



THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT EUROPE
WITH A
VIEW OF THE REVOLUTIONS
IN
ASIA AND AFRICA.

HISTORY
ANCIENT EUROPE;
WITH A
VIEW OF THE REVOLUTIONS
IN
ASIA AND AFRICA.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO A YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

BY WILLIAM RUSSELL, LL. D.
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VOL. I.

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T O
THE MOST NOBLE
CHARLES-WILLIAM HENRY,
EARL OF DALKEITH,
THIS
HISTORY OF ANCIENT EUROPE
IS
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
BY

His Lordship's most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

Knottyholm,
November 10, 1792.

WILLIAM RUSSELL.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE favourable reception which the History of *Modern Europe* has met with, and the public wish expressed through the Author's friends, encouraged him to undertake the History of *Ancient Europe* on a similar plan. In the composition of this work, he has been peculiarly studious to found his facts on original authorities; and to clear his narration from unimportant events. By comprehending the Revolutions in Asia and Africa, it becomes, in some measure, a concise History of the WORLD, from the most early ages.

For these two introductory volumes, which contain the establishment of religion and government in all the *three divisions* of the *ancient Globe*, and carry down the *History of Greece* to the beginning of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, the Author
must

must beg the indulgence of the learned. And he doubts not to obtain it, from those he has most to fear—the truly learned. They will see the difficulty of accurately investigating so many intricate subjects; and of combining, within a moderate compass, so much historical matter.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A N C I E N T E U R O P E.

P A R T I.

From the FOUNDATION of the GRÆCIAN
STATES, to the DESTRUCTION of CARTHAGE,
and the final CONQUEST of GREECE by the
ROMANS.

L E T T E R I.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

Containing a View of the natural Progress of Human Society, with a Sketch of the early Part of the History of the ASSYRIANS, ÆGYPTIANS, PHOENICIANS, and HEBREWS.

I Embrace, my Lord, the most early opportunity
of fulfilling that pleasing command, which you im-
posed upon me at your departure from England;—"to
" recal to your mind occasionally, by Letters, the more
" important events in the History of Ancient Nations;
VOL. I. B " but

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“ but especially of such nations as formerly inhabited this section of the Globe.” Those events will acquire new interest, while you travel through the countries in which many of them happened, and compare their Ancient with their Modern state. And the Remains of Ancient Statuary and Architecture, in conjunction with your knowledge of the Ancient Classics, will illustrate the History of Ancient Arts, and also of Ancient Manners.

UNLESS we have recourse to that Divine Revelation communicated to the Hebrews, emphatically styled *the People of God*, we shall for ever remain ignorant of the creation of the world, and of the primitive state of man; subjects which, among all other nations, are lost in the Chaos of Fable. Yet have we, setting aside Reverence for such Revelation, a strong desire to trace as high as Historical Records reach, or as Heathen tradition furnishes a chain of probable facts, the Rude Story of the Human Race. To gratify, without abusing, this Curiosity, is the business of the Historian.

ONE circumstance strongly strikes the inquisitive and discerning mind, in entering on the History of Ancient Europe. We find all its various nations and tribes, before the introduction of foreign improvements, in a similar state of Barbarism¹. The Course of Civilization seems, therefore, to point out to us the line we ought to pursue, in studying their History.

1. The Greeks bear testimony to their own barbarity, and also to that of the Romans; (see Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, passim.) And the Romans, while they own their obligations to Greece, attest the barbarity of all the other European nations, when they first became acquainted with them, in the course of their conquests. See Tit. Livy, Cæsar, and Tacitus, passim.

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LET antiquarians bewilder themselves in attempting to discover the origin of the first European nations: for our purpose it will be sufficient, having found them barbarous, to follow them in their progress toward civility, military prowess, and political power; and to investigate the causes which retarded or accelerated that progress, together with those that afterward produced a relaxation of manners, a decline of the martial spirit, and the downfall of empire.

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IN making this grand historical tour, which will bring within our view the growth and decay of the wisest and bravest nations that ever appeared upon the face of the earth, we shall have occasion to contemplate MAN in all the different conditions of his being, and under every form of government. Consequently we shall be enabled to collect, in our range, all the instruction that history (which has been defined *philosophy teaching by examples*) can furnish for the conduct of human affairs.

WITH Greece, whence science and civility were conveyed, through various channels, over the western world, we are naturally led to begin our survey. It will, however, be necessary, my Lord, for the better understanding of the Grecian history, and the whole run of European transactions, at the same time that it is truly liberal, to take an introductory view of the most ancient state of the nations to whom the Greeks were indebted for their knowledge of Arts and of Letters. For History may be compared to a river: we must ascend to the fountain, to be able distinctly to trace its course.

INDEPENDENT of the testimony of the *sacred books*, all things conspire to prove, that the human race must have had a beginning; nor has scepticism dared to deny,

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BEFORE the date of any remaining records, before the birth of Moses, the illustrious Hebrew legislator, and the Father of Sacred History, population, policy, and arts, had made considerable progress among the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians². But whether this so early population, and consequent civility, were the natural effects of climates more favoured than any in Europe, and greater fertility of soil, or of the more early planting of the human race in the heart of Asia, is a question not yet settled among divines and philosophers; and which is, on each side, attended with many difficulties.

IF we receive, in a literal sense, the Mosaic history of the creation, of the antediluvian world, and the dispersion of mankind, after the flood, at Babel, or Babylon, we shall find little difficulty in assigning a reason, why the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris were crowned with great cities, crowded with inhabitants, skilled in all the useful and ingenious arts, before a single city was erected on the banks of the Danube or the Rhine. Yet shall we still be at a loss how to account for the no less early population and improvement of Ægypt, India, and China; for the two latter countries were very distant from the scene of dispersion, and the former separated from it by almost impassable deserts.

2. This appears evident from many passages in the writings of Moses, and also in the books of *Joshua*, *Judges* and *Kings*. And similar testimony is borne by Herodotus, the Father of Civil History, lib. i. ii. *passim*.

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BUT if, with a liberal antiquarian, we consider that mysterious narrative of the Hebrew legislator, as a *mythical* and *political apologue*, composed for the *introduction* and *support* of the *Jewish theocracy*; or if, conformable to the opinion of many learned writers, we suppose that, in consequence of the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of mankind, the great body of the human species degenerated, during their emigration, into a state of savage barbarity; and, in that state, spread themselves widely over the face of the earth, the causes of such population and improvement may be deduced in a satisfactory manner. For this purpose we must carry our inquiries to what has been called, *the State of Nature*.

LETTER
I
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VARIOUS have been the descriptions of poets and historians, and the opinions of philosophers, both ancient and modern, concerning the *natural condition* of MAN; or that rude state in which he is supposed to have

3. See a *Treatise on the Study of Antiquities*, as the *COMMENTARY* to *HISTORICAL LEARNING*, by T. Pownall, esq. Several of the Christian Fathers were partly of Mr Pownall's opinion, and the late learned and celebrated Dr. T. Burnet is very explicit on the subject. "I have avoided," says he, "to mention Moses's *Cosmogony*; because, I think, it is delivered by him rather as a *lawgiver* than as a *philosopher*," &c.

"Almost all the *Christian interpreters*," adds Dr Burnet, "agree with us, that the Mosiac *Tobu Bolu* is the same thing as the *Chaos* of the ancients; that the *darkness* described by Moses is their *Tartarus*, and *Erebus*, and *Night*; that his *Incubation of the Spirit*, or *Birth of God*, is *collusive with the birth of Phanes, Eros, or Love*." (Burnet's *Theory of the Earth*, first edit.) "So far," observes he, "Moses and the old philosophers agree, but here he breaks off his *philosophic strain*, and takes up a *human* or a *theological strain*; in which he has framed a popular relation of the *rise of things*, in the manner we all know." (Id *ibid*.) To the same purport writes Mr. Whiston, concerning the Creation of the Celestial Bodies. "Moses indeed," says he, "mentions the making of the Sun, &c. in order to accommodate his narrative to vulgar apprehension; but chiefly to secure the Jew from the worship of the Hosts of Heaven." Whiston, *Disc. of the Mosiac Creation*, p. 4.

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existed before the establishment of government, the framing of laws, or the invention of arts. In order to induce mankind to set an higher value upon the benefits of civil society, or for the purpose of debasing the human character, some have represented the state of nature as a state of warfare and wretchedness; in which force was the only law, and where man was on a level with the brutes: while others of a more benevolent temper, or enemies to refinement, have described the natural state as the happiest of human conditions; a state, wherein men having few wants, if they had few accommodations, and few interfering interests, had little temptation to violence or fraud, and lived in the most perfect harmony. Hence the fables of the golden age. The former represent the state of nature as the reign of force, cruelty, and misery; the latter of justice, humanity, and felicity.

BUT a more perfect acquaintance with rude nations, and consequently with undisguised human nature, has proved both those representations to be, in a great measure, false. For as we find no room to believe, that there ever was an age, or a country, in which the human race were not raised above the level of the brute creation, we find none where the presence of one human creature was to others a signal of hostility⁴.

MAN is a complex being. He has found in every age, country, and condition, the sources of variance and dissension, as well as of concert and union. Nature seems to have sown in his mind the seeds of animosity with those of affection. He embraces with

4. See *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, passim. If in some islands of the southern ocean all strangers are regarded as enemies, we may seriously question, Whether this hostile antipathy had not its origin in the injuries committed by foreign invaders?

alacrity occasions of personal opposition, and he flies with ardour to the relief of a fellow-creature in distress; without any motive but the impulse of the heart, or any command but that of sympathetic feeling.

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I.

THE shouts of joy are to Man yet more attractive than the shrieks of woe. Prompted by a taste for society to mingle with the herd of his species, he longs to share their happiness, to become acquainted with their sentiments, and to communicate his own⁵. He delights to act in conjunction with them, is ambitious of distinction under their eye, and proud of their approbation⁶. Hence emulation and competition, the two great sources of illustrious actions. Man is equally disposed to friendship and enmity; to return benefits, and resent injuries; to retain a sense of favours con-

5. "A *state of nature*," says the most sagacious of all philosophers, "is a *state of purity to man*. He is by *nature* a *social animal*, and although a *sense of mutual wants*, and *mutual aid*, did not dictate the *necessity of civil union and cohabitation*, yet would *mankind herd*, and *live together*." (Aristot. *Polit.* lib. iii. cap. iv.) To the same effect writes the great geographer: "Man," says he, "is born with this *inclination to associate*. It is an *appetite common to the human species*." (Strabo, *Geog.* lib. xvi.) I have had recourse to these authorities, in order to overthrow an opinion, which has been propagated not only by the followers of Hobbes, but by many other respectable writers on the foundation of society, That men were originally induced to unite in society merely to avoid the injuries to which they were exposed from each other in a state of nature (See the *Divine Legislation of Moses*, book 1. sect. ii. et seq.) Whereas the truth is, That men associated from instinct, or natural affection; and laws were invented, and religion instituted, to bind them more closely together, to curb their irregular passions, and render them more happy in the social state. Hence the general mistake, into which even Warburton has partly fallen: the effect was substituted for the cause.

6 This sentiment is mutual. "The man who, in defence of others," observes Polybius, "is seen to throw himself foremost into every danger, and even to sustain the fury of the fiercest animals, never fails to obtain the loudest expressions of applause from all present." Polyb. lib. vi. Excerpt. 1.

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PART I. ferred, when he wants ability to repay; and a remembrance of wrongs, when he is unable to retaliate⁷; whence gratitude and revenge.

THE seeds of all the virtues as well as vices, and whatever is generous in human nature, may be found in the heart of the savage. In his pride of independency, and his consciousness that no man has a right to injure another in his person or property; because no man is *naturally* indebted to another for those things, we discover the foundation of *justice* and *natural* freedom. And although savage man is commonly more fullen in disposition than the citizen, by reason of his mode of life, he is no stranger to the influence of the social principle. He chuses his dwelling in the neighbourhood of other savages, instead of shunning their fight, or lodging in the solitary cave; he goes in company with them in quest of food; and when he returns from the chase, and has satisfied his hunger, and that of his family, with his prey, he joins his companions in the song and the dance⁸.

As man is possessed of the social principle in every stage of his Being, he has also, at all times, and in all places, been possessed of reason and imagination, the

7, "Man who alone, of all animals, is endowed with the faculty of reason, cannot," remarks the same deep discernor of human nature, "overlook such actions with indifference." Polyb. ubi sup.

8. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, passim If savage man any where appears in a state of degradation, it is in the extreme regions of the north, or toward the south pole; where the rigour of the climate checks the principle of animal life in the human species, and with it all the nobler springs of action, the more generous sentiments, and finer feelings of the soul. Yet even there, in those regions of darkness and of frost, the social character of man is not utterly destroyed; his intellectual faculty, or his power of dominion over the brute creation. Ibid. art. *Iceland, Lapland, Greenland, Kamchatka, Terra del Fuego, &c.*

two grand sources of invention. *Art is natural to man*°. He can find his happiness and accommodation in any condition. But they who have contemplated him in every point of view, will be at no loss to determine, in what state he attaineth the perfection of his character. That state which affords the fullest exercise to his intellectual faculties, without injury to his corporeal powers, must be found in cultivated society; in a community polished but not corrupted, and pressing for-

9. This was the general maxim of all the ancient philosophers, except those of the sect of Epicurus; but more especially of the Platonists. And an enlightened modern philosopher (Lord Shaftesbury) who wrote as early as the beginning of the present century, when savage life was less perfectly known than at present, has admirably refuted and ridiculed the idea, "That mankind ever lived in a state, where they were *unacquainted with the use of speech, the more necessary arts, or strangers to social affection.*" "Without belying nature," observes he, "and contradicting what is evident from *natural history, fact, and the natural course of things*, it is impossible to admit this *unnatural* proposition. For if Providence, not Chance, gave MAN his being, he must have been at first nearly what we now find him. But let us suppose him to have sprung, as the old poets figned, from a *begbelled oak*; and, at first, to have had little *form*, and no more *life* than the *sensitive plant*; that, by degrees, the *members of this fortuitous birth* were displayed, and the *organs of sense* began to *unfold themselves*; that here *spring* an ear, there *peeped* an eye! Belike a *tail* too came in company! for what *superfluous* Nature may have been charged with, at first, is difficult to determine!—They *dropt off*, however, it seems, in time; and happily have left things, at last, in a *good posture*.—and, to a wonder! *just as they should be.*

"This is surely the *loveliest view of the origin of humankind*," adds he. But granting it to have been such as I have described it, and as a certain philosopher would needs have it, yet will our conclusion be the same. In a word, if *generation be natural*; if *affection* to, and the *care of, offspring be natural*; it follows, "That *society* must also be *natural* to mankind; and that *out of society and community*, MAN never *did*, nor ever can subsist." "And can we allow this *social part* to MAN, and go no farther:—Is it possible he should *pair*, and *live in fellowship* with his *partner* and *offspring*, and remain still wholly *speechless*, and without those *ARTS* of *faring, building, and other oeconomy, as natural* surely to Him, as to the *Beaver, the Ant, or the Bee.*"—Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, vol. ii. *Moralists*, part ii. sect. iv.

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 " of *Man* in his state of *advancement*, not in that of
 " *ignorance* or *barbarity*; a *progress* in *knowledge* and
 " *civility* being *natural* to him ¹⁰."

SUCH, according to the accounts of the most judicious travellers, and the observations of the most profound philosophers, is the natural or rude state of man in all countries, and such his advances toward refinement. But these advances are very different in different regions of the earth.

IN northern countries, where the soil is rugged, the climate severe, and the spontaneous productions of the earth, fit for the support of human life, few and of small value, the progress of society is slow. Hunting is there long the sole employment of Man, and his principal means of subsistence. He feeds upon the flesh, and clothes himself with the skins of wild animals ¹¹.

BUT in southern latitudes, where the earth is more bountiful, the soil more susceptible of culture, and the use of animal food less necessary, the savage state is of shorter continuance. Little inclined, in such climates, to active exertions, mankind soon relinquish the pursuit of wild beasts, or cease to consider the chase as their chief occupation. They early acquire the art of taming and rearing the more docile and useful animals, and of cultivating the most nutritive vegetable productions ¹².

IN

10. Aristot. *Polit.* lib. i cap. ii.

11. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, passim. et auct. cit.

12. I am not ignorant that the passion for hunting has been represented as so strong in the human species, that men never betake themselves to the taming or rearing of animals, until the wild breed becomes

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IN proportion as food becomes more plentiful men are enabled to indulge more freely the appetite for society. They live together in larger bodies. Towns and cities are built. Private property in land is ascertained, and placed under the guardianship of laws¹³. Agriculture is prosecuted; metals are discovered, and mines worked. Genius is called forth by emulation, and arts and sciences are invented. The political union among the members of the same community, is ren-

becomes too scarce to furnish them with food, and their aversion against labour so great, that they do not apply themselves to agriculture, while they can find sufficient room to pasture their herds and flocks (See Lord Kurns's *Sketches of the History of Man*, book i. passim) But this reasoning, founded on the practice of the North American savages and Asiatic Tartars, though plausible in theory, is contradicted by facts, and, therefore, cannot be of universal application, because unsupported by general observation or experience, in the history of ancient or modern nations, inhabiting the milder climates of the earth. Such of the ancient Scythian tribes, as had seized upon fertile districts, cultivated the ground, and several of them had attained, by these means, to a considerable degree of civility, while these tribes, less fortunately situated, were utterly rude and barbarous (Herodot lib. iv. passim) The same observation may be extended to some North American tribes, on the banks of the Ohio, Mississippi, &c. and to every people inhabiting such districts over the face of the globe. See *Hist. Gen. des Voy.*, passim

13. This may be considered as the first great stage in the progress of civil society—the advance from *hunting* to *herding*, or even from *herding* to *rud. agriculture*, such as is found among pasturing nations, being comparatively small. For while men pasture their cattle, or cultivate the ground in common, their industry is languid, and the product of their flocks and fields scanty. *Personal Property in Land*, and the prospect of reaping *exclusively* the fruits of his labour, can alone give activity and perseverance to the labours of the husbandman, or fertility to the earth. Hence the attention of ancient legislators to the preservation of *land marks*, and the vengeance, both human and divine, that was denounced against such as should remove them. They considered the *division of lands* which gave birth to *jurisdiction*, as the parent of *all order*, in making each man the guardian of his own possessions, and the magistrate the guardian of all, by the *regulations* which it made necessary. See *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions* tom. i. et auct. cit. (Édit. Paris, 1736,) p. 50, et seq.

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dered more close, by an apprehension of danger from abroad; and the intercourse between them more general, from a sense of mutual conveniency. Hence patriotism and internal traffic, the two great sources of national happiness and prosperity.

MEN acquire a strong affection for their native country, and for their fellow-citizens, soon after the division of lands; in consequence of their common struggles to defend their cultivated possessions against the ravages of barbarous and hostile neighbours. An unlimited exchange of commodities, originating in a desire of mutual accommodation, takes place between the people of the same state; and that exchange quickens industry, gives birth to new arts, and calls forth all the ingenuity of man, in order to improve the fashion or fabric of the articles of barter. A general instrument of exchange, under the name of *money*, is invented: and commercial transactions being thus rendered more easy and expeditious, trade is extended from the members of a particular community to those of other states. Nations, like individuals, mutually supply each other's wants, and the social system is gradually perfected.

CONFORMABLE to this view of the natural progress of society, we find Assyria and Ægypt, countries abounding in spontaneous productions proper for the food of man, and of easy culture, more early populous and civilized than any other regions intimately known to the ancient inhabitants of our division of the earth. India and China, favoured with similar advantages, boast as old an acquaintance with the arts of civil life. And the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, in the *new world*, owed their superiority in population and improvement over the other American districts, at the time of their discovery, also to soil and climate. But America perhaps had not emerged from the ocean at
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the period of which I speak. India had little, and China no connection with the affairs of ancient Europe. The case was very different with respect to Assyria and Ægypt.

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I.

THE Assyrians, who possessed the fertile banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and the fat and extensive plain between these two rivers, anciently known by the name of Mesopotamia, had many inducements to indulge the social principle, independent of all ideas of mutual safety and support. If nature denied them the olive, the fig, and the vine, she had bountifully bestowed on them the palm-tree¹⁴; which includes most of the virtues of those choice fruits, beside many others peculiar to itself¹⁵. And to that precious gift was added a soft and rich soil¹⁶, that rewarded the labours of the husbandman with abundant crops of wheat, barley, and other kinds of grain—with the incredible increase of two, and even of three hundred fold¹⁷.

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14. Herodot. lib. i. cap. cxciii. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 742, Edit. Lutet. Paris, typis Regiis, 1620. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* lib. xiii. cap. iv.

15. Id. *ibid.* et Kämpfer, *Aménitat. Exotica*, fascicul. iv. The inhabitants of Assyria celebrated, in songs, the three hundred and sixty virtues of the palm-tree. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 742.

16. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 740.

17. Herodot. lib. i. cap. cxciii. Theophrast. *Hist. Plantar.* lib. viii. cap. vii. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 742. For that extraordinary fertility Assyria was partly indebted, in its most cultivated state, to artificial canals, that conveyed the waters of the Euphrates into the channel of the Tigris; and which intersecting the plain of Mesopotamia, in various directions, by means of cross-cuts, afforded a constant supply of moisture to the fields, during the absence of rain. (Herodot. et Strabo, ubi sup.) Nor was this the only purpose these canals served: they prevented the lands from being deluged by the overflowing of the Euphrates; which was annually swelled, in the beginning of summer, by the melting of snows on the mountains of Armenia. (Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 740.) They served also to facilitate commercial intercourse, some of them being navigable. (Id. *ibid.*) The confining of rivers within their banks, and draining off stagnating waters, seem to have

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THE inhabitants of such a country must have multiplied fast; and, when united under one government, they must soon have become powerful. The Assyrians are accordingly represented by all ancient historians, as the first people who exercised extensive dominion among men. And the cities of Nineveh and Babylon, which might be considered as their two state anchors, afforded an early display of oriental magnificence¹⁸.

THE great temple at Babylon, erected to Belus, Bel, or Baal, the *Lord of Heaven*, in eastern language, peculiarly attracted admiration in old times. It was a square building, measuring two stadia¹⁹, or about twelve hundred feet, on each side; and out of the middle of it rose a solid tower or pyramid, also of a square figure, six hundred feet high²⁰, and of an equal width at the base²¹. On the top of that tower was formed a spa-

been the first efforts made by man, for rendering comfortable his terrestrial habitation.

18. Herodot. lib. i. cap. clxxviii — clxxiii. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 91—98, edit. Hanovæ, typis Wecheliani, 1604. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 737, 738, edit. sup. cit. The building of the former of those cities is, by Diodorus and Strabo, ascribed to Ninus, the first Assyrian emperor; and that of the latter to his widow, Semiramis. (Diod. Sicul. et Strabo, ubi sup.) But we have the authority of *Sacred Writ* to affirm, that Nineveh and Babylon were founded in more early times; (*Genesis*, chap. x. ver. 9, 10.) though they probably owed to Ninus and Semiramis, that strength and grandeur which made them the wonder of succeeding ages. This opinion, so far as it regards Babylon, is supported by Herodotus, (lib. i. cap. clxxiv.) and countenanced by another passage in the same venerable author; (lib. iii. cap. clv.) where we are told, That one of the gates of Babylon bore the name of *Ninus* and another that of *Semiramis*. And the testimony of Scripture is corroborated by Berofus, (apud Joseph. cont. Apian, lib. i.) who blames the Greeks for ascribing the foundation of Babylon to Semiramis, queen of Assyria. Babylon, which I shall afterward have occasion to describe, stood on the banks of the Euphrates. Herodot. lib. i. cap. clxxx.

19. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. clxxi.

20. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 738.

21. Id. ibid. et Herodot. ubi sup.

cious dome²², which served as an observatory to the ancient Chaldean astronomers²³. In this dome was a table of gold, and a pompous bed, but no statue²⁴. The lower part, or body of the temple, which surrounded the tower, was adorned with sacred furniture in the same precious metal; a golden altar and table, and a magnificent statue of the God, seated on a throne of solid gold²⁵.

THE description of this superb temple cannot fail to awaken your Lordship's curiosity, to become acquainted with the religion and learning of the Assyrians of Babylon. And I shall endeavour to gratify it in some degree; as I may not, perhaps, afterward find an opportunity of so doing; and because the utter destruction of Nineveh, the chief city in Assyria Proper, and the capital of the Assyrian empire, before it had been visited by any European traveller, has left us totally ignorant of the state of knowledge among the inhabitants of that ancient metropolis; which stood on

22 Herodotus, lib. i. cap. clxxxi.

23. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 98.

24. Herodot. ubi sup. Diodorus places in this dome, or aerial temple, three statues of prodigious weight and size. But he could only speak by report; for the great temple at Babylon, as he himself informs us, (lib. ii. p. 98.) had been pillaged by the sacrilegious rapacity of the Persian monarchs, long before his time. And if we believe Arrian, (*Exped. Alex.* lib. vii. p. 480, edit. Amst. 1668) it was destroyed, or utterly dismantled, by Xerxes, on his return from Greece; and consequently, Herodotus can hardly be supposed to have seen it, as he was then very young. But the honest testimony of this original historian, who may be trusted in regard to what fell under his own observation, and when he speaks in his own person, beyond almost any ancient writer, leaves us no room to doubt that he viewed the temple of Belus before it was much despoiled. He relates distinctly what he saw in that temple; and he also mentions what he was told, by the Chaldean priests, (lib. i. cap. clxxiii.) concerning a gigantic statue of gold, that formerly stood in the lower part of it, and which was seized by Xerxes, (Id. ibid.) who slew the priest that attempted to oppose him.

25. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. clxxiii.

PART I. the banks of the Tigris²⁶, as Babylon did on those of the Euphrates²⁷.

ALL ancient authors agree in representing the Babylonians as very early skilled in astronomy²⁸. Herodotus ascribes to them the invention of the gnomon, or sun-dial, with the knowledge of the pole, and division of the day into twelve equal parts²⁹: and he gives us reason to believe, that the Egyptians, as well as the Greeks, were indebted to them for these discoveries in the astronomical science³⁰. This science, and every other part of philosophy, was chiefly cultivated among the Babylonians, by a body of men called *Chaldeans*; who were set apart for the superintendance of religious worship, and invested with great authority³¹. They maintained that the universe was eternal, the work of an eternal God; whose will gave it birth, and whose providence continues to govern it³².

THE Chaldeans are supposed to have owed their early proficiency in astronomy, partly to the early civi-

²⁶. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. cxliii. lib. ii. cap. cl. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. vi. cap. xv. ²⁷. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 738.

²⁸. The testimony of philosophers on this subject is uniform, from Plato and Aristotle downwards; and with them concur all ancient historians, who have treated of Assyrian affairs.

²⁹. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cix. ³⁰. Id. *ibid.* ³¹. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 115. They were, says he, the *most ancient Babylonians*.

³². *Ibid.* lib. ii. p. 116. The learned Cudworth questions the accuracy of Diodorus, on this subject; and conjectures, that if the Chaldeans held such an opinion, as the *Eternity of the World*, in the time of that historian, they had received it from the disciples of Aristotle; because Berosus, a more ancient writer than Diodorus, declares they maintained a *Cosmogonia*, or *Creation of the World*, in the manner of the Egyptians and Greeks. (*Intellectual System*, book 1. chap. iv.) But I am disposed to think, that the doctrine of the eternity of the world, so consistent with an astronomical priesthood, was the most ancient tenet of the Chaldeans; and if they entertained, at any time, another opinion in regard to it, that such opinion was imbibed, after the intercourse between Egypt and Assyria was opened, in consequence of the conquest of both countries by the Persians.

fization - of Assyria, and partly to the nature of the country; where, in the midst of extensive plains, under a clear and serene sky, they had opportunity of observing, during the greater part of the year, the course of the heavenly bodies, and the whole chorus of the firmament, without the intervention of rain or clouds³³. And the vast height of the tower, in the middle of the temple of Belus, must farther have contributed to perfect their astronomical observations.

VARIOUS have been the opinions of antiquarians concerning the building, and design of this stupendous edifice, which greatly exceeded in altitude the highest of the Ægyptian pyramids. It has been supposed to be the tower erected by the sons of Noah³⁴; in order to serve as a signal, and centre of union, to the growing families of the human race, after the flood³⁵: and it has been represented as a sepulchral monument³⁶. But its immensity and durability prove it to have been the work of a great people, skilled in the mechanical arts; and the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, by a priesthood devoted to the study of those bodies, appears evidently to have been the purpose for which it was built, and raised to such a mysterious height. That it was made subservient to that end, we have the authority of Diodorus³⁷.

THIS intelligent historian also informs us, to what pitch the Chaldeans had carried their discoveries in astronomy. They had found out, and taught as fixed prin-

33. Plato, *Epinom.* Aristot. *de Cælo*, lib. ii. cap. xii. Cicero, *de Divinat.* lib. i.

34. *Gen.* chap. xi. ver. 4.

35. Perizon. *Orig. Babylon.* cap. x. xi. xii. Bochart, *Phaleg.* part i. lib. i. cap. ix. Prideaux, *Connec. of the Hist. of the Old and New Testament*, part i. book ii.

36. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 738. 37. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 98.

PART I.

principles, That each of the planets moved in an orbit, or course peculiar to itself; that they were impelled with different degrees of velocity, and performed their revolutions in unequal portions of time; that the moon is nearer to the earth, and performs her revolution in less time than any of the solar planets; not because of the velocity of her motion, but by reason of the smallness of her orbit; that her light is borrowed, and her eclipses produced by the intervention of the shadow of the earth³⁸.

BUT the Chaldean priests, in contemplating the beauty and harmony of the *Solar System*, seem soon to have lost sight of the *Great Author of Order and Excellence*; or to have held the people in ignorance of that *Supreme Mover* of the stupendous machine of the Universe, and to have represented the Heavenly Bodies as the Gods who govern the world³⁹; while they pretended to foretel the fates of men, and of kingdoms, by reading the aspects of those luminaries⁴⁰. Hence, from the unhappy conjunction of the astronomical science with priest-craft, *Solar* or *Star-worship*, and *Judicial Astrology*, were propagated over the East in very ancient times, and paved the way for idolatry and blind superstition.

THIS subject I shall afterwards have occasion to investigate, in tracing the progress of *Polytheism*. At present, we must take a view of the rise and progress of the Assyrian empire.

NINUS, the reputed founder of that empire, and king of Assyria Proper, is said to have extended his sway from the Persian gulf to the banks of the Tanais, and from the Indus to the Nile⁴¹. He began his ambi-

38. Ibid. lib. ii. p. 117.

40. Id. ibid.

8

39. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 116, 117.

41. Ctesias, ap. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii.

ANCIENT EUROPE

tious career with the invasion of Chaldea, or the ancient kingdom of Babylon, which he subdued. Media and Amenia next submitted to his arms⁴². He appears to have been the first prince, who united the spirit of conquest with the science of politics: for to him may reasonably be ascribed the division of the Assyrian empire into provinces, and also the institution of the three councils, and three tribunals, by which government was administered, and justice distributed, in subordination to the will of the sovereign⁴³.

LETTER
I.
Ant. Ch.
1267.

SEMI RAMIS, the widow of Ninus, a woman of masculine abilities, who assumed the supreme power during the minority of her son Ninyas, and swayed the sceptre forty-two years, is reported to have shed new lustre over that monarchy which her husband had founded⁴⁴. She visited in person every part of her extensive dominions; built cities in various districts of the Assyrian empire; cut roads through mountains, in order to facilitate intercourse between contiguous provinces; traversed Ægypt, and conquered Æthiopia, if we may credit her historian⁴⁵. And having overawed the tributary princes, by the number and valour of her troops, as well as by the vigour of her administration, she was encouraged, we are told, to undertake the conquest of India; but failed in that grand enterprise, and with difficulty made her escape into Bactria, with the remains of her immense army⁴⁶.

The

42. Id. *ibid*.

43. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 745, et seq.

44. Ctesias, ap. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. Diodorus informs us, that, according to some historians, Semiramis usurped the Assyrian sceptre during the life of her husband, whom she threw into prison. *Ibid*. lib. ii. p. 107, 108.

45. Ctesias, ap. Diod. Sicul. ubi sup.

46. Id. *ibid*. I have forebore to relate the particulars of this expedition; because the detail is too extravagant to entitle it to historical credibility. Yet ought we not to consider the exploits of Semiramis, or those of Ninus, as mere fables. For we are assured that the Assyrians kept *Chronicles*, or records of public transactions. (Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. Joseph. *cont. Apian*. lib. i.) And these records Ctesias, who was phy-

PART I. The kingdom of Bactria, which lay to the east of the Caspian sea, and on the confines of Asiatic Scythia, is said to have been the last, and most arduous conquest of Ninus ⁴⁷.

To Semiramis is ascribed the building of the walls of Babylon, the temple of Belus, and other magnificent works, which were ranked among the wonders of the ancient world ⁴⁸. She is believed to be the first woman that ever swayed a sceptre; and the ability with which she reigned, has induced Plato to maintain, "That women, as well as men, ought to be intrusted with the government of states, and the conduct of military operations ⁴⁹." But, admitting this position to be just, so far as it respects talents, the example of the Assyrian queen seems also to prove, what subsequent experience has seldom contradicted; "That women, in exercising sovereignty, lose the virtues of their own

fician to the younger Cyrus, and resided long in high favour at the Persian court, seems to have examined, though he has surely exaggerated many circumstances, in order to excite the wonder of his readers, and give them lofty ideas of the power and grandeur of the Assyrian monarchs. Among such exaggerations may be ranked the three million of infantry, five hundred thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand chariots of war, with which Semiramis is said to have invaded India (Ctesias, ubi sup.) But the tradition of her Indian expedition is preserved by all ancient historians and geographers; and, therefore, could not be omitted here.

⁴⁷ Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 93, 94.

⁴⁸ Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. et Strabo, lib. xvi. passim.

⁴⁹ Plato *de Repub.* lib. v. To this opinion of Plato the honest Rollin opposes the reasoning of Aristotle and Xenophon; who assert "That the Author of Nature, in giving different qualities of mind and body to the two sexes, has marked out their different destinations:" (Aristot. *de Cura Rei Famil.* lib. i. et Xenoph. *de Administ. Domest.*) and justly concludes, "That woman is destined for the conduct of domestic affairs;" in the superintendence of which, far from being degraded, she finds her most honourable station, and exercises her proper empire; her brightest talents appearing to most advantage, under the veil of modesty and ~~obscurity~~ *Hist. Ancienne*, tom. ii. chap. i.

"sex,

—/ERAR—

“sex, without acquiring those of ours.” For unbridled ambition, and inordinate lust, are the strongest traits in the character of Semiramis; who sunk the mother in the usurping and aspiring empress, and the matron in the vainglorious and insatiable prostitute; and who, in gratifying her passion for dominion, and her appetite for sensual pleasure, paid no regard to justice or humanity⁵⁰.

NINYAS, who succeeded to the Assyrian sceptre on the death of his imperious mother, being a prince of a mild disposition, employed himself in framing regulations for the security of his throne, and the conservation of those dominions which his parents had acquired. Having no turn for war or conquest, he did not command his troops in person, agreeable to the custom of ancient kings; but, confining himself chiefly to his palace, committed the conduct of his armies to his most approved officers⁵¹.

50. As her wars were undertaken without provocation, (Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. passim.) they seem to have been prosecuted with a sanguinary spirit. Her amours were yet more atrocious. Her custom was, to single out one of the handsomest men in her army; and when she became tired of him, to order him to be put to death, and choose another to supply his place. (Ibid. lib. ii. p. 101.) A modern Semiramis, in the North of Europe, is known to have made love and war in a manner so similar, as to give some degree of credibility to the story of the Assyrian queen, setting aside other marks of resemblance.—If, with the learned and ingenious Mr. Bryant, we were to substitute the NINEVITES for NINUS, and the SAMARIM for Semiramis; two branches of the family of CHUS, as he conjectures (*New System of Ancient Mythol.* vol. ii. p. 106, & seq.), this reasoning would be altogether impertinent. But as I am determined to follow the testimony of the most respectable Greek and Roman historians, without regard to his system of hero-annihilation, I have considered Ninus and Semiramis as *real persons*; and as such, have reasoned on their actions. Some regard will however be due, in the course of this history, to Mr. Bryant's inquiries concerning SOLAR WORSHIP.

51. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 108.



PART I.

ON this account, Ninyas has been accused of indolence and effeminacy, though seemingly without reason. By seldom appearing in public, he inspired his people with more awe of his presence⁵²; and by devolving the executive government upon others, he had more leisure to attend to the affairs of the cabinet, and provide for the general interests of his empire. He accordingly framed, and carried into operation, a system of jealous policy, admirably calculated for preserving peace and tranquillity in a great monarchy. He ordered the governor of every province to raise annually a certain number of men, for the support of his military establishment; and the whole army, when completed, to be mustered in the neighbourhood of his capital, where he appointed a commander in chief over the troops of each nation⁵³. At the close of the year, the army was dissolved; and a new one, levied in the same manner, supplied its place; the soldiers of the former being absolved from their military oath, and permitted to return home⁵⁴.

No system of martial policy could be better adapted than this to the ends proposed by Ninyas. A numerous body of disciplined men always under arms, and ready to march to the most distant part of his dominions, enabled him effectually to repel invasion, as well as keep his

52. The Greeks, a restless and warlike people, who could esteem no prince that was not distinguished by martial exploits, concluded Ninyas shut himself up in his palace only to conceal his vices. (Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 108.) But this is a very unfair inference. If the secluded life of Ninyas can be ascribed to any cause beside despotic policy, it may perhaps be imputed to the domestic habits which he had contracted during the reign of his mother Semiramis; whose love of power made her retain the sceptre after her son had attained the age of manhood, and decline second nuptials, lest she should give herself a master in taking a husband. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 101.

53. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 108.

54. Id. *ibid*.

subjects in obedience; while the annual change of the troops, which composed that body, prevented the officers and soldiers from leaguings together⁵⁵; and, consequently, from forming ambitious attempts against the imperial authority.

NOR was the attention of Ninyas confined solely to military regulations. He duly appointed able judges, and civil governors, for the several provinces of his empire⁵⁶; and each governor was obliged to repair, once a year, to Nineveh, and give an account of his administration, in person⁵⁷.

THE same plan of government was invariably pursued by the successors of Ninyas⁵⁸. And so firmly was the Assyrian empire established, by this jealous policy, that it subsisted longer without being dismembered, than any great monarchy in the ancient world⁵⁹, notwithstanding the indolent and lascivious lives its sovereigns are said to have led⁶⁰. At length, however, the Medes,

55. Diod. Sicul. *ubi sup.*

56. Id. *ibid*

57. Nicol. Damasc. ap. Valef. *Excerpt.* 58. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 108.

59. Herodotus affirms, that the Assyrian empire had subsisted five hundred and twenty years, before any of the subject nations recovered their independency. (Herodot. lib. i. cap. xc.) This chronology I have chosen to follow, as more consistent with probability than that of any other ancient historian. Diodorus and Justin assign a much longer duration to the Assyrian empire before the revolt of the Medes; and the want of the Assyrian History of Herodotus, to which he frequently alludes, has made these copiers of Ctesias be generally followed.

60. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 108. Justin, lib. i. cap. ii. It is impossible to believe that Ninyas and his successors were so dissolute as they have been represented. For, as the president Goguet very judiciously remarks, the Assyrian monarchy could not have subsisted unbroken by revolutions for so great a length of time, if the princes who governed it had been abandoned to debauchery, and sunk in effeminacy. (*Orig. des Loix*, &c. par. ii. liv. i. chap. 1) We may therefore, presume, that the contempt with which the successors of Ninyas have been treated by the Greek and Roman historians, who have scarcely condescended

PART I.

Ant. Ch.
747.
Nabonass.
Æra 1.

Medes, strenuously contending for liberty, threw off the Assyrian yoke⁶¹. Other nations followed their example⁶². The Babylonians revolted⁶³. And the city of Babylon became the capital of an independent kingdom, under Nabonassar⁶⁴; the beginning of whose reign forms the first æra in Ptolemy's *Astronomical Canon*; and, therefore, is supposed to be the first we can fix with certainty, in tracing the line of Oriental history.

THE Medes, after they had recovered their independency, lived under the controul of their own laws, during a period of about forty years, in a state of freedom⁶⁵. But that freedom having degenerated into anarchy, the Median chiefs, in order to remove the miseries under which the nation groaned, chose a king named Dejoces⁶⁶; who repressed the public disorders, and founded the city of Ecbatana, which became the seat of a new and powerful monarchy.

In this revolution, we have a striking instance of the slender partitions between licentious liberty and despotism; but by no means a proof of the necessity of regal authority, to give stability to government. Dejoces during the anarchy of the Medes, was distinguished among his countrymen, by his sagacity and regularity

descended to preserve their names, ought to be ascribed to the tranquillity with which they reigned; and that they owed this tranquillity to the political maxims of Ninyas; who, by confining himself to his palace, where he secretly moved all the wheels of government, was revered by his people as a god. (Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 108.) Mysterious obscurity seems essential to the support of despotism; and despotism, with religious veneration for the sovereign, to the secure ruling of a great empire; which is consequently a great evil in the system of human affairs, however mild the administration.

61. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. xcv.

62. Id. ibid.

63. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 111.

64. Ptolem. Canon. *Astronom.*

65. Herodot. lib. i. cap. xcvi.

66. Ibid. cap. xcvi.

of manners. Having cast his eye upon the throne, he applied himself diligently to the redress of grievances; and being appointed judge of the district to which he belonged, he approved himself worthy of that high office, alike by the rectitude of his decisions and the unwearied discharge of the duties of his function ⁶⁷.

LETTER
L

THE people of other districts, and at last the whole body of the Medes, except such as lived by acts of violence, looked up to Dejoces for justice, and resorted to his tribunal. Now secure of his object, he withdrew himself from the seat of judicature; oppressed, as he pretended, with the weight of business, and under the necessity of attending to his private affairs ⁶⁸. An universal alarm was spread. The public calamities increased, when licentiousness had no longer any curb; and a national assembly of the Medes, secretly influenced by the friends of Dejoces, invested that arch politician with regal power, as the only effectual remedy for the disorders of anarchy ⁶⁹.

Ant. Ch.
710.
Nabonass.
Æra 37.

THE first act of sovereignty that the new king exercised, was to command his subjects to build him a palace, and the second to found a strong city; in the centre of which his palace stood, and where he reigned encompassed with battlements, and protected by guards ⁷⁰. Having thus provided for the security of his person, and the perpetuity of his power, this jealous prince, aiming at despotic rule, became in a manner invisible and inaccessible to his people ⁷¹. In order to inspire them with more respect for his authority, none but his confidential ministers were permitted to appear in his presence ⁷². It was solely from the heart of Ecbatana, from the innermost circle of his seven-walled capital, that Dejoces by

67. Herodot. lib. i. cap. xcvi.

68. Ibid. cap. xcvi.

69. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. xcvi.

70. Id. ibid. et seq.

71. Herodot. lib. i. cap. xcix.

72. Id. ibid.

PART I

Ant. Ch.
657.
Nabonass.
Æra 90.

means of emissaries surveyed his dominions⁷³. He continued, however, to preserve the esteem of the Medes, by the impartial administration of justice; and, after maintaining his sway, with a steady hand, during a reign of fifty-three years, he transmitted the Median sceptre to his son, Phraortes.

MEANWHILE the Assyrian empire, though broken was not subverted. Nineveh was still the metropolis of a powerful monarchy⁷⁴. With many proofs of this power we are furnished both in sacred and civil history; and with strong presumptions, that the seat of dominion was not affected by the revolt of the Medes and Babylonians, or the grandeur of the Assyrians thereby much obscured, notwithstanding what we are told by Diodorus and Justin, on the authority of Ctesias.

HERODOTUS, the father of civil history, confidently tells us, 'That Phraortes, king of the Medes, "not
" satisfied with the absolute sovereignty of Media,
" which he *assumed* on the death of his father, Dejoces,

73. Herodot. lib. i. cap. c. The description of no city in the ancient world has afforded so much room for exaggeration as that of Ecbatana. Herodotus, who appears to have seen it, says it was about the size of the city of Athens; that it was seated on the declivity of a hill, and encompassed with seven walls of unequal height, and of a circular form, within the innermost circle of which the king's palace and treasury stood. (Herodot. lib. i. cap. xcvi.) Polybius, who had certainly seen the Median capital, but who lived full three hundred years later than Herodotus, and when the outer walls of Ecbatana seem to have been fallen to decay or thrown down, thus describes it. "This city stands," says he, "on the north side of Media. It was from the most ancient times, the seat of the royal residence, and seems in splendour and magnificence to have exceeded all other cities. It is built on the declivity of the mountain Orontes, and not inclosed with walls. But there is a citadel in it, the fortifications of which art of wonderful strength." (Polyb. lib. x. Excerpt. iv.) This citadel was probably the original palace of Dejoces, or the innermost circle of the ancient city.

74. 2 Kings, chap. xix. ver. 35, 36. Herodot. lib. i. cap. cii.

"made

"made war upon the Persians," and "*first reduced them under the Median sway*⁷⁵;" that with "*the united forces of these two nations*, he subdued all the "*neighbouring countries*, attacking one people after "*another*⁷⁶;" that, at length, "*he turned his arms against the Assyrians*;" and on "*those Assyrians who inhabited the city of Nineveh*⁷⁷;" formerly the governing people in Asia, and still formidable, though deserted by their confederates;" so that, in this expedition, "*Phraortes perished with the greater part of his army*⁷⁸." And to say nothing of the wars of the Assyrians to the west of the Euphrates, immediately after the revolt of the Medes and Babylonians⁷⁹ (the particulars of which I shall afterward have occasion to relate from the Hebrew records), it appears from the agreement of sacred history with Ptolemy's *Astronomical Canon*, that Esarhaddon, or Assaradon, the son and successor of Sennacherib, sovereign of Assyria, had reunited the kingdom of Babylon to that ancient monarchy in the sixty-seventh year of the Nabonassarean æra⁸⁰.

Ant. Ch.
635.
Nabonass.
Æra 112.

THE glory of the Assyrian empire, however, after this reunion, was of short duration, notwithstanding the defeat of the Medes. Cyaxares I. the son of Phraortes, a brave and warlike prince, having resolved to take vengeance upon the Assyrians for the death of his father, assembled his numerous and disciplined forces, and marched into the heart of their country⁸¹;
defeated

75. Herodot. lib. i. cap. cii. 76 Id. ib. 77. Herodot ubi sup.

78. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. cii. This event happened in the twenty-second year of the reign of Phraortes. Id. ibid.

79. See 2 Kings, chap. xvi.—xix. and 2 Chron. chap. xxxii. xxxiii.

80. Compare 2 Kings, chap. xix. ver. 35, 36. and 2 Chron. chap. xxxiii. ver. 11. with Ptolemy's *Canon. Astronom.*

81. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. ciii. This venerable historian says that Cyaxares had united under his standard, when he invaded Assyria, all the nations of Upper Asia as far as the river Halys, and that he had greatly

PART I

Ant. Ch.

633.

Nabonass.

Ara 114.

defeated the army that attempted to obstruct his progress, and invested Nineveh⁸². But before he could make any impression upon the fortifications⁸³, he was obliged to raise the siege, in order to defend his own dominions against an irruption of the European Scythians⁸⁴; who had entered Asia under their king Madyes, after having driven before them the Cimmerians, from the Chersonesus Taurica⁸⁵, now known by the name of the *Crimæa*.

THIS is the first occasion on which history makes mention of the Scythians; whose mode of life, and manner of making war, appear to have been nearly the same in all ages⁸⁶. Those fierce barbarians broke, in a great battle, the power of the victorious Medes, and over-ran all the countries between the Caspian sea and coast of Syria⁸⁷. Of Upper Asia they remained masters twenty-eight years⁸⁸; and so long did they con-

greatly improved their military discipline, by forming them into distinct bodies of spearmen, cavalry, and archers; (Herodot. ubi sup.) they having been accustomed, before his reign, to join battle in a confused manner. (Id. ibid.) These circumstances sufficiently account for his victory over the Assyrians; and for the future success of his arms, which I shall afterwards have occasion to relate. 82. Id. ibid.

83. The fortifications of Nineveh, according to Diodorus Siculus, the only author who describes them, were of amazing strength; the walls being one hundred feet high, and so thick that three carriages might drive abreast upon them; and the towers, with which they were flanked, two hundred feet in height. (Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 92.) Whence Diodorus had his information, he has not told us.

84. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. ciii.

85. Id. ibid. et seq. The Cimmerians, an enemy scarcely less terrible than the Scythian horde that had expelled them, directed their course to the west, along the coast of the Euxine sea; over-ran Asia Minor, and pillaged the kingdom of Lydia. (Herodotus, lib. i. cap. vi. xv.) The citadel of Sardis alone withstood their fury. Herodot. lib. i. cap. xv.

86. See Gibbon's *Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xxvi. xxxiv.

87. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. cix.—cvi.

88. Ibid. lib. i. cap. cvi.

tinue

finue to ravage with their inroads the most fertile provinces of Lower Asia⁸⁹.

LETTER

I.

DURING this period of violence and calamity, in which barbarian force reigned triumphant, and when strong cities only can be supposed to have resisted the shock of the ferocious invaders, Nabopolassar, viceroy of Babylon, revolted from Chyniladan, emperor of Assyria, and assumed independent sovereignty⁹⁰. He had been encouraged in his rebellion by the hostile Cyaxares, who still meditated the destruction of Nineveh⁹¹. And no sooner did the king of the Medes find himself freed from the domination of the Scythians, whose chieftains he had invited to a feast, and slain while drunk⁹²; and from a war in which some Scythian fugitives involved him with Alyattes, king of Lydia, that lasted five years⁹³, than he renewed hostilities against Assyria⁹⁴.

Ant. Ch.
625.
Nabonass.
Era 122.

Ant. Ch.
605.
Nabonass.
Era 142.

CYAXARES again entered that rich country, in conjunction with Nabopolassar, or Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the son and successor of Nabopolassar; and these two powerful monarchs, who were knit in close alliance, finally subverted the empire of the first

89. Id. *ibid.* 90. Alex. Polyhist. ap. Cynod. *Chronograph.* p. 110.

91. Id. *ibid.* 92. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. cvi.

93. Herodot. lib. i. cap. lxxiv. That war was terminated in consequence of a solar eclipse, which had been predicted by Thales the Milesian; (Id. *ibid.*) who to his own natural sagacity had added the learning of Ægypt. When the Medes and Lydians had joined battle, in the sixth campaign, says Herodotus, the day was suddenly changed into night; an appearance which so affected them, that they desisted from action. (Herodot. *ubi sup.*) A suspension of hostilities took place; and peace was concluded between the contending monarchs, through the mediation of the kings of Babylon and Cilicia. (Id. *ibid.*) This peace was ratified with the oath of the contracting parties, and, as a farther tie, Alyattes gave his daughter Aryenis, in marriage to Assyages, the son of Cyaxares. Herodot. lib. i. cap. lxxiv.

94. *Ibid.* lib. i. cap. cvi.

PART I.
 Ant. Ch.
 600.
 Nabonass.
 Era 147.

Assyrians⁹⁵. Nineveh, the famous capital of this ancient people, was utterly destroyed⁹⁶: and the remaining provinces of their monarchy (as I shall afterward have occasion to relate) were divided between the kings of Media and Babylon.

THE taking of Nineveh, my Lord, is one of the greatest events in the history of ancient nations; but we are left totally in the dark by historians, both civil and sacred, in regard to the circumstances with which it was attended. The prophet Nahum is the only writer that has entered into particulars on the subject: and as he is supposed to have been divinely inspired, if he had not the advantage of historical information (for ecclesiastical writers have not been able to fix the time when he lived), I shall copy the most marking strokes in his sublime description; which gives us a very high idea of the grandeur of the old Assyrians, and of the power of the Medes.

“Woe to the bloody city!”—exclaims the prophet; —“because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the
 “well-favoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts;
 “that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and
 “royal families through her witchcrafts. Keep watch!
 “make thy loins strong, fortify thy power mightily;
 “for he that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy
 “face. The shield of his warriors is made red, the

95. Compare Herodotus, lib. i. cap. cvi. with Alex. Polyhist. ap. Syncl. *Chronograph.* p. 110 et ap. Euseb. *Chronicon.* p. 46. Herodotus declines entering into the particulars of this expedition, saying he shall have occasion to relate them in another place; (Herodot. ubi sup.) alluding no doubt to the history of Assyria, which he proposed to write. But he observes, that the Medes conquered all the Assyrian territories, except what belonged to the king of Babylon. (Id. ibid.) We have, therefore, great reason to believe, independent of the authority of Polyhistor, that Cyaxares and Nabocollassar were joint adventurers in this enterprize, and that Nineveh was taken immediately after the close of the Lydian war.

96. Strabo, lib. xvi. init.

“valiant

“ valiant are in scarlet. Behold, thy people in the
 “ midst of thee are women!—the gates of thy land
 “ shall be set wide open unto thine enemies; the fire
 “ shall devour thy bars. I hear the noise of a whip;
 “ and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, of the
 “ prancing of horses, and of the jumping of chariots:
 “ they rage like a tempest, in the streets; they blaze
 “ like torches; they run like lightnings! The horse-
 “ man lifteth up both the bright sword and the glit-
 “ tering spear; there is a multitude slain, yet no end
 “ of the slaughter; they stumble upon the corpses, be-
 “ cause of their great number!—The victors take the
 “ spoil of silver, they take the spoil of gold: the store
 “ is beyond computation; and above all, the spoil of
 “ splendid and rich furniture. Nineveh is empty, de-
 “ solate, and waste!—Where is the dwelling of the
 “ lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions?—
 “ There the lion, even the old lion walked, and the
 “ lion’s whelp, and none made them afraid. The lion
 “ did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and
 “ strangled for his lionesses; and filled his holes with
 “ prey, and his dens with ravine. Nineveh, which was
 “ established of old, is like a pool of water. He-
 “ princes were as the locusts, and her captains as the
 “ great grasshoppers, which encamp in the hedges
 “ during the cool of the morning; but, when the sun
 “ ariseth, they fly away, and their place is not known.
 “ Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria! thy no-
 “ bles dwell in the dust: thy people are scattered upon
 “ the mountains, and no man gathereth them⁹⁷.”

SKETCH of the HISTORY of ÆGYPT to the Reign of
 PSAMMITICHUS.

BEFORE the foundation of the Assyrian empire,
 Ægypt was a populous and powerful kingdom, under

97. Nahum, chap. ii.—iii. *passim*.

PART I. a regular government and police⁹⁸. This early population and improvement Ægypt owed like Assyria, to the fertility of its soil⁹⁹. Fattened by the annual overflowing of the waters of the Nile (which prepares the land for the reception of the seed with little assistance of tillage), the immense vale of Ægypt, extending from the mountains of Æthiopia to the Mediterranean sea, and from the deserts of Arabia to those of Libya, furnished food for man in profusion. There the tropical plants thrive, with many of those more commonly found in colder climates; and there all kinds of grain, wheat and barley as well as rice, yielded large increase¹⁰⁰.

IN a territory so highly favoured by nature, the social principle must quickly have ripened; and the mutual wants of men assembled in society, and their mutual desire of multiplying the accommodations of life, and of guarding against the evils inseparable from mortality, would soon give birth to all the useful, and even to many of the ornamental arts. The sciences intimately connected with the arts, it may be expected, would also rear their head: so, we find, they

98. *Genesis*, chap. xxxvii. xl. xli. et seq. *Exod.* chap. i.—xiv. *Herodot.* lib. ii. et *Diod. Sicul.* lib. i. passim. See also Dr. Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, book iv. sect. i.—iv. et auct. cit.

99. "The countries on the *Tigris* and the *Nile*," says Sir Isaac Newton, "being exceeding fertile, were first frequented by mankind, and first grew into kingdoms." (*Chron. of Ancient Kingdoms amended*, p. 160.) In proof of this great natural fertility, see *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, ubi sup. and *Pliny*, lib. xxi. cap. xv.

100. *Idem.* *ibid.* This fine country, about six hundred miles in length, and near three hundred at its greatest breadth, is divided by geographers into Higher, Lower, and Middle Ægypt. Of these divisions, I shall afterward have occasion to speak. I shall therefore only here remark, that Higher Ægypt, in ancient times, was generally known by the name of *Thebais*, and that the whole three divisions lie between the twenty-second and thirty-third degrees of northern latitude.

did. But the sciences most successfully cultivated in Ægypt, were those of government and legislation. And fortunate is it for us, in treating of the affairs of this venerable country, that, although left in a great measure ignorant of the history of the old Ægyptian monarchs, we are amply furnished with information relative to the laws and constitution of the kingdom over which they ruled.

LETTER
11

MENES, the first sole monarch of Ægypt¹⁰¹, and the first legislator who regulated religious worship, and gave written laws to the Ægyptians¹⁰², appears to have been an adept in the science of human nature. In order to procure implicit submission to his laws, he pretended they were delivered to him, for the good of the people, by the God Hermes¹⁰³; and on purpose to restrain the wanderings of carnal appetite, and give stability to the amorous passion, he instituted the *Law of Marriage*, and placed the nuptial union under the sanction of the altar¹⁰⁴.

THAT law, my Lord, suggests to us a curious subject of disquisition: the *original connexion between the sexes*; and I cannot dismiss it without hazarding a few remarks.

101. Menes, according to Herodotus, (lib. ii. cap. iv.) was the first mortal that reigned in Ægypt; for the Ægyptians vainly exhibited a genealogy of immortal princes, supposed originally to have ruled over them, and whom they afterward worshipped as Gods: (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxliv. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. init.) and all ancient chronologers agree, that Menes, or Menas, was the first sovereign that exercised dominion over the whole land of Ægypt. Nor were his territories very extensive; for, if we may believe the report of the Ægyptian priests, all Lower Ægypt was then a morass, (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. iv.) and the greater part of it entirely covered by the waters of the sea. Id. ibid.

102. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 24 edit ubi cit.

103. Id. ibid.

104. Palæph. ap. Clem. Alex. p. 45. Suidas, voc. ἱερὰ τὸ γάμος.

PART I.

THE respect paid by all ancient nations to the memory of the institutors of the law of marriage, and the solemn rites with which the nuptial ceremony is accompanied, have led to a popular opinion, that the intercourse between the sexes, in the human species, was originally promiscuous, like that of grazing cattle. Hence the well known comparison of Horace, *ut in grege taurus*¹⁰⁵; which may be thus paraphrased :

“ With women men, like bulls among the herd

“ Roving at large, indulged venereal acts

“ As lust incited.”

BUT this representation, which makes the state of nature a state of prostitution, is equally contradicted by reason and experience. As man is by nature a *herding*, he is also a *pairing* animal. He singles out *one* woman from a multitude of others, where such an opportunity of choice is offered : he endeavours to win her regard by courtship and kind offices ; and he has little satisfaction in her arms, unless when convinced that he gives, as well as receives pleasure, in the conjugal embrace¹⁰⁶. Nor is he disposed to abandon her during her pregnancy, or in the time of child-birth ; but is happy in propagating his species, and prides himself in multiplying his own likeness, and that of the partner of his affections. In a word, as the *assistance* of *both* parents is *necessary* to the *rearing* of the *human* *offspring*, condemned to a long and helpless infancy, Nature, in order to accomplish her purpose, has endowed *both* with that *sympathic attachment* called LOVE,

105. *Satiræ lib. i. sat. iii. ver. 110.*

106. “ Were this *belief* to be taken away,” observes the philosophic Shaftesbury, “ there would be hardly any, *even of the grasser sort of mankind*, who would not perceive *their remaining pleasure* to be of small *signification*.” *Characteristicks*, vol. ii. book ii. part ii. sect. i.

without which the *race* must have become extinct. **LETTER**
 We accordingly find *the union of the sexes*, and *nuptial*
ceremonies universal among savages ¹⁰⁷.

BUT although the union of the sexes is *formed* by *instinct* in the savage state, the sacred matrimonial tie is nevertheless necessary, for the preservation of order in society. As civil and criminal laws, respecting property and personal safety, are required to restrain the excesses of the selfish and irascible passions; to *fortify* not to *create* the *sense* of *justice*, or the *sentiment* of *humanity*; in like manner, the laws concerning marriage, and the connexion between the sexes, are requisite to curb the irregularities of libidinous desire, and the intemperance of the sexual passion; which, in proportion to the increase of luxury, become prurient and variable. Hence the wisdom of the Ægyptian legislator, in confining *one* man to *one* woman, agreeable to the intention of nature ¹⁰⁸.

HAVING thus discovered the origin of marriage, and the policy of such an institution, let us inquire after the rise of civil government.

As the first *social connexion* is that of *husband* and *wife*, the first *civil superiority* is that of a *father*
 over

107. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, et Picart's *Relig. Cereemon.* passim, with the authors there cited. If the narration of any traveller, or navigator seems to contradict this opinion, it will generally be found supported by some other more worthy of credit. The subject is set in a just light by Dr. Robertson. *Hist. of America*, book iv.

108. Herodotus pointedly asserts, (lib. ii. cap. xciv.) that the Ægyptians, like the Greeks, had only *one* wife. Now the law of marriage, as we shall have occasion to see, was brought from Ægypt into Greece; where it was universally established upon Ægyptian principles, and according to the practice of an Ægyptian colony. Yet Diodorus Siculus tells us, (lib. i. p. 72.) that the Ægyptian *priests only* were

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over his *family*. Nature, therefore, points us to *patriarchal rule*, as the *original government* among men. For although a father has no natural right to govern his sons, after they have attained the years of manhood, they will find it necessary to recur to some person for the arbitration of their common differences. And who is so likely to be chosen for that purpose, as their common parent?—They have been habituated in infancy, to submit to his authority: he has settled their boyish disputes; and they have wondered at the strength of *his* understanding, while their own was weak. Early impressions are not easily eradicated. His counsel is sought; and to him they are led to appeal, not only from a persuasion of his superior wisdom, but from a conviction that his decisions will be just, because he is equally concerned in the welfare of all. To him, as their common head, his offspring look up; and he exercises, during life, the joint office of governor and judge.

THE farther progress of government, it is not more difficult to trace. Families naturally grew into *tribes*; held together by common consanguinity; and of which the head of the eldest family, in each tribe, was revered as *chief*. When exposed to danger from foreign enemies, or induced by considerations of mutual advantage, two or more tribes united into

confined to *one* wife, and that the *hasty* might take as many wives as they pleased. But if such a custom prevailed in *Aegypt*, in the days of Diodorus, it must have been introduced after the final conquest of that kingdom by the Persians, among whom a plurality of wives was tolerated. For Herodotus was too well acquainted with the manners of the *Aegyptians*, among whom he had long resided, to be mistaken in such a material circumstance; consequently, men of all orders, in *Aegypt*, had only *one* wife in his time. Nor could the *Aegyptians*, in more early times, have communicated to the Greeks a law or custom, which was not in general use among them, and then held sacred.

one body, and composed a *nation* or *state*. In the new community, which generally formed a kind of *rude republic*, some man of superior sagacity in council, or superior prowess in war, never failed to acquire the ascendant; and when those qualities happened to be combined in the same person, he was not only intrusted with the command of the forces of the state, but took the lead in all public deliberations. With or without the forms of election, he was constituted chief magistrate, and captain-general for life. A portion of the respect for the father was necessarily transferred to the son. He usually possessed the same elevated station¹⁰⁹. With office, wealth and influence accumulated, and chief magistracy became hereditary¹¹⁰. Thus was one family raised above others, and *monarchy* gradually founded.

WHEN monarchy was established in *Ægypt*, or by what means Menes acquired the sovereignty of that ancient kingdom, history has not informed us: nor do we know with any degree of certainty, the age in which he reigned¹¹¹. We are only told, that beside imposing upon the *Ægyptians* the restraints of law, and the offices of religion¹¹², he diverted the course of the Nile, which had hitherto washed the foot of the sandy
moun-

109. Vid. Polyb lib. vi. Excerpt. i. "The people," says this profound politician, "not only confirm these leaders in the possession of the powers to which they have been exalted, but preserve it to their children; being persuaded that those, who have received their birth and education from illustrious parents will resemble them." Id. *ibid*.

110. Polyb. *ubi sup*. 111. The reign of Menes is commonly placed by modern chronologers about 2200 years before the Christian era. But the *Ægyptian* chronology, until the reign of Psammitichus, is a mere chaos; and all attempts to elucidate it have hitherto proved fruitless.

112. It was reserved for modern scepticism to call in question the necessary connexion between religion and government, and the salutary influence of the former upon moral conduct. All ancient legislators interwove religion with their civil and political institutions; and the
D 3 phile

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mountains on the frontiers of Libya¹¹³; founded Memphis, within the former bed of the river; and built the magnificent temple of Vulcan, in that city¹¹⁴.

THE history of Ægypt, from the reign of Menes to that of Sesostris, is involved in impenetrable obscurity. During this long, and dark period, is supposed to have happened the irruption of the Eastern, or Arabian herdsmen, UKSOURS, or *King-pastors*; an event which has afforded modern antiquarians and chronologers

philosophers recommended it, as the true basis of legislation. Even such as believed it to be of human invention, yet admitted its utility. Of this we have a remarkable instance, in the famous fragment of the atheistical Critias. "When the laws had restrained an open violation of right," says he, "men set upon contriving how *secretly* to injure others. And then it was, as I suppose, some cunning politician, well versed in the knowledge of mankind, counterworked this design, by the invention of a principle that would hold wicked men in awe; even when about to say, or think, or act ill in private. And this was to bring in the belief of a God; whom he taught to be immortal, of infinite knowledge, and of a nature transcendently excellent. This God, he told them, could bear and see every thing said and done by mortals here below; nor could the first conception of the most secret wickedness be concealed from Him, of whose nature knowledge was the very essence.

"In order to add terror to reverence for the Gods," proceeds Critias, "our politician said they inhabited that place, where swift corruscations of enkindled meteors, accompanied with horrid bursts of thunder, run through the starry vaults of heaven; the beautiful fret-work of that wise old architect Time!—where the consociated troop of shining orbs perform their regular and benignant revolutions, and whence refreshing showers descend to saturate the thirsty earth. Such was the habitation he assigned to the Gods; a place most proper for the discharge of their function!—and such the terrors he employed to repress secret mischief, stifle disorder in the seeds, give laws fair play, and introduce Religion, so necessary to the Magistrate." Frag. Critias, ap. Sext. Emperic. *Advers. Phys.* cap. ix. sect. liv.

113. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. xc.

114. Id. *ibid.* This temple, adorned with porticos and statues, by the piety and munificence of succeeding monarchs, as we shall have occasion to see, was the most superb monument of superstition in Ægypt; (Herodot. lib. ii. *passim*.) but antiquity has left us no description of it.

¹¹⁵ great field for speculation and conjecture. These rude invaders are said to have conquered all Lower and Middle Ægypt, to have established their dominion at Memphis, and to have maintained it with an iron sceptre for two hundred and fifty-nine years ¹¹⁶; after which, their power being broken by a king of Thebais, or Higher Egypt, they retired, according to treaty, with their families and goods, and settled in the country afterwards, known by the name of Palestine, where they built the city of Jerusalem ¹¹⁷.

BUT this singular invasion, upon which so much learning has been wasted, I shall forbear to rank among the revolutions of ancient Ægypt; not merely because no notice is taken of it by Herodotus or Diodorus, but because the passage in which it is related (said to be extracted from Manetho) bears strong marks of forgery. That passage is professedly quoted by Josephus to shew the antiquity of his own nation, and obviously to induce a belief, that the King-pastors were the Israelites. He declares he transcribed it faithfully from the Ægyptian historian; but it is impossible to give him credit for his assertion. For the pretended Manetho not only says, that the King-pastors, after their departure from Ægypt, took possession of Palestine; but, in order to render the story more applicable to the ancient countrymen of the Jewish historian, he observes, that in books of great authority he finds these people distinguished by the name of *Captive Pastors* ¹¹⁸. Admitting the extract, however, to be genuine, notwithstanding these indications of its being spurious, it can but be considered, at best, as a fabu-

¹¹⁵. Sir John Marsham, Perizonius, fir Isaac Newton, Greaves, Bryant, &c.

¹¹⁶. Maneth. ap. Joseph. *Cont. Apian*. lib. i.

¹¹⁷. *Id. ibid.*

¹¹⁸. Maneth. ap. Joseph. *ubisup.*

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IN the obscure period, between Menes and Sefostris, are placed the reigns of five kings, whose names were famous in antiquity; Busiris II. Osymandes, Uchoreus, Ægyptus, and Mæris.

BUSIRUS II. the eighth in descent from the *first* of that name (commonly represented as a cruel tyrant), is said to have built, or much enlarged, the celebrated Ægyptian Thebes ¹²⁰; the chief city in Higher Ægypt, and the seat of the first Ægyptian monarchs; which was one hundred and forty stadia, or seventeen miles

¹¹⁹. See *Genesis*, chap. xl. et seq. *Exodus*, passim. Conformable to the writings of the sacred historian, Diodorus affirms, That Ægypt had never been conquered, unless by the Æthiopians, before it submitted to the Persian power; (*Biblioth. lib. i. p. 41. edit. ubi cit.*) and his testimony is corroborated by the narrative of Herodotus, (*lib. ii. iii. passim.*) I am sensible Mr. Bryant (*Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, vol. iii.) endeavours to throw new light upon this subject; and that, in consequence of his theory of deriving all learning and civility from the *Gutbites*, he places the *Invasion* of the *King-pastors* before the foundation of the Ægyptian monarchy; makes them the builders of the pyramids, the raisers of the obelisks, and of all the other magnificent works in ancient Ægypt. But this theory is as romantic as that of Gale; (*Court of the Gentiles*, vol. i. ii. passim.) who attempts to prove, that the Ægyptians borrowed all their arts, learning, and even their religion, from the *Israelites*!

¹²⁰. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 42. The same historian had before said, that the founding of this city was ascribed to Osiris, the tutelary god, and one of the fabulous monarchs of the Ægyptians; but that, on this subject, not only Grecian authors, but the Ægyptian priests themselves were divided. (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 14.) In a word, the founder of Thebes was so utterly unknown, that his name had not been distinctly preserved even by tradition. Diodorus afterwards insinuates, (p. 79), that the Ægyptians never had any king named *Busiris*. Such is the uncertainty of this portion of history!—Yet he tells us, in a subsequent book (lib. iv. p. 225), that Hercules, after he had killed Antæus, went into Ægypt, and slew the tyrant Busiris.

and a half in circuit ¹²¹. That ancient capital, called latterly *Diospolis*, or "the city of Jupiter," was distinguished in early times, for wealth and power, beyond all others known to the Greeks ¹²². And its ruins, and hieroglyphical inscriptions, continued long to attest its former greatness ¹²³. In Thebes stood four temples of singular beauty, and astonishing magnitude ¹²⁴; one of them being above a mile and an half in circumference ¹²⁵.

BUT of all the structures at Thebes, or in its neighbourhood, where the ruins of many grand buildings are still to be seen, the most superb was the mausoleum of Osymandes ¹²⁶. This king is reported to have been a mighty warrior ¹²⁷. To his exploits, however, as embellished by Ægyptian vanity, no credit can be given: nor can we admit the description of his monument, as transcribed by Diodorus from Hecataeus, among the number of historical facts ¹²⁸. We might as well ingraft into the page of history, what is copied by the same historian from Ctesias, concerning the wonderful works of Semiramis ¹²⁹; to which those ascribed to Osymandes bear a striking resemblance ¹³⁰.

Ucho-

121. Id. *ibid.* In speaking of *miles*, I wish it to be understood, that I always mean *English miles*; and, in like manner, of all long measures common to modern nations, unless when particularly expressed.

122. Homer's *Iliad*, lib. ix. ver. 381. 123. Strabo, *Geog.* lib. xvii. p. 815, 816. Tacit. *Annal.* lib. ii. cap. lx. 124. Diod.

Sicul. lib. i. p. 43. 125. Id. *ib.* 126. Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 44. 127. Id. *ibid.* 128. Hecataeus, ap. Diod. Sic.

lib. i. p. 44, 45, 46. 129. Ctesias, ap. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 97, 98, 99, et seq. 130. Compare Hecataeus and Ctesias, *ubi supra*.

The circle of gold, one cubit thick, and sixty-five cubits in circumference, with which the tomb of Osymandes is said to have been surrounded, is surely as little credible as the smoothing of the rocky side of mount Bagistan, two miles in height, on which was represented

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UCHOREUS, the eighth descendant from Ofymandes, is said by Diodorus to have built Memphis¹³¹; which, as I have related on the credit of Herodotus, was founded by Menes. That Uchoreus gave to this city the form in which it afterward appeared, and the magnificence that made it thenceforth become the seat of the Ægyptian monarchy¹³², for which its situation was favourable, may be well believed; and that circumstance occasioned the gradual decline of Thebes¹³³.

MEMPHIS was seated on the western side of the Nile¹³⁴, twenty-two miles¹³⁵ above the place, where that river divides itself into two great branches which form the *Delta*¹³⁶; so called from its triangular figure, or resemblance to the fourth letter in the Greek alphabet, and which comprehended the most fertile part of Lower Ægypt¹³⁷. This city, one hundred and fifty stadia¹³⁸, or about nineteen miles in circumference, was secured on the south-side by a strong rampart¹³⁹, which served both for a dyke against the inundations of the Nile, and a bulwark to defend it, in case of the approach of an enemy¹⁴⁰. On all other sides, it was fortified not only with walls, but by a large and deep moat¹⁴¹; which being, at all times, filled with water from the river, rendered the city in a manner impregnable¹⁴². Memphis was accordingly considered as the

presented the figure of Semiramis, attended by two hundred of her guards; (id. *ibid.*) to say nothing of the sculptured and painted galleries, by a people yet ignorant of the arts of design, that exhibited the fabulous conquest of Bactria by Ofymandes, and the library formed before any books had been written.

131. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 46.

132. Id. lib. i. p. 47.

133. Id. *ibid.*

134. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. xcix.

135. Strabo,

lib. xvii. p. 807.

136. Id. *ibid.* et Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 46.

137. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 29, 30.

138. *Ibid.* lib. i. p. 46.139. Id. *ibid.*

140. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 46.

141. Id.

lib. i. p. 47. Herod. lib. ii. cap. xcix.

142. Id. *ibid.*

key of the Nile, and the capital of Ægypt, till the founding of Alexandria¹⁴³.

LETTER
I

FIVE miles north-west of Memphis¹⁴⁴, stood the three famous pyramids, or quadrangular towers, that filled the ancient world with astonishment, and which continue to excite the wonder of modern travellers¹⁴⁵. These immense masses, which appear to have been intended for sepulchral monuments, are built with stones of an enormous size piled upon one another in regular rows¹⁴⁶; and so hard, and firmly compacted¹⁴⁷, that they have withstood the ravages of time, the revolutions of empires, and the force of the elements, for almost three thousand years¹⁴⁸. The reputed founders of those pyramids, I shall afterwards have occasion to mention.

THE reign of Egyptus is rendered memorable by the flight of his brother Danaus¹⁴⁹; whose voyage into Greece with his daughters¹⁵⁰, forms a memorable

143. Diod. Sicul. ubi sup. et Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 807.

144. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 808.

145. The first, and largest pyramid, is near five hundred feet in perpendicular height, six hundred and sixty feet square at the base, and sixteen at the top. (Goguet, *des Orig. des Arts*, &c. et auç. cit.) The second pyramid, according to Greaves, is of the same dimensions with the first; but he did not measure it, and all other travellers agree that it is smaller. The third pyramid is three hundred feet square at the base, and proportionally high with the two former. Greaves *Pyramidographia*, passim.

146. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxxiv. Maillet, *Descript. de l'Égypte*, p. 224—253. Edit. Paris, 1735. 147. Herodot. ubi sup. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 808.

148. When the Egyptian pyramids were built, is not certainly known; but, from the relations of modern travellers, they seem to be nearly in the same state as when they were viewed by Herodotus, above two thousand two hundred years ago.

149. Apollodorus, lib. ii. p. 62. Diod. Sicul. lib. v. p. 329.

150. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. clxxxii.

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æra in the history of Peloponnesus, as I shall have occasion to notice ¹⁵². Ægyptus, renowned for his justice and beneficence, had the honour of giving to the venerable country over which he ruled the appellation of *Ægypt* ¹⁵², by which it is still known.

TWELVE reigns after that of Ægyptus, Moeris or Myris was raised to the throne ¹⁵³. He built the grand portico on the north-side of Vulcan's temple at Memphis ¹⁵⁴; and is said to have formed the vast lake that bore his name ¹⁵⁵. This lake is commonly ranked among the extraordinary works of the ancient Ægyptians. And if artificial, it must have been hollowed at an amazing expence, and by the most astonishing efforts of labour; as we are told, that it was fifty fathoms in depth, and four hundred and fifty miles in circumference ¹⁵⁶. It appears, however, to have been partly

¹⁵¹. Strabo, lib. v. p. 221, lib. vii. p. 321, et lib. viii. p. 371.

¹⁵². Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 47.

¹⁵³. Id. *ibid.* In early times, as Diodorus informs us, the Ægyptians paid less regard to hereditary right than to the virtues of their sovereigns (*Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 41.); the body of the people being vested with the power of raising to the throne, the person they esteemed most worthy to reign over them (*Id. ibid.*). But after the offices of state came to be confined (as I shall have occasion to observe), to the ecclesiastical and military orders, the crown seems to have been strictly hereditary; and when the royal line failed, the sovereign was chosen out of one of those two orders, and by the members of those orders exclusively. Hence we may draw these important conclusions, that in this ancient kingdom, as in all other states, the people originally possessed the privilege of choosing their own chief magistrate; but that *priests* and *soldiers*, under the name of *nobles*, gradually wrested the rights of the people from them: a progress which I shall have frequent opportunity to exemplify; and to shew, that in proportion to the share which the people have in public affairs, the administration of government is, every where, mild or oppressive, and that venerated hereditary succession naturally leads to despotism.

¹⁵⁴. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. ci. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 47. ¹⁵⁵. Id. *ib.*

¹⁵⁶. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxlix. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 48. Herodotus,

partly the work of nature, partly of art¹⁵⁷; to have been hollowed by the Nile, before the course of that river was diverted by Menes, or by the sea, when its waters covered all Lower Ægypt¹⁵⁸.

LETTER

1.

BUT in whatever manner the lake Mœris was originally formed, it contributed greatly to the fertility of the surrounding country, and to the conveniency of the people. Being capable of containing a prodigious quantity of water, by reason of its vast compass and depth, it served to receive the superflux of the inundations of the Nile, when that river rose to too great an height¹⁵⁹; and thereby prevented the lands from being choaked with mud, or the houses, in low situations, from being overflowed¹⁶⁰; while it furnished, during the season of ebb, moisture to the surrounding fields¹⁶¹. For these purposes a wide sluice, which was opened and shut as occasion required, admitted the waters of the Nile into the lake¹⁶²; and various canals conveyed them out of it, when necessary, in different directions¹⁶³.

dorus, not satisfied with calculating the circumference of this lake at full three thousand six hundred stadia, in which Diodorus agrees with him, (Id. *ibid.*) adds, by way of explanation, that its circumference was sixty *sebana*; and equal to the length of the whole sea-coast of Ægypt. (Herodot. *ubi supra*). Strabo does not calculate the circumference of the lake Mœris; but he says, it was like a sea for magnitude, and that its banks resembled the shores of the ocean. *Geog.* lib. xvii. p. 809.

157. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 809—811.

158. This last conjecture seems most probable, as the lake Mœris extended far into the Libyan desert, in a western direction, between the mountains of Memphis, and the Mediterranean sea. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cl.

159. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 48. Strabo, lib. xvii.

p. 810. 160. Id. *ibid.* 161. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 810, 811.

162. Diod. Sicul. et Strabo, *ubi sup.*

163. Id. *ibid.* According to the accounts of modern travellers, this lake is now much diminished in size, as might have been expected. But the canals still remain; and certain fens, in its neighbourhood, seem to indicate that it was formerly much larger.

PART I.

SESOSTRIS, or Sesoosis, the seventh Ægyptian king after Mæris, surpassed all his predecessors in great achievements¹⁶⁴. He is supposed by sir John Marsham, and other chronologers, to be the Shishak, or Sefac, who plundered the temple of Jerusalem in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam¹⁶⁵. And their conjecture seems well founded¹⁶⁶.

THIS

164. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 49. 165, 1 Kings, ch. xiv. ver. 25, 26.

166. This chronology is perfectly conformable to the succession of eight Ægyptian kings, given by Herodotus, from Sesostris to Psammitichus; the beginning of whose reign is generally placed by chronologers in the six hundred and seventieth year before the Christian æra. Nor does it interfere with the subsequent narration of that venerable historian, unless in one particular; and, in that, he is obviously inconsistent with himself; he says (and Diodorus agrees with him), that Proteus, the second successor of Sesostris, reigned in the time of the Trojan war. (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxii. et seq.) But in this he must have been misinformed, or mistaken one way or other; for the six kings, whose reigns, in his history, merely complete the period between Proteus and Psammitichus, could not possibly make the reign of that prince ascend so high as the siege of Troy. And other circumstances conspire to fix the reign of Sesostris to the æra here assigned it. The daughters of Danaus, we are told, fled from the sons of Ægyptus. (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. clxxii.) Now Ægyptus, according to Diodorus, lived twelve reigns before Mæris (*Biblioth. lib. i. p. 47.*); and Sesostris was the seventh king after Mæris. (*Ibid. 49.*) These nineteen successions cannot be computed at less than five hundred years. Danaus and his daughters arrived in Greece about three hundred years before the Trojan war (*Marm. Oxon. Ep. 18.*) consequently the reign of Sesostris must have been two hundred years later than that war, and not above a thousand years before the Christian æra.

If farther argument should be deemed necessary, to prove that the great Sesostris was the Shishak, who pillaged the temple of Jerusalem, and "took away the treasures of the king's house," (1 Kings, chap. xiv. ver. 26.) they are ready. Herodotus informs us, that, in passing through the Syrian Palestine, he saw a pillar set up by Sesostris, indicating that the inhabitants had tamely submitted to his arms (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cvi.) and Josephus owns, that Rehoboam permitted his capital to be entered by Shishak, without striking a blow in its defence; (Joseph. *cost. Apian. lib. i.*) To crown the whole collected evidence sacred history acquaints us, that "in the fifth year of king

THIS politic and warlike monarch, whose reign forms the æra of the military power and glory of the ancient Egyptians, is said to have proposed no less an object for his ambition, than the conquest of the world ¹⁶⁷. And an army of six hundred thousand infantry, twenty-four thousand cavalry, and seven and twenty thousand armed chariots ¹⁶⁸, corresponded with the grandeur of such an undertaking.

HAVING put that vast body, or whatever might be his force, in motion, Sesostris first invaded Æthiopia, which he conquered; imposing upon the inhabitants a tribute of gold, ebony, and ivory ¹⁶⁹. He

* Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, "and took the fenced cities of Judah. And the people were without number that came with him; the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Æthiopians." (2 Chron. chap. xii. ver. 2, 3. 4.) Now Herodotus assures us, (lib. ii. c. cx.) That "*Sesostris was the only Egyptian monarch,*" who ever conquered Æthiopia: therefore, he only could have a body of Æthiopians in his army. The Lubims and Sukkiims were probably some of those African nations, whom Sesostris is said to have conquered during his father's life-time (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 49.) And the scope of the sacred narrative shews, that they were *vanquished nations*, swelling the host of a mighty conqueror, whose troops and attendants were without number (2 Chron. ubi sup.); and in the sweep of whose operations the kingdom of Judah was subdued, and rendered tributary to Egypt. 2 Chron. chap. xii. ver. 8, 9.

167. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 49.

168. Id. p. 50. The number of *cavalry*, here mentioned, seems to bear an *unequal proportion* to the *infantry*. But it ought to be observed, before we accuse Diodorus of inconsistency, that *chariots* were used in war before *horsemen*; (Goguet. *Orig. des Arts*, &c. part i. liv. v. passim.) and that it was long before *cavalry* bore a *due proportion* to *infantry*. (Ibid. part ii. liv. v. chap. i. iii. et part iii. liv. v. chap. ii.) Sacred history, however, assigns to Shishak *threescore thousand horsemen*, and only *twelve hundred chariots*. (2 Chron. chap. xii. ver. 3.) Herodotus is silent as to the number, or quality of the forces of Sesostris; but, like all other historians, says (lib. ii. cap. cii.) his army *was immense*.

169 Id. Ibid. Herodot. (lib. ii. cap. cx.) and Strabo (lib. xvi. p. 769.) also mention the conquest of Æthiopia by Sesostris, though only in general terms.

PART I.

next built, on the Arabian gulf, a fleet of four hundred sail; which circumnavigated the Arabian peninsula, while he entered Asia with his mighty host¹⁷⁰. Every nation he attacked, in that vast continent, submitted to his power¹⁷¹. We must not, however believe, that he passed not only the Euphrates and Tigris, but also the Indus and Ganges, and subdued all the intermediate countries; extending his sway from the Mediterranean sea to the Eastern ocean, and from the Nile and the Ganges to the Tanais and Danube¹⁷². Credibility is startled at such a sweep of conquest; and the narrative of the venerable Herodotus, whose authority, in regard to the affairs of ancient Ægypt, ought to be highly respected¹⁷³, leads us to more moderation. He seems to confine the Asiatic conquests of Sesostris to Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor¹⁷⁴. And all ancient historians assign Scythia and Thrace,

170. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 30. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cii.

171. Herodotus, ubi supra.

172. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 50. Diodorus seems to have been here misled by the vain traditions of the Ægyptian priests; who, in his time, appear to have confounded the exploits of Sesostris with the mystical adventures of their tutelary God, Osiris. This similarity imposed upon the great sir Isaac Newton, and made him conclude, that Osiris and Sesostris were the same; (Newt. Chron. p. 191.) an opinion which has been fully refuted by Dr. Warburton. (*Divine Legation of Moses*, book iv. sect. v.) Mr. Bryant considers Sesostris as a personage as ideal as Osiris. *New System of Ancient Mythol.* vol. ii.

173. Herodotus, like Diodorus, received his information from the Ægyptian priests (*Hist.* lib. ii. passim); but the Ægyptian records, in his time, were less corrupted. For the Ægyptians, after their country had been subjected not only to the Persian, but to the Macedonian and Roman sway, endeavoured to console themselves for the loss of their former power and independency, by many fabulous relations of their former greatness, both in arts and arms. (*Divine Legation*, lib. iv. sect. v.) Hence the inextricable obscurity in which their history is involved.

174. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cii. ciii. He indeed conjectures that Sesostris had penetrated to the river Phasis, at the east end of the Euxine.

Thrace¹⁷⁵, as the boundaries of the arms of the Ægyptian conqueror in Europe.

BETTER
I.

BUT whatever might be the extent of the conquests of Sesostris, it does not appear that he took effectual measures to preserve them, or that they descended to his posterity. His conduct was very different with respect to his hereditary dominions. Laying aside all thoughts of war, after his return to Ægypt, he employed that leisure which peace afforded him, in securing it against invasion from Arabia and Syria, by a wall extending across the desert, its most exposed side, from the city of Pelusium, seated near the eastern mouth of the Nile, to Heliopolis, or the *City of the Sun*¹⁷⁶; which stood a little below the present Grand Cairo, and where the majestic river begins to divide itself into those channels, through which it enters the Mediterranean sea¹⁷⁷.

Euxine sea, and there left a colony, which gave beginning to the kingdom of Colchis (*Herodot. lib. ii. cap. iv.*) because the Colchians had dark complexions, frizzled hair, and used the rite of circumcision, in the manner of the Ægyptians (*Id. ibid.*) But, on this subject, he speaks with diffidence. And although Colchis appears to have been an Ægyptian colony, history has left uncertain when that colony was planted. It seems, however, to have been prior to the Argonautic expedition; and, consequently, long before the reign of Sesostris, according to the chronology which I have followed, and about the time of the Ægyptian emigrations into Greece under Cecrops and Danaus.

175. This far and no farther, says Herodotus (*lib. ii. cap. ciii.*), the Ægyptian army seems to have advanced; and Diodorus (*lib. i. p. 51.*) corroborates his testimony.

176. *Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 52.*

177. The seven channels, or mouths of the Nile, are celebrated both in ancient history and poetry; but Herodotus (*lib. ii. cap. xvii.*) mentions only five, two of which were artificial, and no more than navigable canals; (*Id. ibid.*) an account that agrees perfectly with the relations of modern travellers.

PART I. NOR was this the only care of Sesostris. Beside many works of piety and ostentation; temples¹⁷⁸, obelisk, ¹⁷⁹, and colossal statues¹⁸⁰, on which he had the glory to say *no native laboured*, they being all erected by the captives he had led in triumph¹⁸¹, he made Ægypt be intersected by an additional number of canals, communicating with the stream of the Nile, and widely distributing its healthful and fructifying waters¹⁸²; while he removed to higher situations such towns as were liable to injury from the annual flux of that river¹⁸³.

THESE illustrious labours, and the wealth acquired by conquest, with which this magnificent monarch had enriched his native kingdom¹⁸⁴, rendered the name of Sesostris long dear to the Ægyptians; who considered him as the greatest king that had ever reigned, even after they were subjected to the Persian sway¹⁸⁵. Nor had he neglected to perpetuate his fame among foreign nations. Wherever, in the course of

178. He is said to have built in each of the chief cities of Ægypt, a temple to the god that was peculiarly adored there. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 51.

179. Sesostris erected two obelisks, each one hundred and twenty cubits high (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 53.), with hieroglyphical inscriptions exhibiting the extent of his conquests, the amount of his revenues, and the number of the nations he had vanquished. (Id. ibid.) The Ægyptian obelisks, the most extraordinary monuments of antiquity, were square pillars composed of one stone, terminating in a point. The granite of which they were formed was found in the mountains of Syene, in Higher Ægypt (Pliny, lib. xxxvi. cap. viii.) whence the immense blocks were conveyed by water, to the places where they were to be erected. Calixenus, ap. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. ix.

180. Before the temple of Vulcan, Sesostris erected six of those statues; two of thirty-six cubits in height, representing himself and his wife; and four twenty cubits high each, representing his four sons. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cx. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 53.

181. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 52. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. viii.

182. Herodotus, *ubi supra*.

183. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 52.

184. Id. lib. i. p. 51.
Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 54.

185. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cx.

his conquests, he found a people, who strenuously defended their liberties, he had ordered a pillar to be erected, with an inscription declaring his name and country, and that he had subdued them by his forces¹⁸⁶. And on the pillars set up in those districts, he ordered also, says Diodorus, the sculptured figure of the male parts of generation to be added, in testimony of the courage of the inhabitants¹⁸⁷. But where a nation had meanly submitted to him, without hazarding a battle, he commanded to be carved, along with the usual inscription, the genital parts of a woman, on such pillar, as a memorial of their cowardice¹⁸⁸.

In some countries, Sesostris likewise ordered his own statue, in stone, to be erected; holding a bow in the left hand, a javelin in the right, and otherwise armed after the Egyptian and Ethiopian manner, with a belt drawn across the breast from shoulder to shoulder¹⁸⁹; on which was engraved in the *Sacred Letters* of Egypt¹⁹⁰, an inscription purporting, that he had obtained

186. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cii. Diodorus has preserved a more pompous inscription, to the following purport:—"Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, conquered this region by his arms." Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 51.

187. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 51. 188. Herodot. et Diod. Sicul. ubi sup.

189. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cvi.

190. Idem. ibid. These *Sacred Letters*, according to Dr. Warburton, were the most perfect kind of *Hieroglyphics*; formed in the progress from *Pictural-writing* to the invention of *Alphabetic Characters*; (*Divine Legation of Moses*, book iv. sect. iv.) and afterward used by the priests as a veil for their mystical learning, as they had formerly been employed, by all orders of men, in recording general transactions, for want of a more intelligible mode of writing. (Id. ibid.) They continued also to be used, after the invention of alphabetic characters, on all public monuments of stone; (Warburton, ubi sup.) so that the *hieroglyphical inscriptions* on the statues and obelisks of Sesostris prove nothing in favour of the high antiquity of that monarch.

These observations, while they illustrate our subject, will serve to rectify a common mistake among the learned; "that *hieroglyphics* were invented by the Egyptian priests, in order to conceal their occult

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obtained, by his personal prowess, the territory in which the statues stood ¹⁹¹. Herodotus saw two of these statues in Asia Minor; one between Ephesus and Phocæa, and another between Sardis and Smyrna ¹⁹²; each six feet and three inches in height ¹⁹³.

IN consequence of the public works of Sesostris, Ægypt attained an higher degree of prosperity and population, than it had known in any former period ¹⁹⁴. For he not only fertilized the country, and supplied the inhabitants with drink for themselves and their cattle, by conveying the waters of the Nile, at all times, to the parts most distant from it ¹⁹⁵, but cut navigable canals from

"science, after the art of Alphabetic-writing was known and practised;" whereas they were only a stage, as already observed, in the progress toward that art, and afterward used for particular purposes. For this discovery, the world is indebted to the late Dr. William Warburton, latterly bishop of Gloucester; who united the most profound erudition to a penetrating genius.

191. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cvi.

192. Id. Ibid.

193. Herodot. ubi sup. Diodorus says these statues were exact representations of the natural stature of Sesostris, and seven feet high. (*Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 51.) But he does not tell us whence he had his information. Herodotus saw the statues, and probably measured them.

194. Ægypt, in its highest prosperity, is said to have contained eighteen thousand cities and considerable villages, and seven millions of inhabitants; (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 27.) a number by no means incredible, considering the high cultivation, and fertility of the country.

Many reasons may be assigned, why Ægypt is now less fertile than in ancient times. The Nile no longer brings down from Æthiopia that rich black mud and slime, which formerly fattened the lands; (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. xii. et seq. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 30. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 695. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. xviii. cap. xvii. xviii.) and only a small quantity of red earth, of an inferior quality, such as composes its banks. (Granger, *Voyage en Égypte*, p. 20. Shaw's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 188.) Nor is the country any where so perfectly cultivated, or to such an extent as under its ancient monarchs. (Maillet, *Descript. de l'Égypte*, lett. i. ix.) Yet, even under Turkish despotism, Maillet computes, that Ægypt may contain four millions of people. (*Descript.* lett. i.) This gentleman resided long at Grand Cairo, as French consul.

195. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cviii.

the river to the chief cities below Memphis, for the benefit of inland commerce, and banked those cities against the annual inundations¹⁹⁶; so that Lower Ægypt, during the high flow of the Nile, to use a simile of Herodotus, resembles the Ægean sea, crowned with its castled islands¹⁹⁷. And during the season of ebb, it presented, and still offers the most delightful spectacle that human imagination can conceive; rich fields of corn, all kinds of fruit and flowers, and herds and flocks feeding in luxuriant pastures¹⁹⁸; while ships of burden in the river, and barges on the canals, convey in various directions the produce of industry, and the means of plenty, under a serene and cloudless sky, genially warmed with the beams of the sun¹⁹⁹.

FROM

196. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 52.

197. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. xcvi. Diodorus, who makes use of the same comparison, was not ignorant that the Nile has its source in the mountains of Æthiopia, and that its annual inundations are occasioned by the Tropical rains. (*Biblioth. lib. i. p. 39. edit. Rhodoman. ubi cit. Hanov. 1604.*) The Nile begins to rise about the end of April; but the swell is not considerable till after the summer-solstice. (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. xix. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 32. Plin. *Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. ix. lib. xviii. cap. xviii.*) According to ancient authors, it continued to increase till the autumnal equinox; (id. *ibid.*) but the most accurate modern observers declare, that it usually attains its greatest height by the middle of August. (Pococke, *Descript. of the East, vol. i. p. 200. Shaw's Travels, p. 383. Maillet, Descript. de l'Ægypte, lett. ix.*) By the first of November the inundation has subsided; the husbandmen then prepare the land for the reception of the seed; (auct. *cit. ubi sup.*) and reap their harvest in March and April. Id. *ibid.*

198. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 32. Maillet, *Descript. de l'Ægypte, lett. ix.* Ægypt is by no means intensely hot during our winter season. Hence it produces many fruits seldom found in such a southern latitude; olives, grapes, peaches, &c. (Id. *ibid.* & Starbo, lib. xvii. p. 809.) And during the summer months, it is refreshed by the inundation of the Nile; the great source of its subsequent fertility, and the cause of that deep verdure for which it is distinguished beyond all the neighbouring countries.

199. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 52. Maillet, *Descript. de l'Ægypte, lett. ii.*

PART I.

FROM the reign of Sesostris, to the interregnum that preceded the elevation of Psammitichus, we have a regular succession of Egyptian kings²⁰⁰; but their reigns afford few important events.

PHERON, the son and successor of Sesostris, undertook no military enterprise; nor was he the author of any civil institution. But having been afflicted with the loss of his sight, which was restored in a miraculous manner, he dedicated many offerings in all the temples of Egypt, in gratitude to the Gods for his recovery²⁰¹; and, to perpetuate the memory of that event, he erected, in the *Temple of the Sun* at Heliopolis, two obelisks, each one hundred cubits high, and eight cubits square at the base²⁰²,

The Nile is at all times navigable as high as the cataracts, on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and about six hundred miles from the sea; where, says Diodorus, (lib. i. p. 28.) the water runs with the rapidity of an arrow shot from a bow; and being dashed against rocks, and forced back, whirls, rages, and foams, in a manner terrible to behold. Id. *ibid*.

200. This succession is furnished by Herodotus; who, as I have already had occasion to observe, possessed better means of information than any subsequent writer. To the reasons formerly offered, in support of this opinion, I may add, that soon after the Persian conquest, Herodotus travelled through Egypt, and held long discourses with the priests; who were entrusted with the keeping of the archives of the kingdom, and seem to have disclosed to him their most important secrets; (Herodot. lib. ii. *passim*.) and that if the Egyptian records had suffered injury from the rage of Cambyles against the temples where they were kept, memory might then supply the defect. But after those records had been seized, and carried off by order of Darius Ochus, or Artaxerxes III. (Diod. Sicul. lib. xvi. p. 448. 449. vol. ii. edit. Rhodoman. *ubi cit*.) the Egyptians themselves must have become in a great measure ignorant of the history of their own country; as I shall afterward have occasion to shew, when I treat of the seizure of the records. False records were forged by priestcraft and vanity; and from these, it appears, the fabulous dynasties of Manetho were composed. Nor could the judicious Diodorus, with the utmost zeal for truth, always detect the delusion.

201. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxi.

202. Id. *ibid*.

PHERON was succeeded in the Ægyptian throne by Cetes, to whom the Greeks gave the name of *Proteus*²⁰³; because he was said to transform himself into a variety of shapes. This fable seems to have had its origin in a singular custom, which afterwards became common to the Ægyptian monarchs. They wore upon their heads, as a sign of their royalty, and in order to inspire their people with superstitious veneration, the figure of a lion, a bull, or a dragon²⁰⁴. Cetes, the author of this custom, is reported to have been deeply skilled in the arts and sciences²⁰⁵; and divine honours were paid him, after his death, in an elegant temple, erected to the south of that of Vulcan, at Memphis²⁰⁶.

RHAMPSINITUS, the successor of Cetes or Proteus, added a magnificent portico to the western side of the temple of Vulcan, and set up two statues before the front of the building, each twenty-five cubits high²⁰⁷. He was a wise and just prince; so that Ægypt, during his reign, greatly flourished in plenty, and enjoyed, as hitherto, the equitable administration of her wholesome laws²⁰⁸. He is said to have descended, while alive, to the habitations of the dead; where playing at dice with Ceres, he sometimes won, and sometimes lost²⁰⁹; by

203. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxii. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 56.

204. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 56. 205. Id. ibid.

206. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxii. I formerly said, that this venerable historian must have been misinformed in respect to the reign of Proteus, otherwise he would not have placed it so high as the Trojan war; and the account which he gives of that war, (lib. ii. cap. cxiii—cxv.) on the credit of the Ægyptian priests, shews the whole was a fable devised by those sacred sages, in order to exalt the character of their own nation; to maintain its claim to superior antiquity, and to recriminate upon the Greeks, who accused the Ægyptians of offering human sacrifices.

207. Id. lib. ii. cap. cxxi.
cxiv.

208. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap.

cxv. 209. Id. lib. ii. cap. cxvii.

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which we ought perhaps to understand, that *good and evil are blended in all human conditions*, and that even the *just and wise* cannot expect, in this world, an *uninterrupted run of success*. And Ceres at his departure, we are told, presented him with a golden mantle²¹⁰; as a mark of her favour, no doubt, because of his attention to agriculture, by which only plenty can be procured, and the blessings of civil life preserved.

THE Egyptians annually held a solemn festival, from the day of the descent of Rhampsinitus, to that of his resurrection²¹¹. Here Herodotus takes occasion to inform us, that the Egyptians believed the sovereign power, in the state of the dead, was exercised by Ceres and Bacchus²¹², or Isis and Osiris²¹³; and that they were the first people, who taught the *immortality of the human soul*²¹⁴. This tenet was more especially inculcated, as I shall often have occasion to shew, in the mysteries of Isis, or Ceres²¹⁵; where the veil of Hea-then superstition being pulled aside, the true nature of God and the soul was revealed to the initiated, and the doctrine of a *future state of rewards and punishments* enforced²¹⁶.

HERO-

210. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxii.

211. Id. lib. ii. cap. cxiii.

212. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxiii.

213. Herodotus takes great pains to prove, that Isis was the same deity with *Demeter* or Ceres, (lib. ii. cap. lix. clvi.) and Osiris with *Dionysus* or Bacchus: (lib. ii. cap. cxliv.) And he has at least proved, that the worship of both was nearly the same, in Egypt and in Greece; (ubi sup.) and given us good reason to believe, that the Greeks borrowed that worship from the Egyptians, (ibid.) not the Egyptians from the Greeks.

214. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxiii.

215. The mysteries of Ceres were celebrated in various countries, beside Egypt; but the most famous were those solemnized at Eleusis, in the territory of Attica, commonly known by the name of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*.

216. That these were the objects of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, and that they

HERODOTUS also tells us, that the Greeks accounted *Bacchus, Hercules and Pan*, the *youngest* of all the Gods²¹⁷; but that the *Ægyptians* considered *PAN* as "the *most ancient*, even of the *Eight primary Deities*"²¹⁸. This is a curious article of information, and

they were of *Ægyptian* origin, Dr. Warburton has proved with great strength of reasoning, supported by many learned quotations. (*Divine Legation of Moses*, book ii. sect. iv.) He has also endeavoured to prove, that the same doctrines were inculcated in all the *Heathen mysteries*; in those of *Bacchus*, and even in those of *Venus*; (id. *ibid.*) a position that cannot be so readily admitted. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the *Mysteries of Ceres*, as celebrated at *Eleusis*. In those mysteries, an *Hymn* to the following purport, was sung:—"I will disclose a secret to the initiated; but let the doors be shut against the profane. Look on the *Divine Nature*; incessantly contemplate it, and govern well the *Mind and Heart*. Go on in the right way, and see the sole Governor of the *World*. He is *ONE*, and of Himself alone; and to that *ONE* all Things owe their Being!—He operates through *All*; was never seen by mortal eyes, but doth Himself see every Thing. (*Orphic Hymn*, ap. Clem. Alexand. *Admonit. ad Gentem*, & Euseb. *Præp. Evangel.* lib. xiii.) *Ceres*," says *Isocrates*, "has made the *Athenians* two gifts of the highest importance: the *CULTURE of CORN*, which brought us out of a *STATE of BARBARITY*, and the *MYSTERIES*, which fortify the *Soul* against the fear of *Death*, and inspire the Initiated with the pleasing Hope of an happy *IMMORTALITY*." (*Isocrat. Paneg. Athen.*) "The thing" adds he, "which *Human Nature* chiefly stands in need of." (*ibid.*) And *Cicero* declares, "That those *MYSTERIES*, by which we are drawn from an irrational and savage life, and cultured in *humanity*, are justly called *INITIA*; because they are the beginning of a true Life; a Life of *Virtue* and of *Reason*! Hence we not only enjoy happiness in this world, but die with tranquility, in hopes of becoming yet more happy in a future state of existence." *Cicero, de Legib.* lib. ii. cap. xiv.

217. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxlv.

218. Id. *ibid.* Herodotus had before made the same observation; (lib. ii. cap. xli.) but confined that belief to the *Mendesiæns*, or the inhabitants of the district of *Mendes*, in *Lower Ægypt*. (*Ibid.*) *Pan* was the tutelary deity of the *Mendesiæns*. (*Herodot. ubi sup. et Strabo*, lib. xvii. p. 802.) "The *Mendesiæns* painters and sculptors," like those of *Greece*," adds Herodotus, (lib. ii. cap. xli.) "repre-

"sent

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and of the utmost importance for the explication of the whole system of Heathen theology; which, as I shall have occasion to shew, passed from Ægypt and Syria into Greece.

THESE Eight primary Deities were GOD and the Heavenly Bodies; or the Sun, Moon, and five solar planets, Jupiter, Venus, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn, under the controul of the FIRST CAUSE: for the ancients, at least in the first ages, were not sufficiently skilled in astronomy to know, that the Earth is one of the solar planets. And the four additional Deities, that completed the number of the Twelve GREAT GODS, were the Four Elements; by whatever names, or under whatever symbols, they might be worshipped²¹⁹. Consequently PAN, or the whole of Nature (as his name imports), the eldest of those Great Gods, was symbolical of the CREATOR and GOVERNOR of the UNIVERSE, as portrayed in his works²²⁰.

"sent Pan with the face and legs of a Goat: Not that they believe this to be his real form," remarks the venerable historian; "for they think him like other Gods!" (Ibid.) The natural interpretation of which words is, that they thought him an incorporeal Being; and, therefore, only capable of symbolical representation.

219. This subject I shall afterward have occasion to discuss. I shall, therefore, only here remark, that the ancients, in adoring the celestial bodies, and the elements, did not worship them as mere masses of matter, but paid their adorations originally to the Spirit, by which they were supposed to be actuated or governed; and that this worship, at first ejaculatory, came afterward to be offered through the intervention of symbols, and terminated in gross idolatry. See Pococke, *Specim. Hist. Arab.* passim, et Maimonid. *Moreh Nevoch.*

220. Servius, in Virgil, *Eclog.* ii. The saggy figure of PAN was a symbolical delineation of Nature in her rude state: his spotted robe, of leopard's skin, represented the spangled sky; and his person, made up of various parts, rational and irrational, a Man and a Goat, expressed the WORLD, composed of jarring elements, Fire, Water, Earth, and Air, under the direction of an all-governing MIND. Id. *ibid.*

THE Orphic Hymn to Pan²²¹, while it justifies the high character here assigned him, (as will appear from the following extract) sublimely expresses the ideas of the Ægyptian priests concerning that Divinity; for the first Græcian sages are allowed to have drawn their theology, and philosophy, immediately from Ægyptian sources²²².

LETTER
I

"THEE I invoke, O mighty PAN!—the UNIVER-
"SAL NATURE! the *Heavens*, the *Sea*; the *all-nou-*
" *riſhing Earth*, and the *Element Fire*; for theſe are
"thy *Members*, *Omnipotent DEITY*²²³.—Come, thou
"SOURCE of *everwheeling Motion*! *revolving* with the
" *circling Seasons*²²⁴; PARENT of GENERATION,
" *divine Enthuſiaſm*, and *soul-warming Transport*!—
"Thou *liveſt among the Stars*, and *leadeſt in the Sym-*
" *phony of the Planets*, by thy *all-hearing Muſic*²²⁵.
"Thou

221. That the Hymns aſcribed to Orpheus, commonly called the *Orphic Hymns*, are of great antiquity, we have the authority of Pausanias, (lib. ix. p. 305, edit. Xyland. Frankfort, 1588.) to affirm. He tells us, that although inferior in elegance to thoſe of Homer, they were more revered in the religious ceremonies of Greece; (Ibid.) and that thoſe which have come down to us are genuine, we know from ancient quotations.

222. They who have any doubts on this ſubject may conſult the *Divine Legation of Moſes*, vol. i. and Bryant's *Analysis of Ancient Mythol.* vol. ii. paſſim.

223. Or, as the ſame ſentiment is more conciſely expreſſed by our philoſophic poet:

"All are but parts of ONE ſtupendous whole;

"Whoſe Body NATURE is, and GOD the Soul."

224. This fine idea did not eſcape the poetic eye of Milton, whoſe learning was equal to his genius; and who has wrought it into one of the moſt beautiful images in his deſcription of Paradife.

— "Airs, vernal airs

"Breathing the ſmell of fields and grove attune

"The trembling leaves; while Univerſal PAN

"Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,

"Led on th' eternal Spring."

225. Hence Pan was ſaid continually to play upon a myſterious PIPE, compoſed of SEVEN unequal Reeds, but ſo fitted as to produce together the

PART I. "Thou scatterest Visions, and sudden Terrors among Mortals; delightest in the towering Goat-browed Rock; in the Springs also, and pastured Vallies of the Earth. Of Sight all-pervading; SEARCHER of hidden Things; LOVER of the ECHO of thine own Eternal HARMONY ²²⁶! All-begetting, and unbegotten GOD! —Supreme GOVERNOR of the WORLD! invoked under a thousand Names ²²⁷."

the most perfect melody. (Servius in Virgil *Eclog.* ii.) This pipe was symbolical of that celestial harmony, (metaphorically called the Music of the Spheres) which results from the sublime and wonderful order of the SEVEN great luminaries; (Id. *ibid.*) moving in orbits of unequal dimensions, and performing their revolutions with different degrees of velocity, but all with unerring concord. For ever singing to the ear of the philosophic mind, "as they shine,"

The Hand that moves us is divine!

226. That is, Lover of the Beauty arising from the Harmony of the Universe.

227. That the enlightened part of the ancient Heathens believed in ONE eternal God, under whatever name he might be worshipped; and that the created Deities held up to the adoration of the vulgar, were only the attributes of the Supreme Self-existent Being; the celestial bodies, or the elementary principles of Nature, mythologically represented as his Ministers, has been proved at great length by the learned Cudworth, (*Intellectual System*, chap. iv.) and by the reverend Mr. Spence, (*Polymetis*, Dialogue vi.) from the writings of the Heathen poets and philosophers.

This subject I shall afterward have occasion to investigate, and illustrate, in tracing the progress of idolatry; so that it will be sufficient here to quote, from the Hymn of Cleanthes to Jupiter, (*Ap. Poet. Philosoph.* Græc. a H. Steph.) a passage in point.

"O! worshipp'd under various sacred names,
"DIVINITY SUPREME! all-powerful God!
"Author of Nature! whose unbounded reign,
"And legislative Will all things obey:
"The heavenly orbs, that round this Earthly Sphere
"Incessant wheel, thy Sovereign Law admit,
"And roll spontaneous, where Thou point'st the way,
"Through all the realms of Space; obedient still!—
"Exalted above all, by all ador'd,
"Strength, Wisdom, Goodness, JUPITER! are Thine."

To this extract I shall add a fragment of Valerius Soranus, preserved by St. Augustine, (*Ap. Civitat. Dei*, lib. iv. cap. xi.)

"Almighty JUPITER! of Men and Gods
"Father and Mother both;—ONE Divinity!"

CHEOPS, the successor of Rhampinitus, was an LETTER
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impious and unfeeling tyrant, who trampled upon every thing sacred and civil. Having ordered all the temples of Ægypt to be shut, and prohibited public sacrifices to the gods, he oppressed his people with hard labour; with digging and hewing stones, and building, beside other stupendous works, the first and largest of the three great pyramids in the neighbourhood of Memphis²²⁸. One hundred thousand men were employed, for twenty years, in rearing this ponderous mass²²⁹; and an inscription upon it declares, that a sum equivalent to sixteen hundred talents of silver had been expended in purchasing radishes, onions, and garlic, for the builders²³⁰. Cheops reigned fifty years²³¹.

228. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxiv. This pyramid I have already had occasion to describe (note 145.); but in order to revive the idea of its magnitude, I shall here observe, that its base, each side of which is exactly equal to its sloping height, forms a square of six hundred and sixty feet; (auct. cit. ubi sup.) consequently it covers exactly ten English acres of ground. It appears to have been originally coated with marble; but now presents only a rugged surface, in which is discovered the layers of stone that compose the body of the building. Mallet, *Descript. de l'Égypte*, p. 224—253.

229. Id. *ibid*. These men were relieved every three months, by the same number of fresh hands; (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxxiv.) so that the whole number of men called out by Cheops every nine months, to what may be called *statute-labour*, amounted to three hundred thousand.

230. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxv. This inscription is also mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, (lib. i. p. 58.) These vegetables probably composed the greater part of the food of the labourers, and perhaps all that was furnished them by the king; yet admitting the workmen to have received no wages, the other parts of the expence, as Herodotus justly observes, (lib. ii. cap. cxxv.) for digging, squaring, and conveying the stones; the tools and apparatus for building, must have been immense. Ten years were spent in constructing the subterraneous chambers, or vaults on which this wonderful fabric rests, and ten in erecting bridges, and making roads, for transporting the stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile, and from the Nile to the hill on which the pyramids were built. Id. *ibid*.

231. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxvii.

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CHEPHRENEs, the brother of Cheops, who succeeded to the Egyptian throne, on the death of that prince, imitated him in his impiety, as well as in his tyrannical oppressions²³². He built the second great pyramid near Memphis²³³; equal to the first in height, but *without any subterraneous chambers*, and of inferior dimensions at the base²³⁴.

ALL intelligent travellers, both ancient and modern, have considered these pyramids as sepulchral monuments, or mausoleums for the kings by whom they were built²³⁵. But the learned antiquarian, Mr. Jacob Bryant, supposes them to have been temples; and conjectures, that from the top of the pyramids the Egyptians observed the heavens, marked the constellations; and *there* also "offered up vows and oblations"²³⁶. This conjecture is ingenious, and consistent with Mr. Bryant's system of *Solar Worship*, but utterly void of probability; whether we consider the structure of the pyramids (without any door, by which they could be readily entered, or any stair-case, either within or without, by which they could be ascended) or consult ancient testimony concerning them. Herodotus, who early visited Egypt, and when the Egyptians were perfectly acquainted with the purpose of their public

232. Id. ib.

233 Herodot. ubi supra.

234. Id. ibid. et Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 57. I have already observed, that the first Memphian pyramid appears to have been coated with marble; and I have the authority of eminent travellers (Greaves, Thevenot, Lucas,) to say, that several Egyptian pyramids still are so coated.

235. Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, Greaves, Pococke, Lucas, Thevenot, Maillet, &c.

236. *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, vol. iii. p. 531. Mr. Bryant includes the *subterraneous apartments* among his arguments to prove, that the Egyptian pyramids were *solar temples* (Id. ibid.) The second pyramid, however, we find had no such apartments (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxxvii.) according to the information of the venerable father of history. Nor have modern travellers been able to discover any.

buildings, never hints at such an opinion. He mentions many Ægyptian temples, and describes the sacred ceremonies, but not once insinuates that the pyramids had any relation to religious worship. And the number of pyramids, both in Higher and Lower Ægypt, and in the neighbourhood of each other, seem to prove, that they were sepulchral monuments of the kings who reigned at Thebes and Memphis ²³⁷.

VARIOUS conjectures, however, have been offered, concerning the motives that could induce the Ægyptian monarchs to raise such enormous fabrics, for their place of burial. Ostentatious vanity, and tyrannic policy, have been imputed to them ²³⁸; and these might have their share in swelling the size of the pyramids. But as those monuments were erected by good, as well as bad princes, we must seek for other inducements; and these we find in the theological tenets of the ancient Ægyptians. They believed that the soul remained with the body after death, as long as the body continued entire ²³⁹. Hence the care which persons of all ranks took in embalming the bodies of their dead relations, and in depositing them in places of strength and security ²⁴⁰. For they considered their habita-

237. I have formerly had occasion to notice, that Thebes was originally the seat of the Ægyptian monarchs, and afterward Memphis. And I shall here remark, that Ægypt seems *hitherto* to have been under *one* king, notwithstanding the various co-ordinate and cotemporary dynasties invented by chronologers, in order to reconcile *sacred* and *profane* history. *Moses*, *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus* knew only *one* Ægyptian Monarchy.

238. Aristot. *de Repub.* lib. v. cap. xi. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxvi. cap. xii.

239. Servius, ad Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. iii. ver. 67.

240. The Ægyptians had three methods of embalming the dead, which are particularly described by Herodotus (lib. ii. cap. lxxxvi. — lxxxviii.) one for persons of superior rank, one for the middling class, and one for people of low condition (Id. *Ibid.*). The first, and most perfect method, I shall relate.

The

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habitations, in this life, only as *transitory abodes*; while they gave to their tombs, by a bold mode of expression, the name of *perpetual mansions* ²⁴¹.

In a country where such opinions prevailed, we cannot wonder that kings were desirous of giving to themselves a kind of eternity in the tomb. For this end, it was necessary to erect cœmeteries, which could long resist natural decay, and preserve their bodies from ex-

The men, who made embalming their employment in Ægypt, and who were publicly appointed to that profession, proceeded in this manner. They drew out the brains, through the nostrils, with an iron hook; cut open the belly with a sharp Æthiopian stone, and took out the intestines. These they replaced, after having cleansed them, steeped them in palm-wine, and cured them with odoriferous drugs. Then they filled the belly with pounded mirrh, cassia, and all kinds of aromatics, except frankincense, and sewed up the incision they had made. They next buried the body in nitre for seventy days; and, after they had taken it out, and washed it, they swathed it in fine linen, and anointed it with gums. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. lxxxvi.

Diodorus, who gives a similar description of the process of embalming, remarks, that when the body thus prepared, was restored to the relations of the deceased, the symmetry of form was perfectly preserved, and the likeness of features, even to the hair of the eye-brows, and eye-lids. (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 82.) He also tells us, that many of the Ægyptian grandees deposited the bodies of the dead in magnificent sepulchral monuments, and there delighted in contemplating the features of their ancestors, for centuries back; (Id. ibid.) and that such Ægyptians (of the middling class, it may be presumed) as had no family-sepulchre, formed a tomb in their own houses; placing the embalmed bodies of their relations in a cell of the *strongest wall*. (Id. lib. i. p. 83.) And we learn from the observations of modern travellers, that the public sepulchres of the ancient Ægyptians were dry and deep pits or caverns, generally toward the Libyan mountains or desert; where the bodies, though embalmed in the cheapest manner, as being those of the inferior classes, still remain entire; and whence they have been carried to various countries, under the name of *Mummies*.

241. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 47. They accordingly paid little regard to the structure of their houses, but spared no expence in augmenting the magnificence of their sepulchres. (Id. ibid.) Nor was the care of the Ægyptians to prolong the continuance of the soul with the body, inconsistent with their belief of the *immortality* of the soul, which was connected with the doctrine of the *metempsychosis*; (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxxiii.) a purgation that must have filled them with much horror.

ternal violence, and all moral contingencies. The pyramidal form was accordingly chosen, as better calculated for durability than any other. And strength and magnitude appear to have been added to the pyramids, in proportion to the fears of the Ægyptian monarchs of molestation after death²⁴²; to the ambition with which they were actuated of perpetuating their name, by such stupendous monuments; and to the desire of bending, with heavy tasks, to the controul of regal sway, the proud and licentious spirit of their people, nursed in bigotry, and fattening in peace.

MYCERINUS, the son of Cheops, who became king of Ægypt on the death of Chephrenes, detesting the conduct of his father and uncle, ordered the temples to be opened²⁴³; the sacrifices to be renewed, and the people to apply themselves to their private affairs; releasing them from public tasks, and studiously attending to their happiness and prosperity²⁴⁴. He built, however, the third Memphian pyramid²⁴⁵; which some Græcian writers have vainly ascribed to the famous courtesan Rhodopis, who acquired great riches in Ægypt by the sale of her favours²⁴⁶.

ASYCHIS, who ascended the Ægyptian throne on the death of Mycerinus, built the grand portico of the

242. That the Ægyptian monarchs, who governed oppressively, were in danger of such molestation, we have the authority of Diodorus to affirm. (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 66.) And Herodotus tells us, (lib. ii. cap. cxxviii.) that the memory of Cheops and Chephrenes were held in such execration, that their very names were condemned to oblivion.

243. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxix. Sicul. lib. i. p. 58.

244. Id. ibid. et Diod.

245. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxxiv.

246. Id. ibid. Herodotus not only ridicules this idea, (ubi supra), but shews that Rhodopis lived in a later age; that she was fellow-servant with Æsop, the author of the Fables, and contemporary with Sappho the poetess. And she contrived, he tells us, (lib. ii. cap. cxxxv.) such a memorial of herself as had never been before imagined; sending to Delphos an offering of strong iron spits; which, adds he, (ibid.) still stand in the temple, behind the altar bequeathed by the Chians.

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temple of Vulcan, fronting the east ²⁴⁷. He also erected a pyramid of brick, with an inscription to the following purport:—"Degrade not me by a comparison with the pyramids of stone, which I excel as much as Jupiter the other gods ²⁴⁸!"—And, in order to enlarge the credit of the Ægyptians, among whom he found wealth imperfectly to circulate, he enacted a law, by which they were enabled to borrow money on the embalmed bodies of their fathers ²⁴⁹; but with this restriction, that unless the debtor should redeem the sacred pledge before his death, neither he nor any of his descendants should be allowed funeral honours ²⁵⁰.

DURING the reign of Anyfis, the successor of Asychis, Ægypt was invaded by Sabaco, king of Æthiopia, at the head of a powerful army ²⁵¹. Sabaco obliged

247 Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxxvi.

248 Id. ibid.

249 Herodot. ubi supra.

250 Id. ibid.

251. Herodotus, lib. ii. c. cxxxvii. Æthiopia was bounded on the north by Ægypt, and on the north-east by the Arabian gulf; but with its other boundaries the ancients were utterly unacquainted. (Strabo, lib. xvii. sub fin.) The Greeks gave the name of *Æthiopians* to all people of a *black colour*. Hence they had *oriental* as well as *African* Æthiopians; but Herodotus (lib. vii. cap. lxix.) discriminates the one from the other, by marks which continue to distinguish them. "The *oriental* Æthiopians," observes he, "have *flowing hair*; but those of *Africa* the most *frizzled hair* of any race of men." (Id. ibid.) He also tells us, (lib. ii. cap. civ.) that the Æthiopians were *circumcised*, like the Ægyptians; but declares he could not pretend to determine which of the two nations first used the rite, though he was strongly persuaded, it had its origin in Ægypt. (Ibid.) The Æthiopians, however, asserted, that they were the most ancient people in the world; (Diod. Sicul. lib. iii. p. 143.) and as they believed, like many other nations, that men originally sprang from the earth, they not irrationally concluded, that those countries which lie nearest the sun, animated by his genial influence, must first have produced all kinds of animals. (Id. ibid.) That they were a very ancient and powerful people is not to be questioned; but those on the frontiers of Ægypt excepted, (who seem to have profited by intercourse with their more polished neighbours, and to have been of the same stock) they appear

ligned the Ægyptian monarch, who is said to have been blind, to seek refuge in the fens on the sea-coast, and took possession of the kingdom²⁵². But he, instead of exercising the rigour of conquest, set an example of humanity to succeeding princes. No Ægyptian was put to death for any transgression during the reign of Sabaco²⁵³. He wisely issued an edict, when he seized the government, ordering persons convicted of capital crimes to be chained together, and employed in public works, instead of being led to execution²⁵⁴.

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THE labour of these criminals consisted chiefly in cutting *canals*, and raising *mounds* with the earth dug out of them, in order to secure the cities of Lower Ægypt from the inundations of the Nile²⁵⁵. Those mounds, which had been raised to a considerable height by the great Sesostris, were carried still higher by the mild policy of Sabaco²⁵⁶; who, uniting justice with mercy, and punishment with lenity, made the forfeited lives of his offending subjects contribute to the advantage of the honest and industrious citizen.

THE benefits resulting from the canals must have been general; and several cities were, no doubt, more perfectly secured against any extraordinary flow of the river, by the mounds; which at once protected the former buildings, and afforded the new streets and squares more elevated situations²⁵⁷. But the city of

appear always to have remained in a rude, and most of them in a savage state: (Herod. lib. iii. cap. xxii. xxiii. Diod. Sicul. lib. iii. passim. Strabo, lib. xvii. sub *Æthiop.*) Diodorus, (*ubi sup.*) accurately distinguishes the proper *Æthiopians* from the *Negroes*; whose flat faces, woolly hair, brutal manners, and cruel disposition, he traces in strong lines.

252. Id. *ibid.*
Sicul. lib. i. p. 59.
Diod. Sicul. *ubi sup.*
257. Id. *ibid.*

253. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxxvii. Diod.
254. Id. *ibid.* 255. Herodot. et
256. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxxvii.

PART I. Bubastis was particularly indebted for its future prosperity and grandeur, to the labours of the malefactors preserved from death by the humane edict of Sabaco ²⁵⁸.

IN that city stood a temple dedicated to Diana, whom the Ægyptians called *Bubastis*, and the Greeks *Artemis*, well worthy of notice. For, as Herodotus, (to whom we are indebted for the description of it), ingeniously remarks, although some Ægyptian temples were larger, some more sumptuous, none gave more pleasure to the spectator ²⁵⁹.

THIS beautiful fabric was erected on a peninsular eminence; furrounded on all sides by the water of the Nile, except at the avenue from the city to the portico of the temple. The two canals by which it was flanked, (and which, without meeting, conveyed the water from the river to both sides of the avenue), were each one hundred feet wide, and overhung with umbrageous trees. The portico was forty cubits in height, and adorned with well-wrought statues six cubits high. The temple itself stood in the middle of the city, whence it every where attracted the eye. And this distinction it had eminently maintained in more ancient times; for when the ground which the city of Bubastis afterwards covered, was raised by the accumulation of earth dug out of the canals, the temple of Diana remained on its original foundations, unaltered, yet still conspicuous to the view. It was encompassed with walls, on which were engraved symbolic figures. Within the walls grew a huge grove of venerable trees, out of the heart of which rose the nave of the temple; containing the *sanctum sanctorum*, or most sacred place, with the image or

258. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxxviii.

259. Id. ibid.

symbol

symbol of the goddess. The whole temple was a furlong in length, and of the same extent in breadth. To the entrance under the portico, which fronted the east, ran a street from the temple of Mercury through the market-place, near half a mile long, and four hundred feet wide; paved with marble, and planted, on each side, with trees that seemed to reach the clouds²⁶⁰.

LETTER
L

AFTER Sabaco, or his sons as viceroys, had ruled the Ægyptian monarchy for fifty years, he relinquished his conquest, and finally returned to Æthiopia²⁶¹; leaving the Ægyptians in possession of their ancient independency. The causes of this singular event merit investigation.

THE sacred fables told Herodotus, that Sabaco fled from Ægypt in consequence of a dream²⁶²; that a certain form stood conspicuous to his view in sleep, and admonished him to assemble all the Ægyptian priests, and sever them by the middle; and that he, alarmed at the idea of such a crime, and considering the vision as a trial sent him by the Gods, voluntarily abdicated the throne²⁶³.

THE most natural interpretation of that pretended dream is, that Sabaco found the members of the sacerdotal body, or sacred order in Ægypt, become so powerful and factious, that he could no longer hold the reins of government, unless he had employed his military force to massacre them; and that being a prince of a religious turn of mind, as well as of a humane

260. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxxxviii.

cxxxix. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 59.

cxxxix.

263. Id. ibid.

261. Id. lib. ii. cap.

262. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap.

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disposition, he chose rather to abandon the kingdom, than be guilty of such cruelty and impiety ²⁶⁴.

ON the departure of the Æthiopian conqueror, Anyfis quitted his retreat in the fens, and resumed the government of Ægypt ²⁶⁵. But as he must then have been old, his future reign could not be long. And after his death, the kingdom was governed by Sethon, high-priest of Vulcan ²⁶⁶; who, depending upon the awe inspired by his sacred character, and the influence of the sacerdotal body, disregarded the military order, and seized the lands appropriated for the maintenance of the army ²⁶⁷. The consequence of this unkingly policy (dictated by a contempt for the mass of the people, hoodwinked by superstition, and a jealousy of the soldiery),¹ was such as might have been expected. When Sennacherib, emperor of Assyria, afterward invaded Ægypt, no military man would stand forth in defence of Sethon ²⁶⁸. But the Assyrian monarch, who was probably bribed to with-

²⁶⁴. This interpretation is countenanced by the narrative of the judicious and penetrating Diodorus, (lib. ii. p. 59.) It makes the tutelary god of Thebes appear to Sabaco in a dream, and inform him, that the massacre of the priests, by his guards, only could secure the future prosperity and happiness of his reign over Ægypt. (Id. ibid.) Hence his resolution of returning to Æthiopia.

²⁶⁵. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxl.

²⁶⁶. Id. lib. ii. cap. cxli.

²⁶⁷. Id. ibid.

²⁶⁸. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxli. This venerable historian calls Sennacherib, or *Saqcharib*, as he writes the name, "king of Arabia and Assyria." (Ibid.) And we are informed by the sacred records (2 Kings, chap. xviii. xix.), that Sennacherib had subdued, in his march, the greater part of Lower Syria; which was often comprehended, by the early Greek writers, under the general name of Arabia, and seems always to have been considered as an Arabian district by the Egyptians. The tributary princes of this country, as we shall have occasion to see, were perpetually revolting from the Assyrian emperors, and leagueing themselves with the kings of Ægypt.

draw his forces, is said to have been obliged to retire by a miracle ²⁶⁹. LETTER
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THE story was thus told by the Ægyptian priests to Herodotus. Sethon finding himself destitute of human support, had recourse to divine aid. He betook him, in his distress, to the temple of Vulcan; and prostrating himself before the altar of the god, deprecated the calamities he was in danger of suffering. Amid his devotions he fell asleep, and was exhorted by the presiding deity, who appeared to him in a dream, to take courage and face the invaders: for, if he so did, auxiliaries should be sent him ²⁷⁰. Animated by the propitious vision, Sethon assembled the artificers, traders, retainers upon the courts of law, and people of all classes that would follow him, and marched into the Pelusian district. But he had no occasion to hazard a battle; for field-mice, actuated with rage against the enemy, had entered the Assyrian camp in the night; and gnawed the quivers, bows, and thongs of the shields of the hostile army:

269. *Id. ibid.* Josephus tells us, (lib. x. cap. i.) That Sennacherib had undertaken the siege of Pelusium; and that he abandoned his enterprize when ready to give the grand assault, and returned back, on hearing that Tharshis, king of Æthiopia, called *Tirhakah* in sacred history, was marching with a numerous army to the assistance of the Ægyptians; and meant to cut off his retreat, by taking the route of the desert. (*Id. ibid.*) But we learn from higher, and contemporary authority, that Ægypt was ravaged, and Tirhakah defeated by Sennacherib: "The king of Assyria," says the prophet Isaiah, (chap. xx. ver. 4, 5.) "shall lead away the Ægyptian prisoners, and the Æthiopian captives; and they (i. e. the Jews) shall be ashamed of Æthiopia their expectation, and of Ægypt their glory." (*Id. ibid. et 2 Kings, chap. xviii. xix.*) The conjectural cause, which I have assigned for the retreat of the Assyrian conqueror, therefore, seems as probable as any. For if Sennacherib had finally retired at the intelligence of the arrival of Tirhakah to the assistance of the Ægyptians, an event which actually took place, Sethon could have found no pretext for ascribing his deliverance to a miracle.

270. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxli.

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IN commemoration of this miraculous event, a marble statue of Sethon, holding a *mouſe* in his right-hand, was erected in the temple of Vulcan; with these words, on a label, proceeding from his mouth: —“ Let every one that beholds me, learn to be pious ²⁷² !”

AFTER the reign of Sethon, Ægypt experienced a shock of anarchy, which was followed by a kind of aristocratical interregnum; the government of the kingdom being divided among twelve chiefs, seemingly the heads of the military order; each of whom presided over his particular district, and among whom a community of interests was established ²⁷³. These twelve kings, or governors, ruled for a time with great harmony ²⁷⁴; and erected, at their common expence, the famous Ægyptian LABYRINTH ²⁷⁵, which Herodotus esteemed the most superb monument of architecture.

“ Although I confess,” says he, “ that the temples of Ephesus and Samos merit particular attention, this is evidently a work of *greater labour* and *expence*. The Ægyptian pyramids are beyond expression magnificent, and singly equal in magnitude to many of the largest structures in Greece; yet is the

²⁷¹. Id. *ibid*. The sacred records, however, give a very different account of the loss which the army of Sennacherib suffered in its return from Ægypt (2 *Kings*, chap. xix. ver. 7.) as I shall afterward have occasion to relate.

²⁷². Herodotus lib. ii. cap. cxli.

²⁷³. Id. lib. ii. cap. cxlvii.

Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 59.

²⁷⁴. Id. *ibid*.

²⁷⁵. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxlviii.

"labyrinth more worthy of admiration than the pyramids ²⁷⁶." It contained twelve spacious halls, mysteriously communicating with each other, and with fifteen hundred apartments of various dimensions, all encompassed by one wall, and closely roofed with stone ²⁷⁷.

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BELOW ground were an equal number of apartments ²⁷⁸; but, those being appropriated to sacred uses, travellers were not permitted to see them ²⁷⁹; therefore, we have no description of them. The roofs and walls of the apartments above ground, were encrusted with white marble, and adorned with figures in sculpture. The halls were surrounded within with pillars of the same marble, finely polished ²⁸⁰. And at the angle, where the labyrinth ended, was erected a pyramid two hundred and forty-feet high; on which were sculptured colossal figures of animals, and into which there was a subterraneous passage ²⁸¹.

THE *Ægyptian labyrinth* stood near *Crocodileon*, or the *City of Crocodiles*, afterward known by the name of *Arfinoe*; which was situated on the western side of the Nile, a little above the lake *Mœris*, in *Libya* ²⁸². But that harmony among the twelve chiefs, which gave birth to so wonderful a structure, was not permanent, notwithstanding this stupendous memorial of it. The prosperity of *Psammitichus*, whose jurisdiction lay on the sea-coast, excited the jealousy of his colleagues ²⁸³.

²⁷⁶. Id. *ibid*.

²⁷⁷. Herodot. *ubi sup*. This building is also described by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*; but I have confined myself to the description of the venerable father of history, who saw it in its more perfect state; and who, as it afforded him great cause of admiration and wonder, seems to have examined it with peculiar attention.

²⁷⁸. Id. *ibid*.

²⁷⁹. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxlviii.

²⁸⁰. Id. *ibid*.

²⁸¹. Herodotus, *ubi sup*.

²⁸². Id.

ibid, et *Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 60*.

²⁸³. *Diod. Sicul. ubi sup*.

They

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They excluded him from any share in the general government of the kingdom, and confined him to his own district²⁸⁴; yet he, by the help of foreign troops, made himself master of all Ægypt²⁸⁵; and gave to the Ægyptian name a lustre which it had not known since the days of Sesostris.

Ant. Ch.
670.
Nabonassar.
Era 77.

THE particulars of this revolution, which opened a ready intercourse between Ægypt and Greece, I shall afterward have occasion to relate²⁸⁶. At present, I must offer to your lordship an account

Of the GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGION, LEARNING, MANNERS, and ARTS of the ANCIENT ÆGYPTIANS.

THE Ægyptian government was monarchical, and the king was revered as a God; but his authority was subordinate to the laws²⁸⁷. By the laws he was obliged

284. Id. *ibid.* et Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cli. lib. ii. cap. clii. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 60.

285. Herodotus,

286. It was accomplished six hundred and seventy years before the Christian æra, and in the seventy-seventh year of the Nabonassaræan æra. The date is thus ascertained. Diodorus Siculus informs us, (lib. i. p. 62. edit. Rhodoman.) that Cambyfes, king of Persia, conquered Ægypt in the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad, when Parmenides of Camarina was victor in the stadion; and Herodotus gives us a regular succession of Ægyptian kings, the years of whose reigns he has distinctly marked, from the elevation of Psammitichus to the Persian conquest. (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. clvii.—clxxii. et lib. iii. cap. x.—xiv.) The sum of the years of the reigns of those kings fix the beginning of the reign of Psammitichus; which may be called the true ÆGYPTIAN ÆRA.

If Herodotus had marked the years of the reigns of all the Ægyptian kings, of whom he has given a regular succession, from Sesostris downward, we might have carried the chronology of this ancient kingdom as high as the accession of that victorious monarch. But as the father of history has not so done, the Ægyptian chronology before the reign of Psammitichus is, in a great measure, conjectural.

287. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 63. "The first kings of Ægypt," observes Diodorus, (*ibid.*) "did not govern, like other monarchs, according to their

liged to rule, and even to regulate his private conduct more exactly than the meanest subject; certain hours being set apart in the night, as well as in the day, wherein he was enjoined to do something prescribed by the constitution²⁸⁸. Hence stated times were appointed not only for the dispatch of public business, but for the king's taking the air, bathing, sleeping with the queen, and almost every function in life²⁸⁹. The very quality of his food was fixed, and his wine dealt out by measure²⁹⁰.

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I.

THE Ægyptian monarchs rose by break of day, and read in the morning the dispatches from all quarters, that they might be enabled to give the necessary instructions to their ministers²⁹¹. They then washed themselves, and having put on their robes, with the ensigns of royalty, they went to the temple, attended by their courtiers, in order to sacrifice to the Deity²⁹². The manner of so doing is sufficiently curious to require description; especially as it furnishes us with an account of the public worship of the ancient Ægyptians.

WHEN the victims were brought to the altar, the high-priest prayed, with a loud voice, for the health

"own arbitrary will, without being subject to censure or controul."—Here I must remark, that by these *first kings* we are to understand the *native monarchs of Ægypt*, before the conquest of that country by the Persians; and consequently, those of whom I am at present speaking.

288. Id. *ibid*.289. Diod. Sicul. *ubi sup*.

290. Idem. lib. i. p. 64. "It was indeed strange," remarks Diodorus, "that *the king should not be left at liberty* in regard to his daily food; but it was still more extraordinary, that *he could not punish any man to gratify his humour or passion*;" (*Biblioth. ubi sup.*) a striking instance of the high idea the ancients had of monarchical power!—And, by a necessary chain of reasoning, of the tyrannical manner in which it was generally exercised. Hence, no doubt, the detestation in which it was held by the Greeks and Romans.

291. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 63.

292. Idem. lib. i. p. 64.

and

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and prosperity of the king, recounting his virtues; his piety towards the gods, his kindness to his people; his temperance, justice, magnanimity, and good faith; his lenity in punishing offenders, and his liberality in rewarding merit²⁹³. He next denounced a curse upon such crimes and miscarriages as the monarch might have ignorantly committed; charging the guilt and blame upon his ministers and counsellors²⁹⁴. After the king had examined the intrails of the victims, and offered the sacrifice of atonement, a priest or scribe read, out of the *Sacred Books*, the edicts, laws, and meritorious actions of those Ægyptian monarchs, who had reigned most illustriously in their several ages, that the prince upon the throne might profit by their example, adhere to their maxims of government, and respect the principles of the constitution²⁹⁵.

THE Ægyptian monarchy was divided into thirty-six *Nomi* or provinces, each of which had its proper governor; who levied the royal revenue, and was invested with the administration of public affairs within his district²⁹⁶. Ten of these provinces lay in Higher Ægypt, sixteen in Middle Ægypt, and ten in Lower Ægypt²⁹⁷.

BESIDE this political division, the territorial property of all the lands of Egypt was divided into three

293. *Id. ibid.*294. *Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 64.*295. *Id. ibid.* This I conceive to be the sense, though not the literal meaning of the words of Diodorus.296. *Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 50.*297. *Strabo, Geog. lib. xvii. p. 787.* To make us sensible these divisions were not made by the Persian emperors, or Macedonian monarchs, the same geographer observes, that the Ægyptian monarchy was thus divided *from the beginning*; (*id. ibid.*) that is to say, from the most ancient times of which he had any information. And it seems highly probable, that Ægypt was divided into provinces by Menes, its first king; but the division here mentioned, into thirty jurisdictions, Diodorus affirms was made by Sesostris. *Biblioth. lib. i. p. 50.*

portions; the first being allotted to the priesthood, for their maintenance and the furnishing of public sacrifices; the second to the king for the support of his household, the exigences of war, and the expence of the civil establishment; the third to the national militia or soldiery, instead of pay²⁹⁸. The king, and the members of those two bodies, let their lands to the husbandmen, at a fixed rent²⁹⁹; so that no subject in Ægypt, unless such as belonged to the ecclesiastical or military order, had any property in land. And as power naturally follows property, the bad effects of such arrangement may be easily conceived.

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298. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 66, 67. The reasons offered by Diodorus, why so large a portion of land was assigned to the soldiery, are very satisfactory. "Attached to their country, says he, "by that plentiful share, they more cheerfully undergo the hazards of war. "For it would have been absurd to have intrusted the safety and preservation of the kingdom, to men who had nothing in their country that was dear or valuable to them. And a weightier reason," adds he, "why so large a share was allotted to them, is this; that they might be induced to marry, and rear children; so that there might be no need of foreign troops." (*Biblioth. lib. i. p. 67.*) This last argument has peculiar force, as applied to the kingdom of Ægypt, where all professions were hereditary; and where consequently, the army could only be recruited with the sons of soldiers. But that those would be more brave and expert than volunteers, or such as from natural inclination chose a military life, can by no means be admitted. The son of the most valiant warrior, unallured by his father's exploits, may have no turn for war: his genius may incline him to the offices of civil government; but from these he was excluded in Ægypt. He may be fitter to attend a flock of sheep, or a herd of cattle, than to command a battalion, or to lead an army to battle. But the Ægyptians thought differently. Diodorus has attempted to vindicate their policy; not only in this instance, but in their whole scheme of hereditary professions; as contributing at once to public quiet, and to the advancement of professional excellence. And modern writers have generally subscribed to his opinion.

299. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 67. They must also have let their lands to the graziers, or feeders of sheep and other cattle, as these formed a distinct class in Ægypt, and had no land-property.

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IN consequence of that territorial appropriation, the members of these two orders only had any share in the government; the members of every other order being confined to their proper calling, and prohibited from interfering in public affairs³⁰⁰. This we may consider as an usurpation of the two higher orders in league with the crown; for we are told there was a time, when the whole body of the Ægyptians voted at the election of a king³⁰¹; in case of an interregnum, or where the lineal successor was judged unworthy of swaying the sceptre; and that, in such election, they paid no regard to rank³⁰². But from the æra of this new state of property and policy, the election, on these occasions, must have been made by the ecclesiastical and military orders exclusively.

FROM one or other of these two orders, the king could only be elected; and as the power of the priesthood or soldiery predominated, the prince appears to have been either a bigot or a warrior³⁰³. The Ægypt-

300. *Id. ibid.* Struck with the turbulence of ancient republics, and the corruption into which democratic government was fallen, Diodorus applauds the Ægyptian policy in confining every citizen to his particular profession, and prohibiting the people from intermeddling in public affairs (*ibid.*) But the citizens of Great Britain have too high a sense of their own dignity, to be enslaved by such maxims; and I should be unworthy of the character of a British citizen, to inculcate them.

301. *Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 41.*

302. *Id. ibid.*

303. When this martial spirit was not exerted in foreign enterprise, it sometimes became the instrument of domestic tyranny; (*Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxxiv—cxxx*) notwithstanding the barriers of the Ægyptian constitution, which were those of limited monarchy. For no checks upon prerogative, unless imposed by the collective body of a nation, will ever be found effectual. Nor can the guardianship public privileges and immunities ever be placed in worse hands than those of priests and soldiers. Warped by the prejudices of their particular professions, whatever share they may have in the territorial property, or in the government of the kingdom, the characteristic features of each will still be prominent. Experience has proved this in all ages, and in all countries.

than monarchs, however, were generally under the dominion of the priesthood³⁰⁴; hence the unwelcome, and superstitious character of the nation³⁰⁵. Nor could it be otherwise; for the ecclesiastical order seems to have filled all civil offices in Ægypt³⁰⁶; from the ministers of state, down to the collectors of the public revenue³⁰⁷. That civil authority, with the possession of one third of the lands of the kingdom, exempt from taxes³⁰⁸, must have given the priesthood great influence, independent of the awe inspired by their sacred function, and their privilege of interpreting the will of the Gods. But this subject I shall have farther occasion to consider, in treating of the Ægyptian religion.

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JUSTICE was regularly administered in Ægypt, by a president and thirty judges, whose salaries were paid by the king³⁰⁹. No advocates were allowed to plead

304. An effort to throw off this ecclesiastical dominion, seems to have driven Cheops to shut up the Ægyptian temples; (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxxiv.) and a desire of bending the body of his people to royal authority, and civil obedience, without the aid of superstition, might perhaps induce him to impose upon them those tasks, which have been represented as so grievous. (Id. ibid. et Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 58.) I say represented; for the account of those oppressions, and the whole history of Ægypt, was delivered to Herodotus and Diodorus by the priests; who would naturally delineate, in the darkest colours, every defect in the character of the princes that were inimical to their order.

305. That this was the general character of the Ægyptians is sufficiently attested by facts, both in the early and later periods of their monarchy. Their military men were never able to repel any invader; and the conquests they are said to have made were transitory.

306. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 66. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 787. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. xxxiv.

307. Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. vi.

308. The lands of the soldiery, we are told, were also exempted from taxes (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. clxviii.); so that the whole weight of the land-tax, in Ægypt, must have fallen upon the husbandmen and graziers.

309. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 68.

before

PART I. before them: nor were the persons prosecuted permitted to speak in their own defence, or plaintiffs or accusers in support of their own cause, that eloquence or sympathy might not bias the judgment of the court ³¹⁰. The whole process was carried on in writing ³¹¹; and, in order to prevent the protracting of suits, an answer on the part of the defendant, and one reply only was indulged on each side ³¹². The judges consulted together, after both parties had been heard, before they proceeded to judgment; and the president turned an emblematical picture of TRUTH, which he wore upon his breast, toward the party in whose favour the decision was given ³¹³.

THE spirit of the laws of Ægypt was worthy of that solemnity with which they were administered. Respecting the natural liberty of man, they allowed a creditor to seize the property, but not the person of a debtor ³¹⁴. In order, however, to temper the mildness of this law, every Ægyptian was commanded to give in annually, to the governor of the province in which he resided, an attestation of his name, profession, and the means of his subsistence; and whoever

³¹⁰. *Idem*. p. 69.
lib. i. p. 69.

³¹¹. *Id.* *ibid.*

³¹². *Diod. Sicul.*

³¹³. *Id.* *ibid.* This picture, encircled with precious stones, was suspended by a gold chain, that hung round the president's neck. (*Id.* p. 68.) The image of Truth was represented with closed eyes (*Diod. Sicul.* lib. i. p. 45.); thereby signifying, that judges, in the discharge of their office, ought impartially to weigh the merits of the cause before them; blind to every circumstance but truth, and every object but justice.

³¹⁴. *Diod. Sicul.* lib. i. p. 71. Whatever doubts may be stated, in regard to the policy of this law, its humanity cannot be called in question. The humane spirit of the Ægyptian laws is also conspicuous in another instance, which has served as an example to all civilized nations: women convicted of capital crimes were not permitted to be executed, until they had been delivered. *Diod. Sicul.* lib. i. p. 70.

forged such certificate, or could not make it appear that he lived by an honest calling, was punished with death ³¹⁵. The punishment of death was also decreed against perjury; which the Egyptians considered as a most atrocious crime, as injurious at once to the Gods and to men; to the Gods, for impiously bringing their divinity into question; and to men, by destroying the strongest bands of human society, veracity and good faith ³¹⁶. On a similar principle, false accusers were condemned to suffer the punishment that would have been inflicted on the persons against whom the accusation was brought, if they had been convicted ³¹⁷.

ADULTERY was severely punished in Egypt: with a thousand stripes in the man; and in the woman, with the loss of her nose ³¹⁸. They who revealed to a public enemy, the secrets of the state, had their tongues cut out; and those that counterfeited the current coin of the realm, the king's seal, the signatures of private persons, or forged deeds, with such as diminished the weight of money, were condemned to lose both their hands ³¹⁹. Wilful homicide was pu-

315. Id. p. 69, 70.

316. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 69.

317. Id. ibid.

318. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 71. If this, and some other Egyptian laws, should be thought cruel, they were at least calculated to obtain the great end of all penal laws, the prevention of crimes. For as Diodorus well observes (*ubi supra*), on the present case, "it was fit that the adulteress, who attired herself in order to allure men to wantonness, should be punished in that part where her charms chiefly lay." Nor will the influence of such punishment upon manners be disputed by the most devoted admirer of beauty; nor by the licentious libertine, who prides himself in disturbing the peace of families; and who, for the sake of his lawless pleasures, would perhaps hazard a thousand lashes at the cart's tail.

319. Id. ibid. "That every one might be punished," says Diodorus, (*ubi sup.*) "in those members with which he had offended." Upon the same principle, he that was convicted of having committed a rape upon a free woman, had his privy parts cut off. Id. ibid.

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nished with death, whether the person killed happened to have been in a state of freedom or of slavery ³²⁰.

FROM this statute it appears, that as no man in Ægypt, however elevated in his condition, had the power of vengeance in his own hands, so none was below the protection of the laws ³²¹. The prince and the peasant were equally amenable to justice; the minister of state, and his most abject bond-servant. And what is yet more memorable and praise-worthy (as it must have proved a strong incentive to virtue, as well as a restraint upon vice), neither the sovereign, nor his meanest subject, could enjoy a reputation after death, that had not been justly merited while in life. For the operation of the laws of Ægypt was not confined to the period of existence.

To be deprived of funeral honours, so highly valued by all ancient nations, the Ægyptians considered as the greatest possible disgrace; yet could none of them expect to enjoy those honours, unless by a public and solemn decree ³²². This decree was pronounced by a court of inquest; consisting of forty judges, of high reputation for probity; who listened to all accusations against the person deceased, and denied him public burial, if it appeared that he had been a bad member of society ³²³. But if no stain was fixed upon his memory, his relations were permitted to bury

320. *Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 70.*

321. Of this we have an early and striking instance, in the adventure of Joseph with Potiphar's wife. (*Gen. chap. xxxix. ver. 7-20.*) Potiphar, one of the great officers of the court of Ægypt, though convinced that Joseph, his bought slave, had made an attempt upon his wife's virtue, at which "his wrath was kindled," did not offer violence to his person; but sent him to prison, that he might be punished according to law. *Id. ibid.*

322. *Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 82.*

323. *Id. lib. i. p. 83.*

him with as much funeral pomp as they thought proper ³²⁴.

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I.

NOR were the Ægyptian monarchs, as already observed, exempted from that awful jury. On the day appointed for the royal funeral, a court of inquest, according to law, was held. There all complaints and accusations against the deceased monarch were

324. Id. *ibid.* Diodorus tells us, on the authority of the Ægyptians, that from this custom of giving sentence upon the actions of the dead, and the ceremonies with which the Ægyptian funerals were accompanied, the Greeks borrowed their doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments. (*Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 82—84.) And all modern writers have considered his report as infallible evidence. But if we reflect, that the belief of the immortality of the soul was universal in the Heathen world, as it is at this day among savage nations, we shall find no reason for subscribing to such an opinion. The belief of a future state is necessarily involved in that of the immortality of the soul; and as soon as society was established, moral distinctions formed, and civil and criminal laws instituted, the notion of rewards and punishments, in an after-state, would naturally become, as we find it, part of the popular creed in every country.

They who question what I have affirmed, that the belief of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state, is now held by the most savage nations, may consult *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, *passim*; but especially tom. xv. init. Robertson's *Hist. of America*, book iv. Hutchinson's *Hist. of Massachusetts Bay*, chap. vi. and the authors there cited. That it was universally taught among ancient nations, and consequently believed by the body of the people, I shall afterwards have occasion to prove. I shall, therefore, only here remark, that Diodorus, seemingly disgusted with the popular creed of Greece, and desirous to give a mortal origin to all the Heathen gods upon the plan of Euhemerus, takes every opportunity of assigning a frivolous origin to religious opinions.

In apology for this otherwise judicious historian it may be urged, and with great justice, that he lived near the beginning of the Christian era, when Heathen worship was greatly corrupted;—to such a degree, that Divine Wisdom then saw fit to promulgate a New Religion; in which the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and that of a future state of rewards and punishments are more clearly set forth; and connected not only with moral conduct and civil obligations, but with the purity of the Heart.