

The land party then proceeded homeward through Italy, driving before them an immense herd of cattle, the fleet at the same time sweeping the Mediterranean. In his progress, Hercules killed and plundered a famous predatory chief named Cacus.

The Argonauts erected in Lucania a temple to Juno Argiva¹⁴, as a memorial of their success and gratitude, and it was probably about the same time that they formed the constellations which commemorate their triumphs.

While the Argonauts were thus acquiring glory and wealth in distant regions, their absence from Greece was the occasion of serious troubles in that country. Hippocoon the brother of Tyndarus, king of Sparta, took the opportunity of the absence of Castor and Pollux with their troops, and dispossessed him of the throne.

When the Argonauts returned to Greece, Castor and Pollux restored Tyndarus to his throne, being assisted by Hercules, who slew the usurper and his sons. Hercules also went to Thesprotis, and obtained the release of his friend and kinsman Theseus, who was imprisoned there by Armais or Danaus, for assisting Pirithous in his attempt to carry off his queen Proserpine.

For a list of the Argonauts, see Appendix.

Hesperus were driven out of Africa by the Egyptian Hercules, after the death of Osiris. They at first settled in Spain, and afterwards removed to Italy, which after them was called Hesperia and Italia.

¹⁴ "Λευκαρία, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀργείας, Ἰάσονος Ἰδρυμα." Strabo, Lib. vi. ab initio.

"Lucania subsequitur, fanumque Junonis Argivæ, Jassone conditum."

APPENDIX.

NAMES, &c. OF THE ARGONAUTS FROM APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

Line	Name.	Son of.	City, &c.	Nation.
8	Jason,	Æson and Alcimedæ,	Jolchos,	Thessaly.
23	Orpheus,	Oeagrus and Calliope,	M ^c Pimpla,	Thrace.
35	Asterion,	Cometes,	River Apidanus,	Thessaly.
40	Polyphemus,	Elatus,	Larissa,	.....
45	Iphiclus,	Phylacus,	Phylace,	.....
49	Admetus,	Pheres and Clymene,	Pheræ,	.....
52	Erytus,	} Mercury and Antianira,	Alope,	.....
52	Echion,			
54	Aithalides,	Mercury and Eupolemia,	.....	.....
57	Coronus,	Cæneus,	Gyrton,	.....
65	Mopsus,	Amphyx and Chloris,	Tetaressa,	.....
67	Eurydamas,	Ctimenus,	Ctimene,	.....
69	Menoetion,	Actor and Ægina,	} Opus,	Locris.
71	Eurytion,	Irus,		
71	Eribotes,	Teleon,		
74	Oileus,	Odoedocus and Agriانونe,	.....	.....
77	Canthus,	Canethus,	Cerinthos,	Eubœa.
86	Clytius,	} Eurytus,	.....	Oechalia.
86	Iphitus,			
93	Telamon,	Æacus and Endeis,	.....	Salamis.
94	Peleus,	.....	Phthia,	Thessaly.
95	Butes,	Teleon,	Athens,	Attica.
96	Phalerus,	Alkon,	.....	.....
105	Tiphys,	Agnias, (was pilot)	Siphais,	Thespia.
115	Phlias,	Bacchus and Ariadne,	Arathyrea,	Achaia.
118	Talaus,	} Bias and Pero,	Argos,	Argolis.
118	Areios,			
119	Leodocus,			
122	Hercules,	Jupiter and Alcmena,	Thebes,	Bœotia.
131	Hylas,			

Line.	Name.	Son of.	City, &c.	Nation.
134	Nauplius,	Neptune and Amy- mone,		Eubœa.
139	Idmon,	Apollo and Asteria,	Argos,	Argolis.
146	Pollux,	Jupiter and Leda,	Sparta,	Laconia.
147	Castor,	Tyndarus and Leda,	.....	.....
151	Lynceus,	Aphareus and Arane,	Arene,	Messenia.
151	Idas,	.....	.....	.....
156	Periclymenus	Neleus and Chloris,	Pylus,	
161	Amphidamas,	} Lycurgus and Antinoe,	Tegea,	Arcadia.
161	Cepheus,			
164	Ancaeus or Alcæus,			
172	Augeas,	Elius,		Elis.
176	Asterius,	} Hyperasius.	Pellene,	Achaia.
176	Amphion,			
179	Euphemus,	Neptune and Europa,	Tænaros,	Laconia.
187	Erginus,	Neptune,	Miletus,	Ionia.
188	Ancaeus,	Neptune and Astypha- lea,		Samos.
191	Meleager,	Oineus and Althæa,	} Calydon,	Ætolia.
191	Laocoon,	(Brother of Oineus),		
201	Iphiclus,	Thestius,			Pleuron,	.....
202	Palæmon,	Lernus nominally, but really of Vulcan,		.....
207	Iphitus,	Naubolus,		Phocis.
211	Zetes,	} Boreas and Orithya,		Thrace.
211	Calais,			
224	Acastus,	Pelias,		Thessaly.
226	Argus, the builder of Argo,	Arestor,		

NAMES OF THE ARGONAUTS FROM APOLLODORUS ATHENIENSIS.

Name.	Son of.	Name.	Son of.
Jason, admiral,	Æson.	Eurytus,	Mercury.
Argus, builder,	Phryxus.	Meleager,	Oineus.
Tiphys, pilot,	Hagnius.	Anceus,	Lycurgus.
Orpheus,	Oeagrus.	Euphemus,	Neptune.
Zetes, }	Boreas.	Pocas,	Thaumacus.
Calais, }		Butes,	Teleon.
Castor, }	Jupiter.	Phanus, }	Dionysius.
Pollux, }		Staphylus, }	
Theseus,	Ægeus.	Erginus,	Neptune.
Idas, }	Aphareus.	Periclymenus,	Neleus.
Lynceus, }	Oicleus.	Augeas,	Helios.
Amphiaræus,	Cæneus.	Iphiclus,	Thestius.
Coronus,	Vulcan.	Euryalus,	Mecisteus.
Palæmon,	Aleus.	Peneleus,	Hippalmus.
Cepheus,	Arcesius.	Leitos,	Alector.
Laertes,	Mercury.	Iritus,	Naubolus.
Autolycus,	Schoeneus.	Ascalaphus, }	Mars.
Atalanta,	Actor.	Almenus, }	Cometes.
Menoetius,	Hippasus.	Asterius,	Elates.
Actor,	Pheres.	Polyphemus,	Jupiter and
Admetus,	Pelias.	Hercules,	Alcmena.
Acastus,			

PRINCES AT THE CALYDON HUNT FROM APOLLODORUS ATHENIENSIS.

Meleager.....	son of Oineus.....	from Calydon.
Dryas.....	Mars.....	Calydon.
Idas, } Lynceus, }	Aphareus.....	Messenia.
Castor, } Pollux, }	Jupiter and } Leda..... }	Lacedæmon.
Theseus.....	Ægeus.....	Athens.
Admetus.....	Pheres.....	Pheræ.
Ancæus, } Cepheus, }	Lycurgus.....	Arcadia.
Jason.....	Æson.....	Jolchos.
Iphicles.....	Amphitryon.....	Thebes.
Pirithous.....	Ixion.....	Larissa.
Peleus.....	Æacus.....	Phthia.
Telamon.....	Æacus.....	Salamis.
Eurytion.....	Actor.....	Phthia.
Atalanta.....	daughter of Schoeneus.....	Arcadia.
Amphiarus.....	son of Oicleus.....	Argos.
Texeus, } Plexippus, }	sons of Thestius, king of Pleuron, in Ætolia, and brothers of Althæa queen of Calydon.	

Meleager was already married to Cleopatra, the daughter of Idas and Marpessa; but wished also to obtain Atalanta as a wife, and invited her on that account. Hylæus and Ancæus were killed by the boar; Peleus kills Eurytion unintentionally. Atalanta first pierces the boar with an arrow; Amphiarus next wounds him in the eye, and then Meleager kills him, piercing through his side, and gives the skin to Atalanta. The sons of Thestius took it from her, upon which Meleager kills them, and restores it to her. Some say that Hylæus was not killed by the boar, but accidentally by Atalanta.

GREEK PRINCES WHO FOUGHT AT TROY, ACCORDING TO HOMER,
BOOK II. 494.

Name.	Parentage.	City.	Nation.	Ships.
Peneleus, Leitus, Arcesilaus, Prothoenor, Clonius, Jalmenus, Ascalaphus, } Epistrophus, } Schedius, } Ajax Oileus,	Mars and Astyoche,	Aspledon and } Orchomenos, }	Bœotia.	50
Elephenor,	Iphitus,	Pytho, Crissa, } Cephissus, &c. }	Phocis.	40
Menestheus,	Oileus,	Opoëis, &c.	Locria.	40
Ajax,	Colchodon,	Cerinthus, &c. } of the Abantes, }	Eubœa.	40
Diomede,	Peteus,	Athens,		50
Sthenelus, Euryalus,	Telamon and Peribœa or Eribœa,	Salamis,		12
Agamemnon,	Tydeus and Deiphyle, }	Argos and Ti- } ryntha, }	Argolis.	80
Menelaus, Nestor, Agapenor, Amphima- chus,	Capaneus and Evadne, } Mecisteus, }	Ægina, Epi- } daurus, &c. }		
Thalpius, Diores, Polyxenus, Meges, Ulysses, Thoas, Idomeneus, Meriones,	Atreus,	Mycenæ, Co- } rinth & Sicyon, }		100
Tleopolemus,	Atreus, Neleus and Chloris, Anceus,	Lacedæmon, Pylus,	Laconia. Elis.	60 90
Nireus,	Cteatus, }		Arcadia.	60
Phidippus, } Antiphus, }	Eurytus, } Amarynceus, }	Buprasium,	Elis.	40
	Agasthenes, Phyleus,			
	Laertes and Anticlea,	Epirus and } Calydon, }	Dulichium. Ithaca.	40 12
	Andræmon & Gorge, Deucalion,		Ætolia.	40
	Molus and Melphidis, }		Crete.	80
	Hercules and Astyo- chea,		Rhodes.	9
	Charopus and Aglæa,		Island, Sy- ma.	3
	Thessalus,		Cos.	30

Name.	Parentage.	City.	Nation.	Ships.
Achilles,	Peleus and Thetis,	Phthia,	Thessaly.	50
Protesilaus,	Iphiclus,	Phylace,	Thessaly.	40
Podarces,	Iphiclus,	Pheræ & Boebe,	Thessaly.	11
Eumelus,	Admetus and Alcestis,	Melibœa,	Thessaly.	7
Philoctetes,	Pæan & Demonapa,	Oechalia,	Peloponnesus.	80
Medon,	Olieus and Rhena,			
Podalirius, } Machaon, }	Æsculapius & Epione,			
Eurypylus,	Evæmon,	Ormenium,	Thessaly.	40
Polypoetes,	Pirithous and Hippodamia,	Argissa,	Thessaly.	40
Leonteus,	Coronus,		Cyphus.	22
Guneus,		Magnesia,	Thessaly.	40
Prothous,	Tenthredon,			

BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORLD.

The following is a sketch or outline of the two systems of Biblical chronology, concerning which the learned world has been so much divided.

The shorter system is that of the Hebrew text, and is supported by Usher, Calmet, Clinton, &c.

The longer system is that of the Septuagint, and is supported by Jackson, Hales, Russell, &c. It is also supported by the authority of Josephus.

THE SHORTER SYSTEM OF THE HEBREW.

	Years.
From the Creation to the Deluge.....	1656
—— the Deluge to the birth of Abram.....	352
—— Abram's birth to his leaving Haran.....	75
—— Abram's being called to the Israelites' settling in Egypt.....	215
—— the Israelites coming to Egypt to their departure..	215
—— the Exode to the finishing of the Temple.....	480
—— the beginning of the Temple to the Christian era..	1011
	<hr/>
From the Creation to the Christian era.....	4004

THE LONGER SYSTEM OF THE SEPTUAGINT, &c.

	Hales. Years.	Russell. Years.
From the Creation to the Deluge.....	2256	2256
—— the Deluge to the birth of Abram.....	1002	1072
—— Abram's birth to his being called.....	75	75
—— his call to the Israelites settling in Egypt	215	215
—— their settling to their departure.....	215	215
—— the Exode to the beginning of the Temple	621	592
—— beginning the Temple to the Christian era	1027	1016
	<hr/>	<hr/>
From the Creation to the Christian era	5411	5441

The facts and arguments brought forward in support of each system by its advocates, are of great weight and importance, and supported with considerable talent and erudition; so as to make it very difficult to decide between them. I think, however, that the longer system will finally establish itself.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BIBLE TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

Shorter System.	EVENTS.	Longer System.	
		Hales.	Russell.
B. C.		B. C.	B. C.
4004	The Creation	5411	5411
3074	Adam dies, aged 930 years	4481	4511
3017	Enoch translated, aged 365 years	3924	3944
2348	Methuselah dies, aged 969 years	3155	3185
2348	The Deluge	3155	3185
2247	The Dispersion; Rise of Nimrod	2554	2584
1996	Birth of Abram	2153	2113
1921	Abram called	2078	2038
1706	The Israelites settle in Egypt	1863	1823
1491	The Exodus	1648	1608
1451	The death of Moses	1608	1568
1444	Division of Canaan by Joshua ¹	1596	1561
1394	Othniel judges Israel	1564	
1336	Ehud ditto	1506	
1296	Deborah and Barak ditto	1406	
1249	Gideon judges Israel	1359	
1206	Tola ditto	1316	
1183	Jair ditto	1293	
1163	Jephthah ditto	1253	
1137	Ibzan ditto	1247	
1130	Elon ditto	1240	
1120	Abdon ditto	1230	
	Eli ditto	1182	
1141	Samuel ¹ succeeds Eli (12 years alone)	1142	1111
1095	Saul with Samuel 20 years—(alone 20 years) ..	1110	1099
1055	David reigns	1070	1059
1015	Solomon reigns	1030	1019
1012	Temple begun	1027	1016
1005	— finished	1020	1009
582	Temple destroyed	586	579
4	The birth of our Lord Jesus Christ	4	4
0	The Vulgar Christian era	0	0

¹ St Paul states the interval from the division of the land by Joshua to the government of Samuel, to be about 450 years. This favours the longer system.

Acts xiii. 20.

TABLE OF GENERAL CHRONOLOGY FOR TWELVE HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

	B. C.
ISRAEL under Judges... ..	
The Shepherd Kings conquer Egypt	1176
Samuel succeeds Eli as Judge over Israel	1141
Battle at Mizpeh, Israel delivered from the Philistines... ..	1120
Saul reigns in Israel	1095
Arcles, the last of the Shepherd Kings, expelled from Egypt	1070
Aseth or Asis founds the Titan dynasty in Egypt	} 1070
Arcles or Certus, the Tyrian Hercules, founds Tyre	
Inachus founds Argos	
Cecrops founds Cecropia or Athens	
Lelex settles in Laconia	
Saul rejected as King of Israel, and David chosen	1070
David anointed as King of Israel	1063
David succeeds Saul as King of Israel	1055
Ægialeus founds Sicyon	1040
Scamander founds Troy	1030
Deucalion's flood	1030
Lacedæmon founds Sparta	1020
The flood of Ogyges	1020
Cronus or Asterion reigns at Biblus... ..	1020
———carries off Europa to Crete... ..	1017
Cadmus founds Thebes, Amphictyon reigning at Athens	1016
Minos born	1016
Solomon, King of Israel	1015
Solomon's temple begun	1011
Miphra-Muthosis conquers Philistia, and gives Askelon to Solomon, and the remainder to his own son Agenor... ..	1010
Ægeus reigns at Athens	1010
Solomon's temple dedicated	1004
Pelops comes to Greece	990

	B. C.
Cronus, Asterion, or Saturn retires to Italy	985
Minos reigns in Crete	985
Osiris or Sesostris reigns in Egypt	980
Rehoboam succeeds Solomon in Judah	975
Jeroboam reigns in Israel	975
Osiris or Sesostris, named also Bacchus and Ammon, and Shishak by the Jews, invades Judea and pro- ceeds to India, which he conquers, with the inter- mediate countries	971
Sesostris invades and conquers Asia Minor	968
Theseus succeeds Ægeus at Athens	967
Sesostris invades and conquers Greece... ..	967
Heroes born of the Greek princesses, concubines of Osiris, viz. Hercules, Pollux, the younger Hermes and Bacchus, &c.	962
Ariadne dies, and is enshrined at Argos, where she was afterwards worshipped as Juno Argiva	962
Sesostris or Osiris driven out of Greece by Perseus	962
Perseus dies	960
Sesostris or Osiris builds 12 cities in Egypt	962 to 952
Sesostris murdered by his brothers and nephews	952
War begins between the Titan princes and Horus the son of Sesostris	952
Theseus collects the village courts into Athens	950
Isthmia and Ammonia instituted	950
Danaus, Armais or Hermes flies to Argos	947
Eurystheus reigns at Mycenæ	947
Horus kills his uncle Python and defeats the Titans	946
Panathenæa first celebrated, Erichthonius gained the prize in chariot-racing, being hierophant of Minerva, Theseus reigning	942
Horus defeated by Actisanes the Ethiopian, and drowned in the Nile or Eridanus	940
Lyncæus dethrones Danaus, who settles at Orcus	938
Theseus confined at Orcus by Hermes	936
Erichthonius, hierophant of Minerva, governs Athens... ..	936
Castor and Pollux recover Hellen and set up Menes- theus at Aphidnæ	935
Minos dies and is deified by his subjects	935

	B. C.
Argonautic Expedition; during which Isis or Ceres comes to Attica, and institutes the Eleusinian mysteries	934
Hippocoon dethrones Tyndarus at Sparta	932
Laomedon is killed and succeeded by Priam	932
Colchos and Spain plundered by the Argonauts	931
Hercules procures the release of Theseus; kills Hippocoon, and assists the Dioscuri in reinstating Tyndarus at Sparta... ..	931
Eth-Baal or Ithobalus or Belus reigns at Tyre; he was father of Pygmalion, Dido and Jezebel	931
Aotisanes or Zerah defeated by Asa and afterwards driven out of Egypt; Hermes the younger succeeds	930
Calydonian hunt	926
Oedipus dies	925
Theban War of the seven chiefs	920
Nemea instituted	918
Ahab reigns over Israel	916
Hercules Alcides dies	914
Jehoshaphat reigns over Judah	914
Eurystheus and his sons killed; Atreus succeeds him... ..	912
Menestheus reigns at Athens... ..	910
Hyllus killed by Echemus	907
Agamemnon succeeds Atreus at Mycenæ	907
Diomedes reigns at Argos as tributary	906
Epigoni war against Thebes	905
Paris carries off Helen	900
Pygmalion succeeds Eth-Baal at Tyre	900
Trojan war begins	894
Dido flies to Africa	890
Troy taken and destroyed	890
Alcæus son of Hercules and Omphale reigns in Lydia... ..	884
Jehu reigns in Israel	884
Teucer expels Cinyras from Cyprus	883
Carthage finished and dedicated	860
Belus, king of Lydia, becomes Master of Assyria, having expelled the Egyptians	about 835
Return of the Heraclidæ to Peloponnesus	835
Ninus reigns over Lydia and Assyria	835

	B. C.
Jonah prophecies (II. Kings xiv. 25)	825
Death of Codrus, Medon first Archon at Athens ...	801
Semiramis reigns in Assyria	795
Agron reigns in Lydia	795
Hosea prophecies	785
Olympiads commence regularly, being restored by Iphitus	776
Pul reigns in Assyria, the first noticed in Scripture ...	775
— invades Israel	771
Isaiah prophecies	760
Rome built, according to the old tables ¹	753
(The true date was about 666 B.C.)	
Tiglath-Pileser reigns in Assyria	747
Nabonassar reigns in Babylon (Era of Nabonassar) ...	747
Tiglath-Pileser invades Israel	740
Shalmaneser reigns in Assyria... ..	730
Hoshea reigns in Israel	730
Hezekiah reigns in Judah	726
Shalmaneser carries Israel into captivity	721
Sennacherib invades Judea	718
Merodach Baladan then reigning in Babylon	710
Dejoces reigns in Media	710
Sennacherib killed by two of his sons	709

¹ The above date 753 B. C. is certainly erroneous. The Roman records (such as they were) are supposed to have perished in the burning of Rome by the Gauls, about 389 B. C. The list of consuls, extending only about 120 years, could be restored without much difficulty; from the traditions and memorials of the patrician families, who carefully treasured up the names and honours of their ancestors; and there being two Consuls, made this both more easy and more certain. But the account we have of the reigns of the kings, is evidently not traditional, but was calculated chronologically; most probably a century or two after this time.

From 508 B. C., which some historians reckoned the last year of royalty, they reckoned seven reigns at 35 years each, which make 245 years. This added to 508, gives 753 B. C. for the building of Rome. But we cannot possibly admit seven reigns, of which six closed violently and prematurely, to have averaged 35 years, such a statement being contrary to all authentic history; we can at the most allow Dr Hales's average of 22½ years. This gives 156½ for the seven reigns. Again, 509 B. C. seems better supported as the date of the Republic; 156½ added to 509 gives 666½ years, and dates the foundation of Rome in the year 666 B. C. Query, Is this date referred to in Revelations xiii. 18?

Ancient historians were much divided as to the founding of Rome. Timæus Siculus, Cincius, Fabius Pictor, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Portius Cato, Flaccus, Livy, and Varro, have all recorded their opinions or surmises for the benefit of posterity.

	B. C.
Esarhaddon reigns in Assyria	709
Lycurgus, guardian to Charilaus, legislates at Sparta	716 to 698
Manasseh reigns in Judah	698
Esarhaddon conquers Babylon... ..	681
Manasseh taken captive to Babylon	677
Saosduchinus succeeds Esarhaddon	668
Rome founded ²	666
Phraortes reigns in Media	about 660
Charops the first decennial archon	654
Chyniladan reigns in Assyria	648
Josiah reigns in Judah	641
First Messenian war begins; Amphea taken	639
Solon born	628
First Messenian war ends	620
Nabopolasar reigns over Assyria	620
Jeremiah and Habakkuk prophesy	620
Pharaoh-Necho going to recover Carchemish is opposed by Josiah, who is slain in battle	610
Nebuchadnezzar drives the Egyptians home, and takes Jerusalem, (reigning jointly with his father)	609
Nebuchadnezzar carries Daniel and others to Babylon, which begins the 70 years' captivity	607
Daniel prophesies, (second year of Nebuchadnezzar alone)	603
Creon (the first annual archon at Athens)	602
Ezekiel prophesies	595
Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and the temple, palace and city destroyed... ..	588
Phidon the Argive flourishes from	610 to 585
Battle between the Medes and Lydians, who are separated by a solar eclipse, (Newton)	585
Nebuchadnezzar subdues Egypt... ..	571
War against Cirrha	570
Draco legislates at Athens	575 to 570
Evil-Merodach reigns at Babylon	562
Solon, archon	562
—— legislates at Athens, and travels for 10 years	561
Croesus reigns in Lydia	558
Belshazzar reigns in Babylon	555

² See note on year 753 B. C.

	B. C.
Pisistratus assumes sovereignty at Athens	551
Solon goes abroad again, and dies on his travels...	550
Sardis taken by Cyrus... ..	544
Cyrus takes Babylon	538
Cyrus succeeds his uncle, and reigns over the Medo-Persian empire ; he ends the 70 years' captivity ...	536
Cambyses succeeds Cyrus	529
———— conquers Egypt	525
———— invades Ethiopia	524
Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, murdered	523
Darius Hystaspes reigns	522
Haggai and Zechariah prophesy	520
The Jews begin the second temple	520
Pisistratus dies	518
The Pisistratidæ expelled from Athens... ..	508
Tarquin expelled from Rome, and royalty abolished	508 or 509
Sardis burned by the Athenians	504
Lartius the first dictator at Rome	498
The port of Piræus built by the Athenians	493
Tribunes first created at Rome	492
Leonidas and Leotychides reign at Sparta	491
Battle of Marathon	490
Miltiades dies in prison	489
Xerxes succeeds his father Darius	486
Coriolanus banished from Rome	486
Quæstors instituted at Rome	483
Aristides banished from Athens	483
Battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis	480
Athens burned by Mardonius	479
Persians defeated at Platæa and Mycale	479
300 Fabii killed by the Veientes	477
Roman citizens numbered at 103,000	476
Themistocles rebuilds Athens	476
Cimon defeats the Persians at the Eurymedon	470
Hiero I. king of Syracuse dies	466
Artaxerxes Longimanus reigns... ..	464
Egypt revolts from the Persians	463
Cincinnatus dictator at Rome	457
Decemviri at Rome ; Laws of 12 tables compiled ...	

	B. C.
The Greeks conclude a good peace with the Persians ...	449
Death of Virginia; the Decemviri abolished ...	449
Herodotus flourishes ...	445
Roman law for intermarriage of Patricians and Plebeians	445
The seventy weeks of Daniel begin ...	444
Censorship instituted or revived at Rome ...	437
Pericles in supreme power at Athens ...	436
Peloponnesian war begins ...	431
End of the Old Testament history about ...	430
Plague at Athens ...	430
Darius Nothus reigns in Persia ...	423
Athenians defeated at Syracuse ...	413
——— defeated by Lysander at Ægos Potamos ...	405
Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon) reigns in Persia ...	404
Peloponnesian war ends; Lysander takes Athens, and sets up the 30 tyrants ...	404
Cyrus the younger defeated and killed } Xenophon's retreat ...	404
Thrasybulus expels the 30 tyrants ...	401
Socrates put to death ...	400
Agésilas reigns at Sparta ...	397
Camillus dictator at Rome ...	391
Rome taken by the Gauls under Brennus ...	385
Phœbidas the Spartan seizes the citadel of Thebes ...	382
Pelopidas and Epaminondas deliver Thebes ...	380
Thebans defeat the Spartans at Leuctra ...	371
Pelopidas killed in battle ...	364
Battle of Mantinea; Epaminondas killed ...	363
Darius Ochus reigns in Persia ...	360
Philip takes Amphipolia, Pydna, and Potidæa ...	358
Alexander the Great born ...	356
The temple of Diana at Ephesus burned ...	356
The Phocian or Sacred war begins ...	356
Philip subdues the Thracians, Pæonians, and Illyrians ...	356
Darius Ochus subdues Egypt ...	350
Philip takes Olynthus ...	348
Philip admitted a member of the Amphictyonic council ...	346
Timoleon takes Syracuse; Dionysius banished ...	343
Samnite war, which led to the conquest of Italy ...	342

	B. C.
The Carthaginians defeated near Agrigentum	340
Battle of Cheronæa; Philip defeats the Athenians and Thebans... ..	338
Philip chosen generalissimo of the Greeks	337
— murdered by Pausanias	336
Alexander the Great reigns, and destroys Thebes ...	336
Darius III. (Codomanus) reigns in Persia	336
Alexander defeats the Persians at the Granicus... ..	334
Battle of Issus	333
Alexander conquers Egypt and Tyre	332
— defeats Darius totally at Arbela	331
Darius killed; end of the Persian empire	331
Alexander passes into India; defeats Porus	327
— dies at Babylon, aged 33	323
The Samnites make the Romans pass under the yoke ...	320
Agathocles tyrant of Syracuse... ..	317
Era of the Seleucidæ	312
Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy make peace with Antigonus	309
Demetrius Poliorcetes delivers Athens	307
The title of king first assumed by the successors of Alex- ander	306
Antigonus defeated and killed at Ipsus... ..	301
The first sun-dial erected at Rome by Papyrius Cursor, and time first divided into hours... ..	293
Seleucus founds Antioch, Edessa, and some other cities... ..	293
Ptolemy Philadelphus reigns in Egypt	284
The Pharos of Alexandria built	284
The Septuagint translation made about this time	284
The Alexandrian library founded	283
The Achæan league commences	281
Pyrrhus goes to Italy to assist the Tarentines	280
Antiochus Soter reigns in Syria	280
Pyrrhus defeated by Curius; leaves Italy	274
Samnites finally subdued by the Romans	271
Silver money first coined at Rome	269
Citizens of Rome numbered at 292,224, fit to bear arms	264
First Punic war begins... ..	264
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Duilius defeats the Carthaginian fleet	260
Regulus defeated and taken by the Carthaginians ...	254
Ptolemy Euergetes reigns	246
First Punic war ends	241
Comedies first acted at Rome	240
Temple of Janus closed, first time since the reign of Numa	235
Colossus of Rhodes thrown down by an earthquake ...	224
Hannibal takes Saguntum	219
Second Punic war begins	218
Hannibal defeats Flaminius at Thrasymene	217
Fabius Maximus dictator	217
Hannibal defeats the Romans at Cannæ	216
Marcellus takes Syracuse	212
Asdrubal defeated and killed	207
Hannibal recalled to Africa	203
The battle of Zama	202
End of the second Punic war	201
Philip defeated by the Romans at Cynocephale ...	197
The Romans enter Asia, and defeat Antiochus at Mag- nesia	189
Antiochus killed	185
Cato, censor at Rome	183
War between the Romans and Perseus... ..	173
Perseus defeated and taken, end of the kingdom of Ma- cedon	168
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Judas Maccabeus drives the Syrians from Judea ...	166
Roman citizens numbered at 327,032	164
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Carthage and Corinth destroyed by the Romans ...	146
The Servile war in Sicily begins, and continues 3 years ...	135
Tiberius Gracchus killed	134
Caius Gracchus killed	121
Jugurthine war begins, and continues 5 years ...	111
Marius defeats Jugurtha	108
— defeats the Teutones and Cimbri	102

	B. C.
The Social war finished by Sylla	90
The Mithridatic war begins ; lasts 26 years	89
Civil war begins between Marius and Sylla	88
Sylla defeats Mithridates and takes Athens	86
Sylla made perpetual dictator ; horrible proscription	82
Cicero's first oration	79
Sylla resigns his authority	79
Sylla dies	78
The war with Sertorius in Spain	77
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Crassus and Pompey, consuls	70
Lucullus defeats Mithridates and Tigranes	69
Pompey defeats Mithridates	66
Pompey conquers Syria ; reign of the Seleucidæ ends	65
Catiline's conspiracy defeated by Cicero...	63
The first triumvirate	60
Cicero banished, and recalled next year	58
Cæsar defeats the Germans and invades Britain...	55
Crassus killed by the Parthians...	53
Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey	49
Battle of Pharsalia, and death of Pompey	48
Cato kills himself at Utica	46
Cæsar reforms the Calendar, and is made Dictator	45
Cæsar assassinated in the Senate-House	44
Second triumvirate	43
Brutus and Cassius defeated at Philippi	42
War begins between Octavius and Antony	32
Battle of Actium ; Era of Roman Emperors begins	31
Death of Antony and Cleopatra	30
Octavius receives the title of Augustus	27
Census at Rome, the citizens numbered 4,233,000	8
Augustus corrects the calendar...	8
Temple of Janus shut for a short time	
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